AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HISTORY ENCYCLOPEDIA REFERENCE BOOK

"THAT THE LABOR OF A HUMAN BEING IS NOT A COMMODITY OR ARTICLE OF COMMERCE."
(Act of Congress October, 1914.)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR BUILDING, 1919

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American Federation of Labor

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HISTORY, ENCYCLOPEDIA REFERENCE BOOK

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE
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FOREWORD

THE IDEA of a Year Book authorized by the Baltimore and Buffalo conventions has grown to be a formidable work. A Year Book could contain only things that have been done in the year preceding with probably cursory treatment of important subjects passed on by conventions of past years.

But such a living, breathing organization as the American Federation of Labor needs more than a Year Book. It was believed the membership would welcome a publication that would give in as concise form as possible every important proposition acted on by all the conventions. To that end the many questions considered in the thirty-eight sessions of the Federation have been compiled and published in encyclopedia form. This has developed a ready reference book that will be of greatest assistance not only to the officers and members but to all who seek to know the principles upon which our trade union movement is founded and the wonderful successes achieved. Those who desire information in detail can readily refer to the proceedings, as the work is also a bibliography.

While each subject is briefly treated the intention has been not to omit anything that would prevent a thorough understanding of every principle. When it is known there are 8,000,000 words in the thirty-eight proceedings that had to be reduced to about 400,000 it will be seen the work has been difficult. The rule followed was to use the official language of the conventions. The belief was that it should be an American Federation of Labor book, not the work of any individual or group of individuals. The real authors are the delegates to conventions, extracts from whose resolutions and speeches are printed literally but in condensed form. It is the American Federation of Labor officially talking to you as you read, not an individual author. Every delegate who presented a proposition, discussed any issue or in any way left the impress of his thoughts on the trade union movement will recognize the result of his work in the book. Only the names are omitted, making all the delegates equally responsible for the magnificent growth and victories gained by the labor movement.

Many brilliant orations have been made in the conventions and official reports of marvelous literary merit and economic value have been presented.

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In the Introduction it has been the effort to use as many of the statements in these reports as possible. There was no attempt to interject ideas or principles foreign to those of the Federation. Everything in the book was read or uttered at some time in the thirty-eight conventions. This is to carry out the plan of making it the official reflex of the American Federation of Labor, the most human organization that ever existed. It is not a mere claim but a just tribute to say the trade unions are the only organizations on earth that have for their true mission the betterment of the economic condition of all the people and for human advancement and happiness.

Those who will read the book carefully on any question will not wonder at the soundness of the trade union movement. Those who would divert it into channels leading to the nameless grave in which so many other labor movements lie will find thoughts to show them their folly.

It must not be forgotten that the material furnished by the labor movement of the country in the more than a third of a century is sufficient to make a hundred thousand volumes like the present. The trade unions owe a duty to the burden-bearers of the coming years to leave more than an incomplete encyclopedia of what has been done. Their histories should be written, for no one ever has come forward with even a suggestion of a plan for human advancement that can take the place of trade union activity.

Interesting information for everybody also is published. Tables of weights and measures, perpetual calendars, statutes of different states and a thousand and one other subjects that all together go to make up the most complete labor history in existence. And the great idea is that it is the American Federation of Labor speaking in its own language to the reader.

WILLIAM C. ROBERTS,
Compiler.

HISTORICAL

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR represents the first labor movement of any country to organize on fundamental principles whose power for obtaining results has proved effective and enduring. Although a voluntary association of wage earners of many callings and of many minds, it has united them into a solidarity of purpose that has astounded the people of the civilized world. Its more than 3,000,000 members are a force to be considered in all affairs for the weal of the nation. Its propaganda has been for all that is best in life. Its accomplishments have benefitted all the people, for the trade union movement is as wide and deep as human life.

Organized thirty-eight years ago by an insignificant number of eager, enthusiastic and hopeful men, it has grown to be a most powerful medium to bring forth all that is good in life. It abhors, detests, loathes all shams and pretenders. It unceasingly encourages with all its power and influence individuals and organizations that seek greater opportunity for a higher standard of life. The object for which it is aggressively and courageously striving is the continued economic advancement of Labor, to insure to each individual the right of self-development, independence and freedom of initiative. It is a human vehicle for the advancement of humanity.

Its greatest enemies are those who would take away the liberties of the people, the right to a voice in the affairs of men and the right to battle for a higher standard of manhood and womanhood. It hates with a bitter hatred slavery and serfdom. It glories in freedom, not only political but economic. It has maintained, and to preserve that right will fight, that the "laborer is worthy of his hire," that he has a right to economic progress in life, to support his family in comfort, to educate his children, to live his life in his own lawful way. In fact that he is a man and has a man's right to all that his energy, talent and union can secure for him.

Only one of the few anxious and hopeful men who attended the first convention has lived as an official to see the tender twig grow into a gigantic redwood tree. This did not come by leaps and bounds. It grew like a city or living language into an active, beneficial and permanent movement that can withstand any force that may seek its destruction. Its enemies are fast disappearing. In fact today there is no other organization in the United States aside from the army and navy that has proved to be as loyal to the core. Its members hold country above all, and they are not only willing to offer, and did offer, the supreme sacrifice, for political democracy, but are just as earnest in their demand for industrial democracy. And this they will have *no matter what the cost.*

The present wonderful condition of the organization was brought about by trade union activity, not through a partisan political labor party. The promoters of the Federation knew what had occurred to many other labor organizations. They knew that each and every national organization of labor had been injured or wrecked on the treacherous reefs of partisan politics. The National Labor Union had a few years before, in 1872, nominated a candidate for President and then never met again. The Sovereigns of Industry, Junior Sons of '76, Industrial Brotherhood of the United States and many others had all partaken of the poison of partisan politics and ended by calling for the undertaker. A few years later the Knights of Labor wanted the A. F. of L. to join with it in supporting the populist candidate for President. The Federation refused to be inoculated with the deadly partisan political virus. The Knights of Labor gradually and silently disappeared, leaving no trace of its brief history, and now lies in an unmarked grave in the political no man's land, while the American Federation of Labor is moving on to

greater victories for human advancement. The first convention of the Federation therefore declared:

> "We believe the gaining of higher wages and a shorter workday to be the preliminary steps toward great and accompanying improvements in the condition of the working people."

That is the foundation stone of the American Federation of Labor. There have been people who jeered at this declaration. But they knew not what they did. For after more than a third of a century it still stands on that principle and proves its efficacy by pointing to the marvelous changes and advancement in the condition of the workers. Its influence has encouraged the organization of nearly 1,000,000 more, including the unaffiliated railroad brotherhoods and farm laborers. More than 4,000,000 organized workers are now battling for the uplift of humanity and they represent 20,000,000 men, women and children in our country. This is 20 per cent of the entire population.

It was this great band of patriotic men and women that stood behind the government in the Great War. It was the compelling force that stifled pacifism at the moment it was becoming most dangerous. It had been an organization for international peace. Time and again it had condemned wars and its whole influence was thrown in favor of adjusting all international disputes by arbitration. But the war came. It was a struggle to make the world safe for democracy, and when the President of the United States wanted to know what organized labor would do in the event of war, the official of every organization was called to meet in Washington and unanimously, in conjunction with the Executive Council, declared:

> "But despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service."

That pledge was kept, President Wilson and other executive officers of the government declaring that organized labor's aid made victory certain.

The American Federation of Labor has not only left the impress of its crusade for humanity on the people of the United States, but it has become a world force that has appealed to the best in all nations. Its missions to Europe during the war were regarded as most influential in driving into the hearts of the war-ridden people of France, Italy and Great Britain that there were no "quitters" in America. The slogan of these representatives of American Labor was that there could be "no peace without victory." A peace by agreement would be considered a defeat of the world war for freedom.

When the armistice was signed and the representatives of the various allied nations and the United States met in Paris to draw up peace terms, the French premier selected the president of the American Federation of Labor as a member of the International Labor Legislation Commission. And the commission selected him for its chairman. The present standing of the Federation as a world factor demonstrates the wisdom of its fundamental principles.

The A. F. of L. is the medium through which industrial democracy will be gained. For the men who offered the supreme sacrifice on the battlefield and those who fought in the trenches behind the lines for political liberty never will consent to be governed by industrial autocracy of any degree, form or nature. The Labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights.

Article I of the first constitution was constructed to keep out of the Federation political labor bodies that might try to force themselves into future conventions. It was not until 1890 that a political organization, the Socialist Labor

Party, sought to "jimmy" itself into the A. F. of L. It was overwhelmingly defeated, the convention declaring:

> "We affirm the trade union movement to be the legitimate channel through which wage-earners of America are seeking present amelioration and future emancipation. Its methods are well defined, its functions specialized, its work clearly mapped out. We further hold the trade unions of America comprising the A. F. of L. are committed against the introduction of matters pertaining to partisan politics, to the religion of men or their birthplace. While declining to admit representatives of the Socialist Labor Party as a political party, this convention declares itself tolerant of all phases of the reform movement and would bar no delegate as an individual because of his belief, whether radical or conservative."

The trade union movement, through the A. F. of L., from the first followed the principle that the economic, legislative and political activities of Labor should be controlled by it and the affiliated organizations. It is built on principles that have withstood all of the many changes in industry. It has justified the faith of those who founded it and devoted their lives to building it up. It has been the great power that has placed humanity above all else—it has forced humanity upon industry, into legislation, into social concepts and ideals. It has ever made protest against wrong, injustice, waste of human energy and life. It has been the greatest force for the uplift of the workers and all those that are weary and heavy laden. It has permeated their lives and made them freer, better, happier, more worth living.

The trade union movement has become the greatest factor in the lives of the masses of the American people because of its practical idealism. Those who have made the organization what it is have recognized that they were confronted with conditions rather than theories. They have recognized that in counseling those in need of more and better food, clothing, and the necessaries of life, they were dealing with the raw stuff of life, with human beings who live in the present and whose destinies depend upon present aid. Any organization that has in its keeping the welfare of human beings has assumed a tremendous responsibility. The welfare of the hosts of toilers is entrusted to the American trade union movement. Industrial managements sometimes are cruel and heartless in their self-interests; between the American working people and such cruelty and heartlessness there stands but one unfailing defense—the labor movement. This labor movement has laid hold of the hearts of men and women; it is to them a symbol of those things which are the best of life. It is a real living thing which the toilers love and cherish. And the soul of the movement is the hearts and lives of those who have built themselves into it, by sacrifice and toil. In 1910 it was declared:

> "Organized labor contends for the improvement of the standard of life, to uproot ignorance and foster education, to instill character and manhood and an independent spirit among our people, to bring about a recognition of the interdependence of the modern life of man and his fellow-man. It aims to establish a normal workday, take the children from the factory and the workshop and place them in the school, the home and the playground. In a word the unions of labor, recognizing the duty of toil, strive to educate their members, to make their homes more cheerful in every way, to contribute an earnest effort toward making life the better worth living, to avail their members of their rights as citizens and to bear the duties and responsibilities and perform the obligations they owe to our country and our fellow-men. Labor contends that in every effort to achieve its praiseworthy ends all honorable and lawful means are not only commendable but should receive the sympathetic support of every right-thinking progressive man."

In its legislative work the American labor movement has been more successful than that of any other country. In the early days, however, its demands for remedial legislation were coolly received by both federal and state legislators. In 1888 the convention contended Labor was in a slave-like condition. It declared the "capitalist and speculator held the master hand over Labor, which seemed to have no economic rights employers were bound to respect." Many sacrifices were

made in those days of the pioneer trade union. The officials of national and international unions received meager pittances for their work and the officers of the A. F. of L. served without any compensation. But they were trade unionists through and through whose very souls were given freely to the cause of Labor.

While the growing force of Labor was gradually changing this situation Congress continued slow in acting on bills whose purpose was to benefit humanity. Every year the A. F. of L. sought remedial legislation. The rebuffs were many. Only the persistence of the officers and their determination to succeed made it possible to secure any beneficial laws. This everlasting hammering away at Congress without satisfactory results became so aggravating that in 1906 the Executive Council called a meeting in Washington of 137 officers of national and international unions and reported the condition of things at the Capitol. The gathering was in a fighting mood and after careful consideration decided to launch a movement that would compel Congress to heed the voice of the oppressed and enact legislation for which they had appealed in the past but in the future would demand. A "Bill of Grievances" was drawn and presented to the President of the United States, president pro tem of the Senate and Speaker of the House. Back of the demand for the laws desired were the votes of the members of the A. F. of L and its affiliated organizations, who stood on this platform:

> "The American Labor Movement is not partisan to a political party; it is partisan to a principle, the principle of equal rights and freedom."

The incident created a furor in political circles, for the labor officials warned the President and legislators that Labor had knocked too long at their doors without an answer and thereafter they intended to fight for recognition in legislation. A strenuous battle was started against the legislative enemies of Labor and just as vigorous a campaign in favor of those who had proved its friends. The labor officials and members went into both parties to accomplish their purpose. This aroused the politicians, who feared this new way of organized voting. Many unsuccessful attempts to drift the labor movement away from its independent voting crusade were made by those who always had sought to keep Labor in subjection. They then aimed to make Labor impotent in politics by surreptitiously encouraging independent labor parties. But in this they failed. The campaign to elect friends and defeat enemies on the legislative field became so successful that within ten years every grievance except one was remedied by the enactment of laws. The one exception was forbidding the transportation of convict labor products in interstate commerce. Labor secured trial by jury in contempt cases and a new Magna Charta, a declaration in law that "labor is not a commodity or article of commerce." No other country on earth has such a principle in its laws, and in history it will be referred to as the turning point in the successful progress of labor toward complete economic liberty.

The A. F. of L. is the most democratic institution on earth. Its reputation for accomplishments is world wide. Being a voluntary organization, there must have been some powerful influence that has brought it to its present status of solidarity and discipline. In 1896 President Gompers pointed out the antagonism of certain men who sought to lead the labor movement into other channels, saying:

> "During the year our movement has been assailed with more bitterness from theoreticians than during any preceding year of the existence of the A. F. of L. Upon entering on my present term of office I issued an appeal to the different schools of thought connected with our movement, asking them in the name of all that appeals to our sense of justice to co-operate with us in our efforts to unite and bring relief and success to the mass of labor. I confess no disappointment that this proffer of peace and good will was spurned. In fact so intense was the malevolence toward the interests of labor displayed that a few of those whose whole connection with the movement has been that of destruction sought to inaugurate another movement to undermine and destroy the trade unions of the country and of the American Federation of Labor itself. In a number of instances local unions attached to nationals affiliated with us have been rent asunder and brother workmen have been organized into hostile camps to the destruction of their own interests and to the delight of the enemies of Labor. It seems to me the

time has come when men who will prostitute the noble purposes of our cause and in the garb of friendship seek to destroy the trade union movement or pervert it into channels by which its power becomes ineffective and its influence for good impotent should be pilloried as the enemies of Labor and held now and forever in the contempt they deserve."

While striving to improve the lot of the workers of this country, the A. F. of L. has held out a helping hand to those of other lands, for the mission of the trade unions is world wide and seeks to establish the brotherhood of man regardless of creed, color or nationality. The history of the trade union movement in all countries is the history of civilization and progress. It is not a passing fancy but is built on a foundation of principles impossible to wreck. It may be retarded, but it will come back again with renewed force. Wherever the trade union has existed in any time all the people have become more enlightened. It has at all times striven to eradicate wrong wherever found and to establish systems of social, industrial and governmental character that would give fair treatment to all members of the human family. Although often defeated in its aims and purposes, its members are never conquered; at times discouraged, they never are disheartened, but stand faithfully at their post of duty willing and anxious to battle for human rights.

No organization ever was formed that had fewer secession movements. These always met failure. For secession's greatest enemy is the silent treatment, ostracism. It has proved the undoing of all who strayed away from their fellow workers. In 1897-8 a campaign was launched to divide the labor movement on geographical lines. It failed because the underlying principles of the movement are so crushing in their operations when attacked that they cannot be violated with impunity. No individual can stand alone and fight the battles of life. He is voiceless. Neither can a labor organization cut loose from the general body and expect to succeed. It is the cohesion, the reciprocity between the trade unions that bring effective results.

Many important moves in the history of the Federation added to its influence and power. Its economic program broadened with the increasing obligations to its rapidly growing membership, but it would be difficult to single out any one particular action that resulted in the most good, the most stupendous gain. But a few can be mentioned, not in sequence as to the influence they had, but in the nature of a "round robin," as follows:

Agitation for the eight-hour day and Saturday half-holiday.
Declaring for partisanship to a principle, but not to any political party.
Establishing the American Federationist and Weekly News Letter.
Placing paid organizers in the field, and a legislative committee to secure federal legislation.
Labor Day, Labor Sunday, Labor Memorial Sunday, Mothers' Day.
Labor press.
High dues.
Child labor campaign.
Defense fund for directly affiliated local and federal labor unions.
Declaring against reductions in wages during industrial reaction.
Striking the shackels from the seamen.
Labor Bill of Grievances.
Attitude of Labor in peace and in war.
Organization of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.
Opposing compulsory arbitration.
Demanding and securing jury trials in contempt cases.
Labor forward movement.
Crusade against the white plague.
Introduction of the union label.
Agitation against sweatshops.
Abolition of tenement house labor.
Compulsory education campaign.
Pan-American labor movement.
Establishment of Department of Labor, the Secretary a member of the Cabinet.

Taken as a whole these agitations have had a tremendous influence on the organization. Cheered by every victory and forgetting the defeats, the A. F. of L., always optimistic and ready to grasp every opportunity for advancement, moved steadily forward over every obstacle. And there have been obstacles, some of which were great enough to dishearten any group of men other than those steeled in the school of Labor.

The agitation for the shorter workday is believed to have been one of the most important fundamentals in the many that have made the A. F. of L. so powerful. The preliminary steps for a universal demand for eight hours were taken in the 1884 convention, and May 1, 1886, was selected as the date for its inauguration. Each local union was asked to vote on the question, those favoring it to be bound by the strike order, and those voting in opposition to pledge themselves to sustain the other pioneers in the movement. Arrangements were made for conferences with employers who were willing to talk over the change in hours. Among the trades that voted to make the campaign were the Cigarmakers, Furniture Workers, German Printers and Carpenters. The Cigarmakers and German Printers succeeded and the Furniture Workers compromised on nine hours. The Carpenters established eight hours in seven cities and compromised on nine in eighty-four. The agitation was very popular in New York, Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington and Baltimore.

The Anarchists, members of the International Workingmen's Party, who had hitherto violently opposed the eight-hour movement and condemned it on every occasion, seized upon it as an instrument, it is believed, to further their propaganda, and the mildest of their agitators became prominent in their attendance at eight-hour meetings. The throwing of the bombs at the Haymarket meeting in Chicago on May 5, 1886, however, had a very depressing effect on the eight-hour movement.

Nevertheless, the eight-hour agitation reduced the working time of 200,000 employes in industries and the advantages gained were plainly apparent. Much hostility had been met from employers, although the reduction in hours was accompanied with a corresponding reduction in wages. Renewed efforts for a shorter workday were recommended. The rapidly increasing use of machinery caused much unemployment, and in 1887 it was declared "that so long as there is one man who seeks employment and cannot obtain it the hours of labor are too long."

May 1, 1890, was selected for another general strike for the eight-hour day. A most remarkable campaign followed which spread to Europe. In the entire history of Labor there never had been a question on which the thoughts of the people of the civilized world had been so thoroughly centered. In 1888 the combined forces and influences of the employing and speculative classes had so thoroughly awed the unorganized working people into submission, that every meeting night of labor organizations the question of a reduction in wages had to be met. Employers, without consulting their employes, simply posted notices reductions would take place and if they did not strike that was the end of it. Obnoxious rules were forced on the workers and they were compelled to sign ironclad contracts giving up their right to organize for self-protection. Labor was humiliated, browbeaten and scourged. But the spirit of Labor was not broken.

It was in these dark days that the proclamation was sent over the world that the eight-hour day would be enforced May 1, 1890. From that moment a change took place. Hope was instilled into the minds and hearts of the workers to supplant despair. To the rallying cry of eight hours the working people again stood erect and staunch in their manhood. The tide had changed. This appeal was answered with enthusiasm:

> "To all who love liberty and are loyal to the principles of free government; to all who look forward to an increased wealth more widely distributed; to all lovers of the human race everywhere; to union men and those not now under the banner of organized labor, we appeal in the name of justice and humanity, of increased wealth and diminished poverty, to concentrate their energies upon the single issue of reduction in the hours of labor."

The International Labor Congress in session in Paris in 1889, in sympathy with the labor movement of the United States, voted to hold simultaneous meetings in every city in Europe, May 1, 1890. This was followed by the selection of May 1 as the European Labor Day. Liebknecht and Bebel, the German delegates, voted against the proposition, saying they could not approve it as long as the Hohenzollerns ruled Germany. The Carpenters were selected to make the struggle. It was successful in 137 cities, benefiting 47,197 workmen. It was at this time the declaration was made that the establishment of the eight-hour day would not end the efforts of the working people for economic and social improvements and reforms.

By 1892 the eight-hour agitation had revolutionized Labor. From a defensive stand it had assumed the aggressive. It was found that no other demand could so thoroughly unite and concentrate the toilers with such unanimity of thought and action. During 1893 and 1894 Labor passed through the greatest industrial depression ever known in this country. It was the crucial test of organization. At least 6,000,000 were idle. This lamentable industrial condition was attributed to many causes. From the time industry began to emerge from the panic of 1872-79 there began the introduction of vastly improved machinery, tools and methods of production. The inventions in electricity, the general application of this force as well as steam to industry was displacing labor faster than new industries could be founded. As a result the great storehouses were glutted with the very articles required by the people who had not the means to buy them. Labor offered the only reasonable, practical and tangible solution to meet the changed conditions of industry—the shorter workday. Had less antagonism been met from employers and those who should have been friends of Labor, the panic of 1893 would have been less intense, if not averted.

In 1900 the agitation for the eight-hour day was still going on. It was then decided to secure the shorter workday for at least one trade each year. The philosophy, as well as the stern necessity for a reduction in the hours of labor, was declared to be underestimated and too little understood.

"There are some who believe, or pretend to believe," the convention maintained, "that a reduction in the hours of labor carries with it a curtailment of production. As a matter of fact every reduction in the hours of labor that has occurred has been followed by a vast increase in production. Increased leisure and opportunity for the workers have made them larger consumers and users of productive labor, giving to industry and commerce an impetus obtainable by no other means."

"It is untrue," said the convention in 1905, "that wealth production is diminished with the enforcement of an eight-hour day. In no instance where a fair test has been made do employers vary in their favorable attestation of its wisdom and economy. In the construction of the battleship Connecticut under the eight-hour plan and the battleship Louisiana on the ten-hour basis, the advantage was to the former. The establishment of the eight-hour day is not alone a substantial good in itself, but contains potential possibilities in future advances. Leisure is opportunity, opportunity is the gateway to a new world of thought and action. The new world is whither our union pilgrimage marches.

In 1905 the International Typographical Union began a general strike for eight hours, and it was successful. The watchword adopted was: "We propose to sell to the employers eight hours out of twenty-four and we will do as we please with the remaining sixteen." After the victory the slogan was changed to: "We are selling to the employers eight hours out of twenty-four and are doing as we please with the remaining sixteen." This principle was adopted by the A. F. of L.:

> "The history of the labor movement has demonstrated that reductions of the hours of labor can be secured with less difficulty than can increases in wages, while it also is true that increases in wages can be more readily obtained after the workday has been shortened."

Up to this time twenty-six trades were enjoying the eight-hour day in whole or part. In 1907 the convention declared:

> "We regard the reduction of the hours of labor as paramount to all other considerations, even to an increase in wages, except in such occupations

where the earnings are so meager as to make it difficult to maintain a fair standard of living. But in those trades where machinery is making such wonderful strides it is absolutely necessary that the hours of work should be shortened in order that the opportunity for employment be shared by all members."

Several attempts were made to change the eight-hour day policy of the A. F. of L. A small minority wanted to gain the shorter workday in private employment by legislation instead of by the economic power of labor. But the convention stood on this principle:

"The American Federation of Labor declares the question of the regulation of wages and hours of labor should be through trade union activity and not be made subject to laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals and employment by federal, state or municipal governments. The economic strength of the organization determines its bargaining power. It cannot be overestimated that the wage-earners must depend on their economic organizations for securing the shorter workday. One of Labor's greatest victories was the winning of industrial freedom through the repeal of those laws through which the workers' terms of employment had been largely determined by legislative and judicial authorities and the establishment of the privilege to organize on the industrial field and through their collective strength enforce their right to have a determining voice in their terms of employment."

While maintaining that the eight-hour day for workers in private employment should be secured through trade union activity, the A. F. of L. persistently demanded the shorter workday for government employes. Such a law was enacted in 1886, but never enforced. After the A. F. of L. was organized, it began an agitation for enforcement of the act. This met with more or less success, but was wholly dependent on the viewpoint of the federal official having the power to order it obeyed.

In 1892 Congress enacted an eight-hour law which went further than the 1868 act. The new measure extended the shorter workday to employes of contractors for government work. But the same opposition was met to its being enforced. It also was soon found that this law did not cover all the workers for which it was intended, as federal officials decided it did not apply to subcontractors. Then another campaign was begun to extend the law. Finally, in 1912 an act was secured that covered contractors and subcontractors. It was only by persistent demands this law was finally enforced.

When war came in 1917 the principle of the maximum workday had been indorsed by society and the United States Government. Owing to the emergencies created by the war, it was found that it would be impossible for the United States to supply our soldiers with munitions by working only eight hours. Congress then empowered the President to suspend the law when necessary, but provided that all overtime should be paid for at the rate of time and a half. This maintained the eight-hour principle while meeting an emergency. The penalizing of overtime prevented such work except where absolutely necessary.

While submitting without protest to the necessity for conditionally suspending the eight-hour law during the war, the convention in 1918 issued this warning:

"Organized labor must stand firmly and unalterably for a continuance of the shorter workday. It will not tolerate any attempt to increase the basic hours of labor."

It thus will be seen that the introduction of the eight-hour day had become a blessing to employers as well as employes. When first considered it was believed the shorter day would give more employment, that the displacing of workmen by machinery could be met only by dividing up the work so all would obtain sufficient upon which to live. But it was gradually learned that the eight-hour day was revolutionizing humanity itself; that with the increased hours for rest and education the productivity of the worker was increasing. This remarkable change became so pronounced that it did not appear to be a radical statement when President

Wilson declared the eight-hour day is sanctioned by society and is necessary to the well-being of the people.

Another remarkable fact has developed during the many years the eight-hour agitation has been in progress. Where laws have been enacted making eight hours a day's work they have not been enforced until the economic power of Labor has compelled their enforcement. In Colorado, for instance, the constitution provided for the eight-hour day in mines, but the great strike in that state of coal miners was to force its observance by the great corporations. Many lives were lost and women and children suffered starvation because the employers refused absolutely to recognize the law. It is this contempt for law by certain employers that propogates the I. W. W., Socialists and Bolsheviks. And were it not for the trade unions, whose whole existence have proved they are the best prepared to gain necessary remedial laws, our country would be like that of old Russia, driven into chaos by an autocracy in government and industry.

The growth of Labor has not been without its internal strife. The rapid changes in industry has made new trades and eliminated old. These have been the cause of bitter dispute over which should control the job. This led the 1900 convention to say:

> "In our constantly changing industrial system, where we find a different stage of development in each industrial center, any definite line laid down would either act as a straight jacket or would be disregarded."

No one had the knowledge or power to say where one trade ended and another began. So time was necessary for the problems to adjust themselves. Because of these jurisdictional disputes the Scranton convention in 1901 adopted its famous trade automony principle:

> "We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and subdivided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute and which should be adjusted within allied craft lines."

In 1911 it added:

> "Whatever argument or excuse there might have been in the past for the existence of two organizations of the one craft we now believe that such argument or excuse is absent. The time has arrived for the A. F. of L. to openly and emphatically declare itself to the effect that large as this country is it is not large enough to hold two organizations of one craft."

Efforts to provide a board of mediation and conciliation to give its entire time to adjusting questions of jurisdiction were defeated, the convention in 1914 deciding:

> "The plan is not in harmony with the spirit which has characterized all of the work of the A. F. of L. and assured its success and continued usefulness. That spirit upon which so much depends is the absolute absence of any element of compulsion. The plans, policies and decisions, as adopted and followed, are voluntarily indorsed by those whom it may affect. There is a spontaneity and a flexibility about the trade union movement that enables it to adapt itself to every changing condition, every new development, and to serve the best interests of the wage earners. It is so flexible and adjustable that it is a part of their lives and changes as their daily needs change."

Notwithstanding the many great battles fought on the economic field by the A. F. of L., it grows stronger and more forceful as the years sweep by. The weak and poorly financed trade unions have grown into powerful organizations both financially and economically. They grew "not by leaps and bounds in the dark, but by steps in the light to reach the march of liberty, fraternity and equality." The 1882 convention said that "no well defined, systematic and scientific basis of organization prevails. Each trade is groping blindly after results, with more or less defective machinery and imperfect perception of methods and issues. With

a few notable exceptions our unions have yet to withstand a period of storm and stress. Low dues, partial organization and neglect of business principles have proved insurmountable obstacles to full success."

Agitation for high dues was unceasing. These came gradually until today there are few unions that have not learned the lesson of preparedness. During the intense industrial depression of 1893 the unions having a system of high dues and beneficial features maintained their ranks unbroken. They also were prepared to take advantage of the first sign of an industrial revival. And the greatest success attends high dues when inaugurated in "dull times." Nearly all the secession movements have originated in national and international unions with a cheap per capita tax. High dues, weekly strike benefits, out-of-work benefits, sick benefits and old age pensions will hold members in good standing no matter how distressing may be their conditions.

While conscious of the fact the strike is industrial war, whose precipitation is to be avoided if possible and whose consequences are often lamentable, the A. F. of L. in 1884 declared it was not convinced it was not a necessity as affording the only alternative against outrageous injustice and intolerable oppression. It contended the strike, when based on justice, conducted with discretion and used as a last resort, is a perfectly legitimate weapon whose force is moral as well as physical, and whose results are often more beneficial than its apparent ending would indicate. Strikes are bad no doubt, but only are they so when failures, but not so bad when successful. Therefore to know when to strike, and more especially when not to, are the questions of greatest import.

As the trade unions grew in strength by the establishment of high dues strikes became less numerous than in the years when organization was in progress. Having the means of self-defense there were fewer strikes in proportion as the means of resistance increased. This advancement was substantial. There was no going backward, the convention saying in 1901:

> "From the inception of our Federation in 1881, through these years of work, pain, travail and anguish, fluctuations of dullness and activity, we have steadily marched onward and forward along the path of evolutionary progress. We have witnessed the ebbing away of the great nineteenth, and the ushering in of the marvellous twentieth century. And in the first year of that great era we present to the world of workers and thinkers the broadest, most comprehensive federalization of the workers the world has ever seen, where unity, liberty, solidarity, and independence are strangely and successfully entwined. In our Federation are coined and expressed the griefs, the wails, the hopes, the yearnings of the masses, as well as are evolved the methods and the efforts to assuage the former and to accomplish the latter."

The labor movement of Canada is part of the A. F. of L. The latter for many years has conducted an organizing campaign in that country, and although attempts have been made by employers to divide the workers they have failed. In 1902 the Canadian Trade and Labor Congress inserted a clean-cut declaration in its constitution in favor of unity and fraternity with the A. F. of L. It declared unequivocally for international trade unionism. The Congress was conceded the right to speak and act for organized labor in all political and legislative matters in the Dominion of Canada. Funds were appropriated to aid in securing remedial legislation from the Dominion Parliament and remarkable progress was made in shortening the workday and increasing wages. Complete harmony exists between the trade unions of that country and the A. F. of L. and it is believed the "separatists" have been made permanently impotent.

Compulsory arbitration is relentlessly opposed by the A. F. of L. In 1904 it declared:

> "Disputes between workers and employers may be generally adjusted by arbitration, but if they are, it will come only when the workers are better organized, when their power and their rights have received greater recognition. The first step must be organization, the second conciliation, the next possible, arbitration, but compulsory arbitration—never."

This position is vigorously maintained by the Federation and every bill in Congress or the State Legislatures that contains a hint of compulsion in adjusting labor disputes is vigorously fought. During the agitation of the railroad brotherhoods for an eight-hour-day it was sought to tie them up from future campaigns for better conditions in a law similar to the Lemeux Act of Canada. But it was defeated through the efforts of the executive officers of the Brotherhoods and the A. F. of L. The position of Labor is:

> "Any board of arbitration with power to enforce its award upon individuals ceases to be a board of arbitration and assumes all the functions of an industrial court; as such it is a revival of the English quarter sessions, a reintroduction of serfdom and fundamentally opposed to the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States."

The organization of women is considered of the utmost importance. In 1882 the convention pledged its support, saying:

> "This Federation extends to all women's labor organizations representation in the future annual conventions on an equal footing with trade organizations of men."

In 1894 the convention maintained:

> "Women should be organized into trade unions to the end that they may scientifically and permanently abolish the terrible evils accompanying their weakened, unorganized state; and we demand they receive equal compensation with men for equal service performed."

In 1890 the A. F. of L. urged an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting enfranchisement to all citizens regardless of sex. It stood on this principle:

> "The best interest of Labor require the admission of women to full citizenship as a matter of justice and as a necessary step toward insuring and raising the scale of wages for all."

In 1917 the A. F. of L. said:

> "The splendid services of the women of all the warring nations since the outbreak of the world war has fully demonstrated woman's capacity to take a full share in the responsibilities and duties of citizenship. We therefore reiterate our demand that Congress submit an equal suffrage amendment to the States."

Through its efforts a joint resolution passed the House.

One of the most powerful weapons of the A. F. of L. is the American Federationist. Publicity always has been regarded a necessity, but it was not until 1894 that the publication was launched with the president as editor. Its purpose is to further the interests of the workers, to advocate and defend the trade union movement, to instill hope and courage into the working people that they may have it in their power to bring about changes in our economic, social and political life whenever they are determined to register their will. Since its first issue it has contained no statement that has been successfully refuted. It is regarded by students of the labor movement and of economic and social progress as a safe advisor, and practical exponent of the cause of Labor. It is a fearless critic of shams and pretenders, the champion of all that is true, right and just, and a chronicle of all facts in the struggle for right. In 1915 the convention contended it had been a "tribune that has stood for human rights and freedom," and has insisted that every other consideration must be subordinated to these. The influence of the magazine on the labor press, as well as the general press of the country, has been true and helpful in all things true to trade unionism.

Agitation for a weekly official publication began in 1908. The Executive Council was directed to consider the question and in 1911 the first issue of the Weekly News Letter was printed. This also has proved a powerful feature of Labor's publicity campaign. It was sent to all labor papers and the republications from the first issue were approximately 400 columns distributed among labor,

reform and other publications receiving the service. The News Letter developed into a valuable method of disseminating news. Labor papers are hampered because they serve a cause that has little money, and consequently they lack funds for gathering news. In 1915 the convention voted the "American newspaper is becoming almost indispensable to our institutions. What is true of the general newspapers is equally true of the Weekly News Letter. The American Federationist is an aid to the editorial departments of the labor press and the News Letter is an invaluable source of information for the news columns."

Experiences gained in previous panics found the A. F. of L. prepared when it held its session in 1903 to meet the depression that was bearing down on the country. It was charged by Labor in 1893 that if the eight-hour day had been granted, thus making more consumers of the rapidly increasing production caused by the introduction of machinery, which was displacing labor, there would have been no panic. It was this belief of the labor movement that any reduction in wages would hasten a panic that brought forth this defiant edict in 1903:

> "We are better organized and better prepared to resist encroachments on our conditions than ever before; and if perchance some of our efforts may be lost it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all; for to complacently accept a reduction in wages is simply to invite its repetition while it enfeebles our ability to resist further efforts in the same direction. We urge as a way out that wages be maintained, even if necessary to resist reductions; that as a substitute for discharges of workmen the work to be performed be divided, thus not only helping to bear each others' burdens but to more quickly restore activity in industry, trade and commerce."

Immediately after the great war ended the Executive Council, in its session at Laredo, Texas, in 1918, sent forth a similar warning to the employers of the United States. Vigorous words were used in declaring there should be no reduction in wages.

The international labor relations of the A. F. of L. have been exceedingly cordial. During the first convention a cablegram of friendly greeting was sent the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress. In 1884 fourteen French workmen, sent to America by the city of Paris, opened a correspondence after they returned home which has continued unbroken. In 1886 the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee congratulated the A. F. of L. on its determination to keep trade unionism on its old foundation instead of "mixing it up with other movements." This he considered solid, sober and practical. In 1894 John Burns and David Holmes came to the United States as the first Fraternal Delegates from the British Trade Union Congress to the A. F. of L. The next year Samuel Gompers and P. J. McGuire were sent to England. Until the opening of the Great War the yearly exchange of two fraternal delegates continued unbroken.

Through its friendly labor relations the A. F. of L. persistently advocated peace between all nations; that where differences arose they should be adjusted by international arbitration. The A. F. of L. insisted, however, it would not recognize any movement not based on trade unionism and in 1905 it refused to send delegates to an international association of socialists, as it would be as consistent to recognize that party as it would be the Republican or Democratic. A delegate was sent to the International Secretariat in 1909. The A. F. of L. delegate was instructed to urge the formation of an International Federation of Labor with the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country guaranteed. An attempt was made at the Secretariat to discredit the A. F. of L., the I. W. W. having sent an emissary to Budapest to "represent the Workers of America." The effort failed and the International Secretariat notified the A. F. of L. the subject would be considered in 1911. At that convention the I. W. W. was repudiated. The proposal to change the name was submitted to the various centers. In 1913 the title was changed from "International Secretariat" to the "International Federation of Trade Unions."

As a result of the war the organization failed to meet again although an attempt was made to call a session in Switzerland and later in Amsterdam. Then

the American Federation of Labor sought to take the headquarters of the organization out of Germany and locate it in some neutral country. As the war had cut asunder many of the ties that bound nation to nation, it made impossible the fraternal relations existing between the national labor movements of the belligerent countries. The president of the International Federation announced that because of the conditions the regular work of the organization would be discontinued and the funds used only for the purpose of its maintenance and not for the purpose of propaganda. In 1915 the A. F. of L. declared:

> "Because the maintenance of the trade union movement of our country or all civilized countries and of the International Federation of Trade Unions is of paramount importance so far as the economic conditions of the workers is concerned, at all times under all conditions, the stability of our movement here or elsewhere should not be subject to the disturbing influences and possible destruction by any cataclysm, be it a fire, flood, war or pestilence. In times of great stress there is more and greater need of workable machinery and unhampered officers to safeguard and protect our movement and the best interests of the members thereof."

The A. F. of L. delegate to the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1911 was instructed to advance these principles:

> "We do not favor anti-patriotism or anti-militarism, or the general strike as proposed by the Confederation Generale du Travail of France. We favor the prevention of the exportation of strike breakers from one country to another; legislation in the several countries more uniform in character governing the hours of labor of women and men in dangerous trades and for abolition of the labor of children under 14 in any gainful occupation."

A world labor congress to be held in this country was arranged for in the 1914 convention, but the war prevented its being carried out. In 1918 it again was voted to encourage an international trade union movement.

By the use of injunctions and court decisions the opposition to trade unions expected to defeat their activities. The decision of a Pennsylvania judge in 1891 that "inasmuch as the wage workers do not own the product they make they cannot have a label certifying the character of labor employed in its production," caused a furor in union circles. This was considered a terrific blow to the union label. Another judge, the convention declared in 1892, called unions "tyrannies," while he contended the acts of the Carnegie corporation in making war on the State was justifiable. This probably influenced a labor official in welcoming the convention to refer to the Homestead massacre by making this prophecy:

> "It is said the 'blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.' It is possible that through the blood of the men who died on the Monongahela may come a realization of the true condition of affairs, and that the legislation of the future will be in favor of the masses rather than for the aggrandizement of the few."

The true status of labor conditions in Pennsylvania was the comparative lack of organization, and wage earners had been owing allegiance to political parties first and to themselves as a class last.

"If the organized workmen were to hold in check the political powers of the state and make their rule 'workers first, party last,'" said President Gompers in reply, "then the legislature would make laws and judges construe them in the interest of the workingmen." In those days Labor believed the policy of the courts and government officials was to make all strikes, and especially those on railroads, an offense against the laws. One judge convicted and sent to prison an engineer who had quit work after being ordered by an injunction not to strike. Another judge went even further in denying the right to strike for fairer conditions. The convention said:

> "These decisions, though based upon the common carrier, indicates a reckless disregard for the spirit and intent of the American Constitution, and are undoubtedly an invasion of the laborer's right to effectually protest

against irksome conditions, while they in no wise protect him against discharge for any whimsical reason advanced by the corporation."

The Federation demanded:

"That the common law practice shall apply to wage earners as well as to all others; that no injunction shall be issued where there is another remedy provided by law. If through the use of the equity power vested in courts our rights as workers to quit at will and to induce others to quit with us can be taken away, then the peaceable evolution toward industrial democracy is cut off and the workers will be compelled to look to more revolutionary measures for redress of grievances."

From that time on efforts were made to secure laws to prevent the interference of courts in strikes where no destruction of property or loss of life had been caused by strikers. Demands were made that the Constitution be amended depriving judges of the power to set aside laws enacted by Congress, "as we believe the proper function of the courts is to expound and administer the law, not to make it." In 1897 the convention called attention to the extraordinary use made of the writ of injunction. When used to prevent free speech, said the convention, or public assemblage to discuss grievances, be they political or industrial, and to compel men to continue to work for private employers against their will they amount to judicial usurpation. They are a flagrant infringement of the rights of the citizen, wholly un-American and destructive of popular government. The fear often expressed in conventions that the Sherman Anti-Trust law would be used against Labor soon materialized. While originally believed to be a law to curb combinations of capital, and Labor had been assured it did not affect the workers or farmers, it was being used to strike a cunningly devised blow at the trade unions. After that every bill ostensibly to control the corporations was scanned carefully to see what "joker" had been included that would interfere with the orderly progress of the labor movement.

In 1900 the A. F. of L. contended that no act in furtherance of any trade dispute not punishable when committed by one person should be considered a crime where two or more committed the same act. In 1900 the convention warned the membership to be fearful of all attempts to enact laws which might affect Labor, saying:

"In judicial injunctions there are a great warning and a lesson to the workers of the country. Some years ago a Federal Congress enacted a law for the incorporation of trade unions. Beyond question the advocates of the bill really believed they were doing the organized workers a real service; but at the time and since we have repeatedly warned our fellow unionists to refrain from seeking the so-called protection of that law which justified the suspicion the courts would, in time, declare our unions liable to be mulcted in damages and their funds confiscated—a repetition of the robbery of the guilds a few centuries ago. It is the same species of legislation as the enactment of a law to regulate interstate commerce and the alleged Anti-Trust law."

Organized labor seeks no immunity from the law for violations committed by any of its members. But it insists that that which is lawful when done by one member shall not be regarded as unlawful when done by wage earners either as individuals or in association. Nevertheless, the issuance of the injunction in labor disputes became more and more general. Its value to the employer and danger to the workmen had become better understood. It was the effort to retain through judicial decisions and orders the power over the working people which had been legislatively surrendered. It appeared to have with it as its governing cause the concept that the ownership of a mine, factory or means of transportation carried with it the ownership of so much of the labor power of the wage-earners as would make them profitable to their owner.

In injunction cases the burden of proof is shifted from the prosecution to the defense. It is not necessary to prove the defendant's guilt. He must prove his innocence. And yet the acts he is charged with committing may not be a violation

of the law but enjoined by a court's injunction. In 1908 the convention contended:

> "Whenever the courts issue an injunction which undertakes to regulate our personal relations either with our employer or those from whom we may or may not purchase commodities, such courts are trespassing upon relations which are personal relations with which equity power has no concern; that these injunctions are destructive of our rights as citizens as well as of popular government, and we, therefore declare we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution and laws of our country, and insist it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards, and we recommend that such be our action, taking whatever results may come. We further declare that when cited to show cause why such injunctions should not be issued we should make no defense that would entail any considerable cost; and when cited for contempt the proper policy is as above. We further warn our fellow unionists that testimony extorted under equity process may be partially used in a damage suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust law."

In 1916 the convention renewed this advice, adding: "Any injunction based upon the dictum that 'labor is property' should be wholly and absolutely treated as an usurpation and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may." In 1907 Judge Dayton, of West Virginia, issued an injunction restraining the union miners from even asking employees of the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company to organize. An appeal was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals and the decision was reversed. The Supreme Court refused to sustain the Court of Appeals and the defendants were cited to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt. Later the case was withdrawn.

The greatest legislative victory secured by Labor during the year 1914 was the enactment of the labor sections of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. It secured to the workers of America those fundamental principles of industrial liberty included in the chief features of the "Bill of Grievances" and the objectives of the political policy the American Federation of Labor inaugurated in 1906. It grants the right to strike, to picket and to urge others to refuse to work for or patronize or to employ any party to such dispute. Any one cited for violating an injunction in a contempt case can demand a jury trial. President Wilson said of the act a few days after he had signed it:

> "Incidentally, justice has been done the laborer. His labor is no longer to be treated as if it were merely an inanimate object of commerce disconnected from the fortunes and happiness of a living human being to be dealt with as an object of sale and barter. But that, great as it is, is hardly more than the natural and inevitable corrollary of a law whose object is individual freedom and initiative as against any kind of private domination."

The Federation always has declared children should be educated and has demanded compulsory education laws and the teaching of the science of government in the public schools. The policy of taking children out of orphan asylums and transporting them to other states to work in mines and workshops was condemned as detrimental to their moral and physical well being. In 1903 the convention declared:

> "We can be engaged in no more praiseworthy work than to save the children, to protect their lives from the exploitation of avaricious employers, to gain for them not only the right to live, but the right and opportunity of education, of light and sunshine, and of play that they may grow physically and mentally and expand morally."

Compulsory education was advocated at the first convention. This principle was advanced:

> "We recognize education of the people is the fundamental principle on which the success of every proposed plan of social reform depends. Therefore we favor legislatures enacting laws compelling parents to send their children to school."

Up to the present time the Federation has carefully inspected every move made in the progress of education. It soon observed the danger from political influence to which the teachers were subjected and demanded its abolition. It demanded proper compensation for teachers and the right to organize in the trade unions. Much attention has been given to industrial education. It was maintained it was necessary and inevitable for the progress of an industrial people, and that technical schools should be established to give supplemental education to those who have entered trades as apprentices. A model law was indorsed by the Federation in 1918 for compulsory part-time schooling for children who in the school age are thinking of entering some employment. Model laws for state and local boards of education were also adopted.

Demands for child labor laws were persistently made. In 1881 the Federation favored enactment of laws in the various states forbidding the employment of children under fourteen years of age. It was argued that there was "no greater crime under the heavens than the employment of children in factories; that children are driven to work by brutal fathers, and that boys were training for criminals and girls for the streets. Little children six and seven years old were reported having been seen in the middle of a room in a squalid tenement house in New York City stripping tobacco and toiling from dawn until late into the night. The influence of the A. F. of L. destroyed this pernicious tenement system, the tenement house law of New York being the result. This was obtained after many delays and intrigues. At one time a bill having passed the Senate at Albany was stolen somewhere on its journey to the House.

Through the continuous and persistent agitation of the A. F. of L. a federal child labor law was enacted in 1916 which prohibited the transportation of articles made by children under fourteen years of age "along the highways of interstate commerce." Children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen were not permitted to work more than eight hours a day, six days a week, or between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. It was understood to include shipments by water. In June, 1918, the law was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The next question to decide upon was a method to eliminate child labor that would meet the objections of the Supreme Court. The Executive Council decided there were two ways to bring about the desired result, either an amendment to the U. S. Constitution, which might take years, or by an internal revenue tax to be secured as soon as possible. The Legislative Committee immediately proceeded to gain the end desired by having similar provisions to those of the act which had been declared unconstitutional made a part of the war revenue bill, which became a law. It goes further, however. It provides a tax of 10 per cent on the net profits of all establishments employing child labor no matter where the products are sold. It is believed the tax will tend to abolish the evil, as an employer cannot pay the tax and prosper in business. The revenue law, however, expires in two years. In the meantime it is hoped an amendment to the Constitution can be secured.

Despicable plots to destroy the reputations of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the object being to discredit the organization, have been frequent though unsuccessful. The great wave of trade union organization in the early years of the twentieth century alarmed the employers and they also united in an attempt to hamper the journey of Labor toward independence. These employers' organizations were formed on the same plan as the Federation. They had their local organizations, which were affiliated with national associations. A bitter war of denunciation was opened on the working people who had had the temerity to unite in their efforts to secure a proper standard of living for themselves and families. The employers, who were guided by professional attorneys and labor baiters, whose salaries depended on the troubles they could originate and keep alive, endeavored through intrigues and the courts to undermine the trade union movement with a view to its eventual destruction. The struggle was fast and furious for a few years, culminating in 1907 in a plot to discredit the president and through him the entire labor movement. The trap set for President Gompers

was cunningly laid but failed. The employers had overlooked the most essential feature. While they had been obsessed with the idea that every man has his price, they had neglected to gain that knowledge of Labor necessary for the carrying out of such a claim. They thought that because some public men were willing to sell their own souls for gold, that workingmen, and especially their leaders, were made of the same kind of clay. With this belief they concocted a scheme to induce President Gompers to withdraw from the labor movement. He was not pliable enough for the employers or the politicians. They wanted a man at the head of the American Federation of Labor who would answer to them, who would gradually change the organization into an employers' auxiliary and relieve the latter of any further anxiety as to the welfare of their employees. It was to be made a "good union." A "good union" is one that is contented with present conditions and feels so kindly toward the employer it refuses to hurt his feelings by asking for more concessions. To bring this about they hired a man to try to bribe President Gompers. They wanted him to sign a "confession" supposed to have been made years before when he, in imagination, was lying on what he thought was his death bed. The "confession" had been prepared by the emissary of the National Manufacturers' Association. Here are a few lines of it:

> "For I have struggled with the humblest on a plane of equality and I have walked and talked with the mighty ones of earth and have lent them my power. The poor cigarmaker's apprentice has lived to become the master of a million minds and lived a little longer to be what he is today, not even a master of himself. There is nothing of the whine in this. Emptied, broken as I am, I have nothing to ask. Nothing I might achieve would matter; in a little while, and this what I write is little more than my retrospective thoughts expressed through the medium of my pen. Wisdom is cumulative, and out of my abundance I might endow posterity. Vengeance by the law of compensation overreaches the grave, and I might undo more men a score of times than will regret my passing. Justice is exquisitely elusive and I might with a truth told here and there palliate many a grave miscarriage. But why? Why should I, having driven on to my own aims, leave my now disabled chariot to retrace the hippodrome? * * * Stripped of the sophistry that served as a mental lubricant when in activity I stand at halt contemplating my own ego. I see lust of power that has triumphed again and again."

There the proposed "confession" ended with a snap. The conspiracy to cast odium on the American Federation of Labor through its chief officer burst like a toy balloon. The hot glare of publicity melted it instantly. The conspirators, uncovered, exposed, disgraced even in the eyes of their contemporaries, were driven into obscurity and have not been heard from since. The entire conspiracy was recounted to the 1907 convention and the delegates unanimously indorsed the honesty, integrity and unfaltering courage of President Gompers and everything he had done to combat the mercenary aims of the manufacturers. To the National Manufacturers' Association this defy was sent:

> "We accept any challenge the association may send. We will continue to organize and educate the American wage earners, fully protecting their rights and securing for them economic conditions long denied by the type of manufacturers and employers represented by the National Manufacturers' Association."

The same influences behind the attempt to bribe President Gompers into a melodramatic "confession" conducted a great court battle against the A. F. of L. A boycott had been declared against the Buck's Stove and Range Company of St. Louis. This company had had trouble with its employees since 1890. It had denied them the right to organize, to ask for fairer conditions of employment. A suit was filed against the officers of the Federation on the charge they had refused to abide by an injunction restraining them from boycotting the products of the company. President Samuel Gompers, Secretary Frank Morrison and Vice President

John Mitchell were found guilty of contempt of court and sentenced to one year, six months and nine months, respectively. The court battles were many, but in 1914 the sentences were wiped out by the Supreme Court and the case ended. At the same time the trial judge, Daniel Thew Wright, was forced to resign. The convention made this comment:

> "The case served well a purpose which was hardly in the mind of the prosecuting judge at the time he began his ferocious and unmitigated onslaught against Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. He served to call the attention of the public to certain abuses in a way more emphatic and more convincing than ever had been attained, and the result of this discussion certainly has been advantageous to the labor organizations of America and of the world; and now, we find neither of our officers were called upon to serve one day in jail as the result of the desire for vengeance on the part of this judicial tyrant, but on the contrary they stand before their fellow men vindicated in their course, while the judge himself stands before his fellow men disgraced and on the way to that oblivion from which his only possible escape will be that he may be remembered as the man who tried, but failed, to put three labor leaders in jail."

And what of the participants in this famous court proceedings in the year 1919. Samuel Gompers is a world character, respected and honored for his probity and unselfish devotion to the cause of Labor. John Mitchell is an honored official of the great state of New York, where he has been persistent in the continuance of his activities in the interest of human protection and advancement. Frank Morrison is secretary of the greatest labor movement in the world, whose views are respected by members of Congress as well as the executive officials of the government.

But what of Daniel Thew Wright? His last appearance in public was in a Washington police court as the attorney for a "bookmaker" on horse races who had been arrested on a charge of keeping a gambling house, otherwise conducting a "confidence game." From a seat on the Federal bench to the defender of the lowest grade of gambler is a long step. But it is not surprising when it is said there is no distinction between his persecution of the labor officials and the defense of a "bookmaker." It is simply a case of an offender of justice finding his natural level.

The 1881 convention declared prison contract labor was a species of slavery in its worst form, as "it pauperizes free labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer and degrades the very criminal whom it employs." An agitation for its abolishment was launched and has made important progress. Convict contract labor competition has been eliminated from many state penal institutions. The most successful change has been where the convicts manufacture exclusively for state institutions. The principle adopted by the A. F. of L. was to place the inmates of prisons at work that would not interfere with free labor. In 1891 it was proposed to prevent the importation of prison made goods from one state to another and legislation was urged to that end. Prison labor in some states was being used to supplant coal miners. Broommakers were great sufferers, but with the aid of the A. F. of L. they have succeeded in abolishing the latter occupation in many institutions. In 1906 the convention declared:

> "We recognize the economic wisdom and the humane purpose in finding employment for those confined in our penal institutions, but we protest against the labor of society's derelicts and unfortunates being made a source of profit for the state or its contractors to the detriment of the citizens of the state and people generally. We particularly protest against that policy being pursued by one or more states for their own profit or the profit of contractors by dumping the products of prison labor on the markets of other states in which the people have either partially or wholly solved that problem for themselves."

Leasing of convicts was emphatically condemned. Congress was accused of cowardice in its treatment of the evil. In 1909 the convention said:

> "The average congressman either does not know or he does not care, or

he does not dare. Give us men who know, who do care and who will dare, and labor legislation will then come as a natural sequence."

In 1910 the contract system of prison labor was declared to be "inhuman, dishonest and stupid." The claim made that the work of the convicts was to procure revenue to reimburse the state for the expense of caring for them and to permit them to earn something for themselves was condemned as ridiculous. The convention maintained:

> "The largest part of the profit from the labor of convicts under the contract system does not go to the state. The convict receives none of it. It goes to the contractor, who has no interest whatever in the welfare of the convict or the interests of the state other than to add to his own swollen profits from the misfortune of the criminal. Consequently no reformation results. The prisoners are not deceived, they know they are robbed. They become hardened and learn to hate society for the crime society permits to be practiced on them in the name of—law."

In 1911 a proposed federal bill requiring convict-made goods to conform to the laws of the state into which they are shipped was indorsed. An investigation of cruelty in an Iowa prison by a state commission corroborated charges made by the A. F. of L., for it reported:

> "The system of private exploitation by contractors of the convicts is the main cause of the cruelty reported and of the absolute failure of the institution as a reformatory."

The commission found the contractors had controlled the Iowa prison for their own profit. In the 1918 convention this solution was advanced unanimously:

> "Convict labor should be employed only by the state and for state use only. Departure from this principle would be dangerous to the public welfare as well as to the convicts, whose confinement is primarily for reformatory purposes. We are of the opinion, however, that such labor should be performed under conditions tending to assist in the convicts' reformation."

The Federation also insists the prisoners should not be employed more than eight hours a day, and that all machinery be eliminated and the work done by hand.

As early as 1905 the officers of the Federation began a systematic investigation of conditions with a view of uniting the workingmen of the various countries in the Western Hemisphere. In 1915 the necessity for such an organization became more pronounced. It was realized that closer political, industrial and commercial relations should exist. Congress had authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to call a Pan-American Conference to consider better relations and the development of the natural resources of all the countries. Chiefs of industry, commerce and finance were present but Labor was not represented. In fact some representatives of what are recognized now as world powers said they knew nothing of industrial relations with employes and furthermore considered them irrelevant.

The convention directed the Executive Council to call a conference in Washington of representatives of labor from Mexico, Central and South America to consider the economic problems confronting the various labor people because of the conference of bankers, financiers and manufacturers from the same countries. The first Pan-American Labor Conference was held in 1917. A permanent organization was formed and named the Pan-American Federation of Labor Committee. A manifesto in Spanish was immediately sent to the various countries. Labor representatives from Mexico, Chili and Yucatan visited the United States, and in November, 1918, another conference was held at Laredo, Texas. The result has been for a better understanding of our common economic, political and social interest that will make for closer unity of action. The organization will be the means of creating a higher sentiment for fraternity and good will and will be the forerunner of closer community of feeling in labor and business relations between those countries and the United States.

Evidence of the value of this friendly intercourse with the labor movements of Spanish speaking neighboring countries was demonstrated during the agitation

to bring war between this country and Mexico. In 1912 the Federation declared with emphasis:

> "We are utterly opposed to intervention in Mexico and believe in a determined policy of hands off."

The struggle in Mexico was against peonage and land tenure. The Federation extended the best wishes of the American labor movement to the men of Mexico in their efforts to abolish these age-long wrongs by striking the shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women. In 1916, when war between the United States and Mexico appeared certain, the labor movements of the two countries were again instrumental in throwing light upon the influences and the agencies that were trying to create war sentiment.

While war propaganda was at its height representatives of Mexican labor were invited to meet the Executive Council of the Federation in Washington. Relations between the two governments had become acute. Our government had demanded the immediate release of American soldiers. No response had been received. At this critical stage President Gompers telegraphed President Carranza:

> "In the name of common justice and humanity, in the interest of a better understanding between the peoples of the governments of the United States and Mexico, for the purpose of giving opportunity to maintain peace and avoid the horrors of war, upon the grounds of highest patriotism and love, I appeal to you to release the American soldiers held by your officers in Chihuahua."

Next day President Gompers received this reply from President Carranza:

> "In replying to your message dated yesterday I would state that the government in my charge has ordered the liberty of the American soldiers whom the Mexican forces took as prisoners in Carriza."

The Mexican Constitution adopted in 1917 contains a provision recognizing the legality of the right to strike. The influence of the Federation has brought about a more friendly understanding between the peoples of the two countries and this will frustrate the activities of powerful vested interests to incite war.

The Sherman Anti-Trust law was designed, and so accepted by the people, to prevent monopoly. Every member of Congress claimed it did not apply in any manner to labor organizations, but all efforts to amend the bill to eliminate them from its provisions were unsuccessful. It was not long until it was being used against working people who sought better conditions through their trade unions. These organizations were attacked as trusts and the enforcement of law was confined exclusively to prosecutions of Labor. The trade union is not a trust and from its very nature cannot be. Trusts consist of organizations for the control of the products of labor. Workmen possess their labor power—that is, their power to produce. Workmen do not have products for sale. The trade union is a voluntary association of many for the benefit of all. In 1911 the Sherman Act was interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States to apply to workmen, who, in their exercise of the right of free men, withhold their labor power from employers or their patronage from business men. These acts were declared illegal, and when workingmen were found guilty they could be mulcted in threefold damages, fined $5,000 and sent to prison for one year. This was demonstrated in the Hatters' case.

While the great trusts continued to grow in power and danger no apparent effort was made to punish them. The struggle for a law exempting trade unions and farmers' organizations from the operations of the anti-trust law continued until the Clayton law was enacted. The courts had previously maintained that under the anti-trust law labor was property. The Clayton Act declares that "labor is not a commodity or article of commerce."

One of the sophistries of life is the fetich of supply and demand. It is the weapon held up to workingmen when they seek better rewards for their labor. It is rolled about the tongues of the professional economists like a sweet morsel. It is repeated parrot-like by their spokesmen and apologists as a cause for all

the evils resulting from the mismanagement of industry. In 1907 the bugbear was exposed in this language:

> "That the law of supply and demand has its place in nature and in primitive natural conditions no thinking man will dispute. But when we realize what science has done and what progress has been made to overcome the primitive conditions of nature; what has been accomplished in machinery and tools of labor; in the means of transportation of products and of man, the means of transmission of information and intelligence, the fact becomes immediately patent that man has made nature conform to his wants and that the original conception of the law of supply and demand has been largely overcome and can be still further overcome by comprehensive and determined action of the wage earners, who, by associated efforts, shall refuse to have their brain and brawn, their hearts and the hearts of those beloved by them weighed in the same scale with the side of a hog or a bushel of coal. The law of supply and demand applies to supplies for and demands of men, but does not apply to supplies of and demands for men who are living, intelligent organisms capable of regulating the supply of, if not the demand for, the use of their own labor power."

Labor Day has proved of wonderful encouragement and benefit to the trade union movement. Its parades, mass meetings and speechmaking have awakened the working men and women to their grievances and pointed the way to relief. It has taught the great public of the high ideals of the American Federation of Labor, as well as of the enormous strength and solidarity that has brought so many changes for the better for the masses of the people. P. J. McGuire, a former secretary and vice-president, proposed in 1882 that a national holiday be chosen to represent the spirit of Labor. The first Monday in September was suggested and adopted. The idea was accepted immediately by the organized wage earners and demonstrations followed unequaled in this or any other country. State after state made it a legal holiday, and in 1894 Congress took similar action. While all the states do not have a law legalizing the day, the Federal act has been accepted without exception. Unusual demonstrations marked Labor Day in 1918 in every city in the country. The slogan of the patriotic marchers was: "Win the war for freedom."

Economic and political freedom for civil service employes of the government has been a principle maintained by the American Federation of Labor since the attempt was first made to take it away. No law ever was enacted forbidding the exercise of this constitutional right. The rules in effect were made by the Civil Service Commission, which from its inception has been composed of "intellectuals" who do not understand the Constitution of the United States or that this is a democracy. They have been governed by the idea that men who work are a class apart from those who rule and should be controlled in all things. The Federation in 1914 declared:

> "We most emphatically protest against any civil service rules and regulations which aim to muzzle the workers employed by our Government and totally prevent them from any participation in the political activities of wage earners."

One of the greatest victories won by the Federation was the Chinese exclusion act. In the 1881 convention it declared thirty years' experience on the Pacific coast with Chinese had proved their competition with white labor was the greatest evil with which a country could be afflicted. Monster meetings were held everywhere, while on the sand lots of San Francisco the voice of Labor was raised so effectively it was heard clearly in Washington. The first law was not satisfactory, as it was made inoperative by decisions of government officers and judges of California. The 1885 convention refused to indorse the use of force in settling the question, but demanded a rigid enforcement of the law. In 1894 the convention declared:

> "There is no antipathy on the part of American workmen to Chinese because of their nationality, but a people that has allowed civilization to pass by them untouched and uninfluenced, a people who permit themselves to be

barbarously tyrannized over in their own country and who menace the progress, the economic and social standing of the workers of other countries, cannot be fraternized with. We are opposed to the servile of all nations, our own included."

In 1902 danger arose to the island possessions of the United States, as efforts were made so to construe the law that Chinese could be imported there under the "most favored nation" clause in treaties. Objection by the Federation caused a change in the law in 1904 and the Chinese were forbidden to go to these islands or from them to the United States. In 1905 the sugar planters of Hawaii screened an attack on the exclusion law by asking for its modification to permit Chinese immigration to that island. The convention insisted:

"We make no pretense that the exclusion of Chinese can be defended upon a high ideal or ethical ground; but we insist that it is our essential duty to maintain and preserve our physical condition and standard of life and civilization and thus assure us the opportunity for the development of our intellectual and moral character. Self-preservation always has been considered the first law of nature. It is a principle of necessity from which we ought not and must not depart."

A demand was made also for the exclusion of Japanese and Coreans and protests were made against the employment of Chinese sailors. It was charged that all Orientals would have to be excluded or the American people must surrender their right to the soil in many important sections of the country. In 1912 the Federation, in co-operation with the unions on the Pacific Coast, secured an amendment to a bill before Congress which completely excluded the objectionable Chinese.

Co-operative societies were considered favorably in 1883 and in 1901 it was proposed that the Federation "promulgate a system of co-operation, simple and comprehensive, which will cover general principles, analyze and safeguard the interests of the unions and members both in and out of co-operative enterprise." This was considered too comprehensive and failed of adoption. In 1916 a committee was appointed to consider the question and a year later reported in favor of the Rochdale system, which is thus explained: Members pay the market rate for what they buy from the co-operative society, but each three months they receive back the difference in the amount paid for the articles purchased and the cost to the society. The principle of profits is eliminated.

Freedom of speech and petition for government employes was demanded in 1911. Two Presidents of the United States had issued executive "gag law" orders forbidding them to petition Congress or any of its committees to redress wrongs without first obtaining the consent of the heads of departments. The penalty was summary discharge. This proved a boomerang to the government. Instead of forcing silence on the great body of employes, it awoke them to their economic weakness. This they began to retrieve by organizing into trade unions and joining the American Federation of Labor. Men and women who took a prominent part in organizing the workers were discharged from the Postoffice Department, which had undertaken to destroy the unions. But the Federation succeeded in securing an amendment to a postoffice appropriation bill which restored the right of petition, a right guaranteed by the Constitution to all people.

Free speech and assemblage were attacked grievously in 1886-7. Public officers prohibited public meetings and in many instances persecuted the representative of labor organizations. In the latter year the convention denounced this tyranny by declaring:

"We deeply deplore that the democratic spirit of the people of this country, especially that noble spirit of resistance against tyranny and wrong exercised by the founders of the republic, is rapidly being replaced by a spirit of anarchy on the part of those who should be the servants of the people."

This situation arose from the public excitement and hysteria following the

explosion of a bomb in Haymarket Square, Chicago. President Gompers had asked executive clemency for the convicted men and gave this explanation:

> "I deem it almost unnecessary to say to you that I am not an anarchist nor have I any sympathy with or love for anarchy, its methods or its teachings, the caluminous statements of a few journals to the contrary notwithstanding. But I found a strong feeling prevailing among thousands that the condemned men were about to be executed in the defense of the right of free speech and free assemblage, and that if they were executed they would die martyrs to the cause of labor. As a representative of a great labor oragnization, I was called on and entreated to say a word, first to save them from death, and, second, to deprive their movement of the food on which all spasmodic movements exist—martyrdom. Believing no harm could come to our organization, I wrote a letter to the governor and appealed to him, in the interest of humanity and to prevent an impetus being given to violent revolutionary movements, to extend clemency to these misguided men. I am opposed to capital punishment under all circumstances, and in this case I appealed from a dual motive of which the latter is not the least."

In 1891 it was pointed out there had appeared for years a tacit understanding among the authorities of several states and municipalities to take away the right of free speech and assemblage, which had been won at the sacrifice of thousands of lives and untold fortunes.

"Yet they are as much a question today as centuries ago," the convention decided. "We may have little, if any, sympathy with the expressions of those who are opposed to our system of government, or we may be their outspoken antagonists, but we should at all times maintain the constitutional rights of the people to free speech and assemblage."

The Chicago police were denounced for breaking up a meeting of union men November 11, 1891, without warrant of law and in violation of every principle of right and justice. It was considered dangerous, not alone to the laboring people, but to all classes, as it tended to the usurpation of the people's authority and the substitution of another entirely foreign to the spirit of American institutions. This protest was heard in Chicago and the City Council restored the banners taken in the raid and paid the damage done. But two years later complaint again was made that an order enforced by the chief of police of that city was to club and brutally maltreat all unemployed who gathered on the lake front. Policemen in citizen's clothes "planted" in the crowd car links, brickbats and stones to be used as missles in alleged contemplated riots, and then a body in uniform would attack them with revolvers and clubs. After the crowd had been driven away the articles "planted" on the ground would be "discovered" and used by the newspapers to prove it was a murderous crowd. At the same time they only were unemployed, hungry, sleepy men who had no place to lay their head and sought the public park in the day time to rest after walking the streets all night.

Repeated attempts were made in Congress to curtail free speech, a free press and free assemblage, and they were vigorously and successfully opposed by the Federation. In 1908 it was said the suppression of freedom of the press was a most dangerous undertaking, whether in autocratic Russia or in the republic of the United States. For ages it has been an established principle that an editor should be uncensored in what he publishes, though he may be held responsible and criminally liable for what he utters. This had been taken away by the injunction and contempt proceedings and it was considered the duty of the Federation to make solemn protest. "These rights—free speech and free press," the convention maintained, "must not, can not and will not be complacently surrendered. They must not be forbidden by a court's injunction." In 1913 the convention said:

> "Invasions of the rights of a free people arouse just resentment. However generous the temper of the people they can not meekly tolerate practices and decisions at variance with the fundamental principles upon which liberty is founded. There have been in the recent past tendencies to invade the

domain of free speech that have stirred those who have concern for the public welfare. Only when each person is accorded the right to speak freely and truly that which he knows and feels and sees, when mind has free intercourse with mind, can difficulties, problems, wrongs, be thrashed out and the best solutions reached. All may not think clearly and correctly, but how can they find out their errors if ideas must be bottled up? Mentality that is not given free scope will either shrivel from inactivity or else will become poisoned and unwholesome and finally find vent in violence or explosion. The exercise of a right never should be penalized, only the abuse of that right. The safety of free life and free government lies in maintaining freedom of speech and press. No tyranny, no wrong can withstand absolutely frank, fearless advocacy of right and justice. The burden bearers of all ages have been the oppressed. The toilers of America have been aroused to this invasion of freedom because they, better than all others, have been aware of the entering wedge to freedom's undoing. They demand liberty for themselves and liberty for all. The urgency of the need makes necessary the emphasis of the statement—we demand liberty for one and all. We demand human rights and human welfare be placed above all else."

A model constitutional amendment to be urged by the unions in every state was adopted by this convention.

Plank 4 in the first constitution of the Federation demanded the prohibition of the importation of foreign laborers under contract. After four years' battering at the doors of Congress, a law was enacted, but was not satisfactory to the Federation officials. During consideration of this measure one of the senators said:

"The conflict between capital and labor is irrepressible, capital seeking to obtain the largest production and the consequent greater profit on the least outlay on the one hand, and labor as against capital seeking to obtain the largest amount of wages for the least expenditure of time and force on the other."

This tardily admitted among other things that the labor problem was no longer confined in its bearings to employer and employe, but was regarded as a question of political economy. In 1888 Congress prohibited the importation of foreign labor under contract and the landing anywhere in the United States of Chinese. The next year a plan to restrict immigration by imposing a head tax was not approved.

It was continually necessary to enter protest against the violations of the alien contract labor law. It was interpreted according to the whim of those having the power and there were many violations. Musicians had been classified as "professionals" although they came here under contract as skilled workmen. The practice of bringing large number of poor, persecuted and deceived Jewish people to America and placing them in the sweat shops and trade schools to be taught the rudiments of the tailoring trade was condemned, as they afterward were thrown on an overstocked labor market.

In 1900 immigration had reached 500,000 annually and the alien labor law fell short of accomplishing the end originally intended. Since 1891 persistent demands had been made of Congress to protect American workmen from artificial, stimulated immigration. In that year the immigration question had become so serious the convention said:

"Time was when the American people could declare the United States should be a haven for the oppressed of all nations and invite all who desired to seek a new home to come to our shores. At that time the industries of our country were entirely in their infancy, our lands were undeveloped, our resources greater than we ever knew. The people who came did so of their own volition; they cast their fortunes with those already here, harmonized and blended with them. Today, however, there is not an industry which is not overcrowded with working people who vainly plead for an opportunity to work. This is not only confined to the factories,

workshops, mills, mines and stores, but the same complaint comes from the farmlands, and all join in a mighty cry that relief must come. On the other hand, we see artificial famines in some of the older countries caused by the vast holdings of the titled wealthy class. While the masses starve the tyrannical effete monarchs bolster up their miserable dynasties by forcing emigration."

Year after year the Federation kept up a vigorous clamor for remedial legislation that would permit only the number of immigrants that could be absorbed by the country without danger to the people. In 1896 the convention favored a "reasonable measure of restriction on the lines of the educational test." From 1898 to 1907, both inclusive, 7,208,746 immigrants came to the United States. The convention, in alarm, contended:

> "Surely, such portentious figures of a conglomerate people brought to our country by various devices must cause us to pause and reflect whether this influx can long continue with its apparent enormous increase without in a large measure tending to tear down, or to make it additionally difficult to maintain, the American standard of life."

The Executive Council more urgently called on Congress because of these figures to take action that would remove the evil. The appointment of a committee by Congress, to include three citizens, to investigate the entire subject followed, but Labor was not represented. Ways and means were considered of organizing immigrants who had left their homes because of political and religious persecutions. In 1908 the literacy test was insisted on. In 1910 the commission appointed in 1907 by Congress to investigate the question of immigration reported several ways of remedying the evil. One of them was that favored by the Federation: "A majority of the committee favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration." A bill containing this provision was passed by Congress in 1912-13, but was vetoed by the President. The growth of illiteracy in the United States was laid to immigration in 1915, and in 1917 Congress again passed a literacy test bill and it was signed by the President. A further amendment was recommended by the 1918 convention, which provided: "All persons who locate on our lands shall become citizens."

The community of interest between the farmer and trade unionists soon attracted them to each other and the most friendly feeling has existed since. The wrongs suffered by the farmer forced him to organize just as the oppression by employers compelled the workers in industry to unite. In 1890 the A. F. of L. sent a communication of sympathy and good will to the Farmers' Alliance, then in session. In 1893 the executive officers were instructed to use every effort to perfect an alliance between unions and farmers "to the end the best interests of both will be served." The Farmers' Union of Texas in 1904 appropriated money to aid union men on strike and indorsed their union labels. The harmonious relations continued to increase and the organizers of the A. F. of L. and all affiliated state federations were instructed to aid the organizations of the farmers. More than twenty farmers attended the Minneapolis convention in 1906 and it was decided fraternal delegates should be sent all farmers' conventions to explain the practical workings of the trade unions.

The value of the union label was appreciated by the farmers and some of their organizations began to adopt them to be placed on farm products grown by union farmers. In 1907 a working agreement between the unions and farmers was considered. This included reciprocity in demanding union labeled products. The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America in its St. Louis convention in 1910 instructed its officers to confer with the bona fide trade union movement for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects of both organizations, which were defined as "the protection and uplift of America's workers engaged in all fields of productive activity." In 1912 the A. F. of L. pledged itself to "do all in its power to build up and strengthen the Farmers' Union and continue to send fraternal delegates to its conventions."

It was reported in 1913 that in some states progress had been made toward

solving the high cost of living through co-operative associations between the farmers and unionists.

Stricter laws making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence or the incompetency of employes were demanded by the first convention. The plan approved in those days was an employers' liability law. But this was found inimical to Labor because of the unjust bars to recovery based on the doctrine of "assumption of risk, contributory negligence, fellow-servant and waiver of rights." Every effort was put forth to amend these laws so as to eliminate the defenses of the employer, the Federation maintaining this should be done, although the ultimate policy should be workmen's compensation laws. The convention said:

> "The modern use of steam power, electricity, compressed air and explosives, often under control of men who fail to understand their nature and whose routine duties make them so accustomed to danger they fail to realize it, has made it utterly impossible to protect society against the weakest of all human agencies, the failure or forgetfulness of the human factor."

Legislation for the safety, comfort and health of employes was urged for many years before the principle was accepted by legislators. In 1912 the United States Supreme Court gave its unanimous approval to the Employers' Liability Act of 1908, secured by the Federation. The court rejected the pleas of the defense, virtually reversing a former opinion on the relation of master and servant. It held that Congress had the power to regulate duties of common carriers, both in respect to the safety of their employes and the liability of the carrier as an employer for injuries sustained by employes while on duty.

In 1914 the convention decided to insist on workmen's compensation laws because of their great advance over employers' liability measures. The latter had proved very profitable for the lawyers who were willing to enter the list of "ambulance chasers" to secure the lion's share of whatever verdict was rendered. The law was declared antiquated, cruel and unjust. Despite the opposition of lawyers to the principle of workmen's compensation, which denied them an exorbitant fee, that method of protecting injured employes deeply impressed the legislators and many states have incorporated it in its laws.

In 1915 the convention reaffirmed its stand on workmen's compensation with this addition: "Compensation to be paid for death or illness in occupational diseases."

Safety legislation was considered absolutely essential, and in 1893 a campaign for an automatic car coupler law was launched. This was successful, but the Interstate Commerce Commission postponed its enforcement for two years over the appeals of employes and the tears of women who had suffered through the injuries to their husbands or sons. Factory inspectors were demanded in all states. One of the greatest violators of safety laws has been the United States government. Its officials refuse to recognize municipal laws for the preservation of life and limb. The legislatures also were slow in answering the appeal of the sick and injured for redress. In 1911 this was so pronounced the convention declared:

> "In view of the cruel and blind selfishness of a class of employers in regard to the health and safety of workers, it is urgently recommended that our state federations and central bodies in industrial centers demand not only the enforcement of existing laws in factories, workshops, mills and mines, but also the promotion of an inquiry as to needed laws for better—aye, humanly considered, absolutely necessary—sanitary home and workshop conditions, including safety from dangerous machinery and from fire and panic. The creation of the Bureau of Mines was accomplished only after most intense activity by the labor movement. American industry and commerce are notoriously characterized by a cynical disregard of human life. There is needless danger and risk in every line of industry and commerce. These are due to carelessness and ignorance as well as to greed of employers."

The only protection ever extended to the workers from the greed of employers has been where their ability has compelled better conditions through their organ-

ized power, assisted by a public opinion created by the information which the workers themselves forced on public attention. A Museum of Safety was advocated. In this museum were to be every device known or invented in the future to safeguard machinery and lessen its ability to maim and kill. Safety appliances for railroad men were advocated and secured. "Automatic stops" were urged. In fact every means of absolutely safeguarding the lives and limbs of the workers has been urged by the A. F. of L. and in many instances it has been successful.

In 1910 necessary legislation was demanded for the protection of workers from the economic loss occasioned by poisons and diseases peculiar to the occupation. In 1911 Illinois enacted a law granting the right of employes to recover damages resulting from occupational diseases. A Massachusetts court decided "stonecutter's consumption" was an occupational disease, as it was traceable to the breathing of dust in a granite quarry. A most persistent and successful warfare on the use of phosphorous in matches, which caused a loathsome disease known as "phossy jaw," was made in 1911. Such matches were taxed out of existence. The United States was then the only country permitting the use of poisonous phosphorous. The Federation urged the Department of Labor to make annual investigations and report on the best methods of preventing occupational diseases. Several Senators treated the term "occupational diseases" with derision, but for answer they were referred to reports of the Department of Labor dealing with lead poisoning in the pottery industry and the causes of death among women and children employed in cotton mills. This completely silenced the objectors, if it did not shame them. In 1918 the Federation took a decided stand on responsibility for trade and occupational diseases. It approved this principle:

> "We believe that trade and occupational diseases should be considered in law as well as in fact an obligation on industry."

Probably the longest and most bitter struggle brought to a successful issue was the gaining of freedom for seamen. They were the only workers who were denied individual and personal freedom. They were subject to imprisonment for leaving an American ship in an American port. This was involuntary servitude, a situation absolutely opposed to the Constitution of the United States. Among their many other grievances were: Overloading and poorly manning of vessels; insufficient food, some worse than prison fare, making scurvy prevalent; rotten vessels sent to sea; forcing use of insanitary forcastles; the "crimping" system; extreme cruelty and brutality of officers; using Chinamen for sailors; clothing could be attached for nonfulfillment of any contract to work on a vessel of the United States. In 1903 the convention denounced the failure of Congress to enact a law setting the seaman free, saying:

> "We demand the same individual and personal freedom for seamen that is enjoyed by other workers. We protest against a continuation of a system of contracts to work that are enforceable by imprisonment as degrading to the sailors and dangerous to other workers."

A petition presented to both Houses of Congress in 1910 awakened the sleepy legislators to the fact that there were still slaves in the United States notwithstanding the supposed abolition of slavery by the Civil War. The petition teemed with the outpourings of the seamen's centuries-old pent up misery. It was an appeal that should have touched the hardest heart, as it brought out into the light the cruelties suffered, the slavery conditions and the reason why seamen should be placed on an equal basis among God's free men. It was a heartrending outcry "to those who govern nations, to those who make the laws, to humanitarians, democrats, Christians, and friends of human freedom everywhere," and it said in part:

> "We, the seamen, the yet remaining bondmen, humbly yet earnestly submit this our petition that we may be made free men and that the blighting disgrace of bondage be removed from our labor, which is yet needed in the world of commerce, and which has been held to be of great importance to nations with sea coasts to defend. The master acting for the vessel may release

himself and the vessel by paying a few dollars, with no alternative. He that owns another man's labor power owns his body, since the two cannot be separated. We stand in the same relation to the vessel as the serf did to the estate, as the slave to his master. When serfdom was abolished in Western Europe we were forgotten by the liberators. When the slaves of the United States and Brazil were emancipated our status continued. When serfdom was abolished in Russia no change come to us.

"We now raise our manacled hands in humble supplication to restore us to our rights as brother men, to our labor that honor which belonged to it until your power, expressing itself through your law, set upon it the brand of bondage in the interest of cheap transportation by water. We further humbly submit that, as the consciousness of the seamen's status penetrates through the population, it will be impossible to get free men to send their sons into bondage or to induce free men's sons to accept it, and we, in all candor, remind you that when you travel by water you expect us, the serfs, to exhibit in danger the highest qualities of free men by giving our lives for your safety."

It was not until 1912-13 a satisfactory seamen's bill was passed by Congress but the world was shocked by the announcement it had met with a "vest pocket" veto by the President of the United States. Nevertheless the struggle went on and in 1915 the Seamen's Law was enacted. A President responsive to the appeal of humanity was there to sign it. The convention said of it:

"It marks a great forward step in the march of human freedom and progress. It removes the last vestige of involuntary servitude from the laws of the United States. It is one of the first measures the A. F. of L. asked Congress to make a law. It will improve the working condition of the seamen. Opportunities will be extended, seamen in other countries will enjoy its beneficent influence, the general public while traveling on the high seas will be afforded a larger measure of safety."

Union men were warned to be alert to the dangers before the people of the United States, because without doubt the vested interests would exert themselves to defeat the meritorious principles in the Seamen's Act. Bills tending to weaken the law were presented in Congress in 1916, but failed. The next year the Supreme Court decided the exclusion act does not apply to employment of Chinese seamen. This was a declaration that Section 13 of the Act evidently was void.

Among the covert dagger thrusts to hamper and discredit Labor none was so cunningly devised as the executive order of the President of the United States in 1903 declaring the Government Printing Office was an "open shop." This title was translated by the convention to be the same as "nonunion" or "scab" shop. A member of the Bookbinders' Union had been expelled for "unfairness and immorality" and when his discharge was asked the President's order was the answer. The incident was seized by the enemies of fairness to Labor as an opportunity to form citizen's alliances to propagate policies that would destroy the trade union movement. Their first efforts were directed to what they called the "open shop" and to attack the union shop under the false assertion it was a "closed shop." They pretended that entering into an agreement with an employer to employ union men exclusively was in violation of law, that it denied the right to employment of workmen who are not members of the unions. In the first instance the claim was absurd, as the unions always maintain wide open doors with an invitation to all to join. They send forth their organizers and missionaries to induce by every honorable means the nonunionist to share in the advantages that come from united effort.

Apart from that consideration is this fact, that an employer can contract with a dealer for raw material to erect a plant or to supply machines, the contractor to have the exclusive right to provide these things. Such a contract provides for the exclusion of all other dealers, builders or machinery manufacturers. Is such a contract unlawful? A contract between an employer and a union provides the latter will furnish him with labor of certain qualifications for a specific period of

time, the consideration being the payment of a certain stipulated wage as a minimum. That others, nonunion men for instance, are excluded from such a contract is their own fault and against which they have neither a legal nor moral right to contend.

The amazing and numberless inventions in tools and machinery, followed by the division and specialization of labor, have made it impossible for an employe as an individual to secure a contract with his employer. As an individual his employer cannot hear him for he is voiceless. But when associated with his fellow workers, which brings the only method of securing anything like advantageous terms for his labor, his voice can be heard and the employer finds it necessary to listen to a concerted demand to make a contract covering the wages to be paid and the conditions of employment for all. The Federation contends:

> "Employers have the lawful right to hire any labor they choose, but it does not give them the right to impress workmen or to enslave them, to drag them into a factory on any terms the employer may choose to grant as an expression of his 'kindliness.'"

Organized labor insists upon the "union shop," not the "closed shop," as charged by the employers. The "closed shop" is where the doors are closed to union men. The "open shop" is where the principle of collective bargaining is denied, otherwise a "scab shop." Like the employe of an eastern arms company, who testified before the National War Labor Board, he had worked more than half a century without asking for increased wages or being given any, those slaving in the "open shops" must take what is doled out to them. They gradually sink deeper and deeper into the toils of serfdom, not having the manhood to assert their rights.

This claim that the so-called "closed shop" is illegal reached an amusing stage when, during a strike of ladies' garment workers in New York in 1910, an injunction was issued forbidding the walkout for that reason. While no one took the order seriously it pointed out the necessity of securing legislation restraining the abuse of power by judges. This caused the convention that year to declare:

> "If workmen may be denied by injunction, or any other process, the right to leave their employment either singly or in association for the reason they desire to secure the 'union shop'; if they may be restrained by an injunction from striking in sympathy with their fellow workers; if they may be enjoined from striking for any given reason whatever, the difference between the so-called free workmen and the workmen who must yield obedience to their masters—slaves—has disappeared. The only reason for slaveholding is to compel men to work in obedience to their masters' will."

Social insurance of a voluntary nature was indorsed by the Federation in 1908. Since then it has maintained its opposition to compulsory insurance by the state or nation. In 1913 it was recommended that such insurance should be paid by the unions. These included strike, unemployment, old age, partial disability, sick, death and other benefits. The Federation declared absolutely against insurance for profit. An investigation as to the advisability of the A. F. of L. establishing an insurance department found it impracticable and in 1916 the convention made this decision:

> "We declare against private insurance, or insurance for profit, as it may apply to industrial, social or health insurance. Regardless of the form the insurance may finally take and declaring against compulsory insurance of any kind, we are unalterably opposed to private insurance companies for profit, and they should be eliminated from any kind of industrial, social or health insurance."

In 1909 the Federation indorsed the principle of old age pensions for the "poor and needy who, during their active years as wage earners, have contributed to the nation's wealth and prosperity and are no longer able to do so." The difficulty in securing old age pension legislation was realized owing to the enormous effort necessary to have uniform laws enacted in the various States. A Federal

old age or retirement pension was indorsed in 1911 and reaffirmed annually since.

The necessity of organizers occupied the attention of the delegates to the 1882 convention. They were needed to distribute labor pamphlets and to relieve distress among the workers. In these early years hundreds of volunteer organizers, without compensation and at their own expense, gave their time to the spreading of trade union doctrine. This spirit of valor and self-sacrifice without hope of reward was the force that added stone on stone to the foundation of the trade union movement. They blazed the way to the present wonderful organization. The Federation found men in all localities willing to help in the work of organization. In 1893 it had volunteer organizers who not only preached the gospel of labor's rights but wherever possible formed unions.

In 1896 the Executive Council was instructed to place paid organizers in the field. In 1900 there were twenty salaried organizers and 680 volunteers. The obstacles met and prejudices to overcome were set forth in the 1903 convention by President Gompers, who said:

> "I can only reiterate and emphasize the deep obligation under which our movement must necessarily be to the men who bear the brunt of unwisdom and prejudice in going among the unorganized and carrying to them the word of welcome, of hope and encouragement. Primarily the consciousness of having performed the high duty in the interest of the worker as well as the entire human family must be their compensation and reward."

In the early days of the Federation organizers were regarded by the employers as enemies to society. This made their work difficult and dangerous. Tales of assaults on these missionaries were frequent. Men were shot, tarred and feathered, struck down from the rear at night and left dying in the dark streets, even lynched, because they were pointing out the way to a higher standard of life for the workers of our land. In some sections an organizer was in constant danger of being murdered. Even in the present time it now and then occurs that some enemy of Labor who has not yet accepted the fact that a "laborer is worthy of his hire" is brutal enough to hire gunmen to overawe, beat up or even murder an organizer seeking the amelioration of his fellows.

Only in the last year white organizers were deported from Alabama and threatened with death if they returned. Two colored men were tarred and feathered.

The history of the world has demonstrated no cause can be suppressed or permanently retarded in its progress when its adherents are willing and ready to sacrifice their time, their energy, their intelligence and, if need be, their lives in its support. In that class stands the American labor movement and the multitude of organizers, salaried and volunteer, who are daily making sacrifices for the great cause of human advancement. Not a dollar is expended in the organizing field that does not bring its return a hundred fold in the form of improved conditions for the toilers, the protection of their rights and the resultant organization. But the outrages of the past are growing less in number. The moral force exerted by the trade union movement is crushing down all obstacles to advancement for the burden bearers. The struggle must go on and on in its educational and protective work with unswerving fidelity to its firmly entrenched principles. And it is not an unimportant share that must be done by our loyal band of organizers.

Those organizers who have served on the Legislative Committee also have done wonderful work. Their duties require diplomacy and common sense of a high order. Their success has been phenomenal when it is considered they have had as opponents not only the powerful corporations of the land but the interests that govern the finances.

Government ownership of the telegraphs was urged in 1883 during a strike of telegraphers. It was proposed that the government establish telegraph lines and give service at actual cost. This stand was reaffirmed at later conventions. In 1891 the Federation added its voice to that of the International Typographical Union when the latter launched a campaign for the nationalization of the telegraphs. When the Illinois legislature passed a bill for a fifty-year franchise the Chicago people were commended for their gallant fight for its repeal. De-

mands were made that employes of municipal-owned street railways be permitted to organize, but in 1914 the A. F. of L. declared that whether under private or municipal ownership the only real improvement in the conditions of Labor had been gained through trade union activity. It insists that where these utilities are owned by the public Labor should be guaranteed the right to organize on trade union lines and to a voice in the regulation of the hours of labor and wages. Nationalization of the telegraphs was indorsed again in 1915 and in 1918 a demand was made that the government take over the telegraphs for the period of the war. The principle underlying all action on public ownership was governed by the status of Labor under such conditions. It was insisted that the economic and political rights of the workers be assured. This principle has been made a leading feature of the Federation's Reconstruction Program.

Organized labor has consistently opposed the fixing of a minimum wage for men. It has given its support to the principle for women and minors. In the 1913 convention this stand was taken:

> "If it were proposed in this country to vest authority in any tribunal to fix by law wages for men, Labor would protest by every means in its power. Through organization the wages of men can and will be maintained at a higher minimum than they would be if fixed by legal enactment. But there is a far more significant ground for opposing the establishment by law of a minimum wage for men. The principle that organization is the most potent means for gaining a shorter workday and a higher standard of wages applies to women workers as well as to men. But the fact must be recognized that the organization of women workers constitutes a separate and more difficult problem. Women do not organize as readily or stably as men. They are, therefore, more easily exploited. They certainly are in a greater measure than are men entitled to the concern of society."

For several years every effort has been put forth to secure a minimum wage of $3 a day for government employees, who have been notoriously pointed out as the lowest paid labor for the duties performed of any in the country. The fact that these inadequate wages remained practically unchanged during the war causes regret that our legislators have not learned that only the loyalty of these oppressed workers kept them at their tasks. It was another exemplification of man's inhumanity to man, a shame and disgrace to a democracy.

The deadly ravages of tuberculosis alarmed the organized workers of the country. Its death total was mounting into the hundreds of thousands. Men and women who worked long hours in insanitary workshops and lived in insanitary homes were easy victims to its poison touch. Insufficient wages resulted in insufficient nourishing food and the dreadful germ found an army of toil peculiarly fertile for its death dealing sting. It was pointed out that the victims of the disease are mostly in the prime of life, between the ages of 15 and 44. In certain trades the death rate was 500 per cent greater than in occupations free from insanitary conditions.

Cigarmakers were terribly affected. They had impossible workrooms, illy ventilated and lacking all sanitary measures. Before 1886 the average death rate in that trade was 31 years. In 1886 the cigarmakers established the eight-hour-day and demanded better conditions surrounding their employment. Since then the average age has increased to 50 years, or 60 per cent, all credited to the shorter workday and better and sanitary workrooms. These figures are absolutely correct, as death claims are paid by the Cigarmakers International Union and the record cannot be challenged. The average age of the wives of members also increased because of their fewer hours of labor in the household.

It was soon discovered that the only known remedy for tuberculosis is sunlight, fresh air, pure, nourishing food and rest. With this as its objective organized labor opened a scathing warfare on employers who accumulated riches by refusing to build clean, healthy workshops. More rigid investigation of housing conditions was demanded; more sanitary work rooms and proper places to care for those afflicted with the scourge. The printers have made the fight against tuberculosis

a special duty and many other indoor workers have raised the flag of rebellion against any employer who will not protect his employes from the deadly white plague.

Introduction of the union label was a happy thought that has proved of incalculable value. The cigarmakers were the first to use this far-reaching weapon, but trade after trade fell in line and today there are 51 labels and 10 cards being used to show the articles upon which they are printed, sewed, stamped or attached have been manufactured by workmen receiving union wages and employed in clean, healthy, sanitary workshops, in a higher material and moral atmosphere. The union label is not violent, nor does it carry either threat or reproach. It appeals to the higher and better judgment and not only assists honest toil but aids fair minded employers who compete with those who are rapacious and conscienceless. It assures the purchaser that the labor of children has not entered into its production; nor that convict, Chinese, sweatshop or other inferior labor had had a part. It is an appeal to the sympathy and the cooperation of our fellows to be helpful in the desire for material, moral and social improvement of our people.

Unfair employers were not slow in realizing the danger to their products and they resorted to one of the most contemptible of all acts, counterfeiting. It was found necessary to secure laws to punish those who, through fraud, sought to deceive the public into buying the product of child and sweatshop labor. Many were convicted before the criminally inclined employer recognized the danger and ceased his nefarious efforts to injure honest labor.

Numerous propositions for a universal label invaribly have been defeated. Being a voluntary organization the A. F. of L. cannot force a label on any organization against its will. Besides what is everybody's business is nobody's business. That would be the outcome of a universal label, as the responsibility for advertising its virtues would not be obligatory on any union.

While hungry, shivering, unemployed men slept in the stone corridors of the City Hall in Chicago in the winter of 1893, the Federation held its convention in the Council Chamber above. After carefully picking his way between and over the destitute humanity, President Gompers issued this warning:

> "The path of progress of organized labor has been strewn with the unmarked graves of heroes and heroines. Through the dark ages of man's development to the present day, organized labor stands for hope, humanity and progress. To it credit is due that we today see clearer the wrongs and injustices which prevail. It voices the hopes of the future and calls to account those responsible for the present. Last night I walked through the corridors of the City Hall and saw hundreds of men lying on the stone flooring, on the iron steps and some asleep standing up—all men in enforced idleness. Those responsible for these conditions should take warning. They are sleeping in false security.
>
> "The men responsible for these things, who send out their protests, in which we join, against the bomb in Barcelona, against the bomb in Paris and against the assassin's bullet in Chicago, should understand they must concede to the solution of the problem organized labor presents or they will be confronted by the guerrilla warfare to which I have alluded. Organized labor presents a solution of these problems. I appeal to those responsible men because the responsibility is resting on their shoulders. If they oppose organized labor in solution of these questions the people without assembling, unbridled, unanswerable and irresponsible, may—but who can foretell what dangers may confront the human family? If, on the other hand, those responsible for these conditions will take the advice of friends of humanity before it is too late conditions may be reversed and a prosperous and just human condition reinstated."

A similar condition appears to be confronting the burden-bearers of the United States in this year of our Lord 1919. An attempt to tear the independence out of the heart of Labor by bringing on an artificial panic in which the degrading conditions of 1893 would be repeated appears to be in contemplation. But the open protests that

will be heard and the whirlwind that will be reaped by the conspirators is foretold in the warning of President Gompers made while a city was advertsing its degrading condition by making a lodging house for unemployed of its City Hall. Labor lived through that panic, becoming stronger and stronger. Any group of men that brings about a calamitous industrial condition in order to gain political preferment must answer to the people.

Peace at any price never was hinted by the great American labor movement. When propagandists were seeking to use its members in furthering the cause of one of the belligerents in the European War the Federation declared in 1915:

> "The trade union movement has refused to give its sanction to any political movement in furtherance of peace at any price. While it recognizes that peace is absolutely necessary for normal, consecutive development and progress, yet it refuses to secure peace at the sacrifice of ideals and standards of justice. It maintains that a necessary assurance of peace is power of self-protection and readiness to maintain rights. The principles of statesmanship that hold true in the industrial world hold true in the political world. People have a right to work out their own salvation according to their own ideals."

When the United States was forced into the war these fundamental principles of the Federation became an asset to the government that assured it of victory. After the Executive Council and national and international union officials had pledged the labor movement to every field of activity if war came the government rested easy. The word of the Federation needed no bond. It was an American movement, a movement that held country above all else. The relief to those who had the management of the war was voiced by President Wilson in his address to the Buffalo convention in 1917, when he said:

> "While we are fighting for freedom we must see among other things that Labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of Labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your President, Mr. Gompers, and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

President Wilson's visit to the convention was to express to Labor, on which so much depended, his gratiude for its wonderful support in the war. He insisted that an army of 3,000,000 workers who had so loyally rushed to the support of the government should be made acquainted with the dangerous situation that brought about the war and to the further pledge that it was not a fight for political democracy alone, but for industrial freedom as well. Not only the President of the American Federation of Labor but its 3,000,000 members demonstrated they knew how to pull in harness. It was a practical illustration of the unanimity of thought, the solidarity and intense struggle for freedom of the great American Labor movement. Labor's fight is always the people's fight, and this was proved by the war beyond cavil.

Socialist propaganda within the trade movement has been persistent but unavailing. Handicapped by the charge of Karl Marx, their patron saint, who declared in answer to Proudon that the "socialists were the worst enemies of the laboring classes," they made no headway. The most damaging charge they have had to meet is that they are seeking the disruption of the A. F. of L. The methods of the socialists bear out these charges. They led in the organization of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, the American Labor Union, Western Labor Union and the I. W. W. In nearly every convention of the A. F. of L. they have supported some fantastic idea meant to accomplish their purpose to discredit the men who seek to keep the labor movement progressing through its economic power. Their

arguments have been villification, falsehood and venom. They attack individuals to defame the labor movement. They are always boring from within, doing something to prevent the organized men and women of the land from gaining better conditions. While preaching solidarity they are seeking a strangle hold on trade unionism that would bring its death. They always point to the labor movements of other countries as models to follow. They preach the coöperative commonwealth, when all the means of production and distribution would be owned by the people. While Karl Marx never mentioned the coöperative commonwealth in all his works, they point to him as the Messiah of their movement. The entire agitation of the socialists, who as such are not recognized, has been to make the American Federation of Labor a tail to their political party kite. Attention was called in 1898 to the difference between the "mask and real face" of the socialists who had done all they could to disrupt the organization. They had organized a rival to the A. F. of L. and upon a streamer hanging over the head of the chariman was printed:

"Wreck the Old Trade Unions. Pull for the Shore of Socialism."

The socialist is class conscious, the trade unionist wage conscious. While demanding that union men vote for socialists the socialist never will vote for a trade unionist. They belittle every achievement of the trade unionists, even seeking to abolish Labor Day and in its place introduce May 1, the labor day of Continental Europe. While the A. F. of L. established Labor Day without asking consent from any one the European Labor Day was not introduced until consent was given by the governments that had been begged for the right. But even then the European labor movements were compelled to have their demonstrations on the Sundays prior to May 1. The 1903 convention indorsed this charge of President Gompers against the socialists:

> "I declare it to you I am not only at variance with your doctrines but with your philosophy. Economically you are unsound; socially you are wrong; industrially you are an impossibility."

Another charge frequently made and never successfully contradicted is that the worst enemy of socialism is the socialist.

One ridiculous claim made by the socialists and always disproved is that Labor would gain more by partisan political action than by trade union activity. But whenever the socialists desire to gain any great point they desert their principles and try to steal those of the trade union. This has been exemplified many times when as a last resort they pleaded for a general strike to gain some important concession. Trade unionists were designated "pure and simple" because they would not grasp the vagaries of the socialists. The Socialist Party is no more eligible to membership in the American Labor Movement than the Democratic and Republican. The members of that party, however, have assumed an attitude of protection over Labor that has been found nauseating and repelling.

The St. Paul 1918 convention was not unaware that revolutionary changes had come to the people because of the war. It was a new world the delegates were facing, one in which it would require all the ability of those selected to guide the destinies of the labor movement to keep the trade union ship off the rocks toward which its enemies were seeking to drift it. With this in mind the delegates declared:

> "We are facing today conditions different from anything ever experienced before. If we have faith in ourselves and in our movement we have power to realize our aims and ideals. Organization is imperative for our nation to be successful in this world contest and organization is essential if our industries are to be saved and the workers are to be guaranteed reasonable opportunities of enjoying the fruits of their labor and continue to promote the interests and well being of all our people."

The growth of trade unionism in the United States had been exceedingly slow and periodical only up to 1881. For nearly a century organizations of labor had been launched, lived for a period and then died on the field of partisan politics. Politics was as fatal to labor organizations as the upas tree to the human family.

Early in the year 1866 the trades' assemblies of New York City and Baltimore issued a call for a National Labor Congress, and, in accordance with that appeal, one hundred delegates, representing sixty open and secret labor organizations of all kinds, and covering an area of territory extending from Portland, Me., to San Francisco, met in Baltimore, Md., on August 20. A number of the labor organizations there represented were merely local unions, but a great many were national and international bodies, such as ship carpenters, railroad men, miners, painters, carriers, window-glass blowers, stone masons, marble cutters and iron moulders.

At that convention committees were appointed to look into the expediency of introducing the eight-hour system, of taking political action and forming a permanent national organization. The questions of public domain, the national debt, coöperative associations, strikes, and convict labor were fully discussed, and measures were adopted for the organization of sewing women. Among the many resolutions passed was one favoring the speedy restoration of agriculture in the South, and the upbuilding of that section upon a new basis of industrial advancement.

In the following year the second annual congress of the National Labor Union was held in Chicago, attended by over 200 delegates, representing trades unions in all the northern states and in six southern states. President Z. C. Whaley, in his report, urged that State organizations be formed, and this idea, together with the demand that the public domain should be reserved for actual settlers, was adopted bodily by the Knights of Labor. As may be seen, the National Labor Union was formed in imitation of the Trades Union Congress of England, in which local bodies, not allowed to discuss politics in their meetings, could send delegates to the central body, and there deal with questions of a political nature and thus influence national legislation in favor of the working people. But the political portion of the work was the smaller portion, for matters of a social and industrial character were dealt with to a greater extent.

Two conventions of the National Labor Union were held in 1868, one in May and the other in September. The first convened in Pittsburgh, and the principal act of that session was an alliance to coöperate with the Patrons of Husbandry and the Grangers. The September session was held in New York City, to take action regarding the general movement which was then going on in favor of the establishment of the eight-hour rule. In his address the chairman pointed out the need of closer coherence than yet had been attained between the different trades and callings, and recommended that a central head be established, to which all the trades and labor unions should be subordinate. This idea was not strictly carried out, however, and the mistake in disregarding it was subsequently made plain. The annual convention of 1869 was held in Chicago; that of 1870 in Boston; that of 1871 in Philadelphia, and that of 1872, which was the last, wound up in Columbus, O. There it was decided to nominate a ticket for President of the United States, and David Davis, of Illinois, was chosen as the standard-bearer.

This drifting into political action provoked so much dissension that one local organization after another—believing that the National Labor Union had entered a field of operations for which it was not intended—withdrew its support, and interest was lost in the central body.

In the next year, 1873, the great panic swept upon the country and demolished the trades unions. Most of them were built on a basis of very low dues and had no beneficial feature that would hold the members together when trades questions failed to interest them, and, consequently, both the local unions and the national organization went down in the crash The distress of the winter of 1873-4, and the inability of organized labor to stem the reduction of wages that were taking place in every branch of industry, induced a number of leading trades unionists to call another "Industrial Congress" in Rochester, N. Y., for April 14, 1874, with the intention of returning to the old lines of the National Labor Union, avoiding politics, and of forming a federation of the trades and labor unions of the entire country. There was represented at this convention a secret organization, then known as the "Sovereigns of Industry," which was making great headway in the eastern and middle states, with a purpose of establishing coöperative stores and eliminating the "middle man" from commercial transactions. Another organization represented was

that known as the "Industrial Brotherhood of the United States," also secret and somewhat of the character of the Knights of Labor.

In the convention there was a serious clash between the champions of these two bodies on the question of a permanent organization, some of the delegates desiring to form an order similar to the Industrial Brotherhood, and others favoring the Sovereigns of Industry plan. A platform was finally adopted, however, which was almost identical in every respect with the declaration of principles of the Knights of Labor.

The movement to form a permanent industrial congress, nevertheless, seemed to end with that session of the convention, and no further efforts were made in that direction until a call for a national convention, to be held at Tyrone, Pa., in December, 1875, was issued by a secret organization, which was at that time a promising rival of the Knights of Labor, entitled the "Junior Sons of '76." The design of this gathering was to form a combination of all the scattered fragments of the labor movement. Delegates were in attendance from the "Junior Sons of '76," the Knights of Labor, the Grangers, open trades unions, and social democratic organizations, as they were called at that time. Their worthy designs did not materialize, however, but were dissipated in vain talk. The "Junior Sons" themselves were very short lived. After "'76" had rolled away, no trace of them could be found. In that year they had engaged in politics as an order throughout Pennsylvania, and had elected several members of the legislature on labor measures. After having done that, their mission seemed to have been fulfilled and they disbanded.

During the same period the Industrial Brotherhood, which was numerically weak, but extended through many sections of the country, was also attempting to outrival the Knights of Labor. Another order of a general and secret character had sprung up in the early part of 1877, known as the "International Labor Union," having branches in seventeen states. But little or nothing of national consequence was done by the trades and labor unions until 1878, when they everywhere began to re-organize, and, profiting by their previous failures, laid the foundations of local unions upon a basis of high dues, introducing various beneficial features, such as sick, funeral, and disability benefits, and other financial provisions calculated to hold the members more firmly to the organization. These local bodies in turn combined and formed trades assemblies, trades councils, etc. In these central bodies Knights of Labor and trades unionists were both united.

Coming up, however, to the preliminary steps that led ultimately to the formation of the American Federation of Labor, a call was issued conjointly by the "Knights of Industry" and a society known as the "Amalgamated Labor Union"—an offshoot of the Knights of Labor, composed of disaffected members of that order—for a convention to meet in Terre Haute, Ind., on August 2, 1881. The Amalgamated Labor Union had been organized in 1878, and was confined principally to Ohio and Indiana, while the Knights of Industry, with which it joined hands, was confined to Missouri and Illinois. The Terre Haute convention had for its object the establishment of a new secret order to supplant the Knights of Labor, although, on the face of the call, its object was stated to be to establish a national labor congress. There was a large representation of delegates present from St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago, and other western cities, but the only eastern city represented was Pittsburgh. The trade union delegates represented the largest constituency, but were less in number themselves than the delegates of the other societies. But, by the exercise of tact and diplomacy, the trades union men, who were at that time also members of the Knights of Labor, successfully opposed the project of adding another new organization to the list of societies already in existence, and, for the time being, the friends of the proposed secret organization were defeated.

A call was published, however, for a subsequent convention, to be held in Pittsburgh on November 15, 1881, and this gathering proved to be the most important of its kind that had thus far been held. The call for that convention was remarkable. It read in part:

> "The time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of Labor—one that will concentrate our forces so as to more successfully cope with concentrated capital. We have numberless trades unions, trade assemblies

or councils, Knights of Labor, and various other local, national, and international labor unions, all engaged in the noble task of elevating and improving the condition of the working classes. But great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organizations in a federation of trades and labor unions. In Great Britain and Ireland annual trade union congresses are held. France and other countries have similar gatherings. The work done by these assemblages of workmen speaks more in their favor than a volume of other arguments. A National Trade Union Congress can prepare labor measures and agree on laws they desire passed by the Congress of the United States; and a Congressional Labor Committee, after the manner of the Parliamentary Committee of Trades Unions in England, could be elected to urge and advance legislation at Washington on all such measures and report to the various trades. In addition an annual congress of trade unions could organize a systematic agitation to propagate trade union principles and impress the necessity of protective trade and labor organizations, and to encourage the formation of such unions and their amalgamations in trade assemblies. Thus we could elevate trade unionism and obtain for the working classes the respect for their rights and that reward for their services to which they are justly entitled. A federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial and can be provided for by the Trade Union Congress."

The call was signed by J. E. Coghlin, President National Tanners and Curriers' Union; Richard E. Powers, President Lake Seamen's Union; Lyman Brant, International Typographical Union; P. J. McGuire, St. Louis Trades and Labor Assembly; T. Thompson, Iron Molders' Union, Dayton, O; Geo. W. Osborn, Iron Molders' Union, Springfield, O.; W. E. Pollner, Cleveland Trades Assembly; Sam F. Leffingwell, Indianapolis Trades Assembly, and J. R. Backus, Terre Haute Amalgamated Labor Union. In the report made by Mark W. Moore, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the preliminary meeting held in Terre Haute, the following names were also given as endorsing the call:

Geo. Clark, President International Typographical Union; P. F. Fitzpatrick, President Iron Molders' Union of America; John Kinnear, President Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Boston, Mass., and George Rodgers, President Chicago Trades Assembly.

There were 107 delegates present at the Pittsburgh convention, representing 262,000 workingmen. A permanent organization was formed and named the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. A legislative committee, now known as the Executive Council, was appointed, consisting of Richard Powers, of the Seamen's Union, of Chicago; William H. Foster, of the International Typographical Union, of Cincinnati; Samuel Gompers, of the International Cigar Makers' Union, of New York; C. F. Burgman, of the Tailors' International Union, of San Francisco, and A. C. Rankin, of the Knights of Labor Iron Molders, of Pittsburgh. Knights of Labor assemblies and trades unions were equally represented, and it was thoroughly understood that the trade unionists should preserve their form of organization and the Knights of Labor should maintain theirs, and that the two should work hand in hand for the thorough amalgamation of the working people under one of these two heads, and that they should use every legitimate means to offset any movement designed to create any more fragments or divisions in the labor army. The constitution of the new organization provided:

"This association shall consist of such trade and labor unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation."

This was made Article I of the constitution, "because it would keep out of the Federation political labor bodies which might try to force themselves into future deliberations."

The preamble adopted declared "the formation of a Federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded on a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our only hope." The platform favored the compulsory education of children, the abolition of child labor, the passage of uniform apprentice laws, the enforcement of the eight-hour rule, the restriction of contract prison labor and the abandonment of the store-order system. It also advocated a first lien for labor done, the repeal of the conspiracy laws against organized labor, the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics, the continuance of the protective tariff for American industry, the enactment of a national law to prevent the importration of foreign labor under contract, and urged that organized labor should have representation in all law-making bodies, in order to secure beneficial legislation. Supplementary resolutions were also passed, setting forth the necessity of legislation securing restrictions to Chinese labor, the licensing of stationary engineers, governmental inspection of factories and workshops, the sanitary supervision of food and wells, and an employers' liability law. The principles adopted were: "A shorter workday and better pay," "We recognize neither creed, color or nationality," and "all workingmen, whether mechanics or laborers, are eligible to membership."

Upon these principles the Federation was formed. Thirty-eight years later it can be said the A. F. of L. has religiously clung to those principles, the chief fundamentals being a shorter workday, higher wages and continually improving standard of living. They are demands for bread and butter, the first necessaries of life. In every crisis, where covert or open attempts were made to drag the American labor movement from its rock-ribbed economic moorings and the future was dark with forebodings, those principles successfully withstood all treacherous attacks and preserved the organization. The delegates to the first convention were well aware of the dangers ahead of Labor. They had passed through the experience of seeing other national and local labor organizations going down to oblivion after a battle on the partisan political field. They therefore proposed to start the new organization on its journey down the years with a foundation so secure neither enemies within nor without could injure its usefulness or destroy its character. The organization has moved along its course of gaining more and more benefits for its members. It has followed the path so substantially paved by the early trade unionists. It has withstood every attack of those who would lead the trade union movement out of its present wide road to success into political byways at the end of which lie buried the National Labor Union and all other national organizations of labor that had been inoculated with the virus of the political labor huckster.

The Knights of Labor was represented in this convention by 50 delegates, but none appeared in the years following, although the constitution permitted their admission. The influence of the labor press was a great aid to the organizations of Labor and the convention praised "all of them for their especial help as mouthpieces of unionism and the Federation."

At this same session it was decided to choose a committee of three and invite the coöperation of a committee of three from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, and of a committee of three from the Syndical Chambers of France, these nine to form a labor commission, whose duty it should be to proceed to Ireland, hear evidence and acquaint themselves with the causes of discontent in that country; thence to proceed to London and Paris, make investigations of the condition of the working classes there, and publish their report. But, from want of action on the part of the trades unions of England, the project fell through.

In the interim until the next convention the Legislative Committee of the Federation set to work and secured several hearings before congressional committees of the House and Senate, which resulted in the appointment of a special Senate Committee to make a thorough investigation of the labor question. Repeated hearings were had before this committee in favor of an enforcement of the eight-hour law and the creation of a national bureau of labor statistics, and in opposition to a bill to make the lake seamen, if they should ever strike or use their influence upon others during a strike, guilty in the eyes of the law of mutiny at sea, and liable to punish-

ment accordingly. So strong was the opposition to this bill that it was shortly afterward buried in the committee.

On all the various subjects noted above, bills were introduced by the Federation and placed in the hands of prominent Congressmen for enactment. The creation of the Department of Labor, with the Secretary a member of the President's Cabinet is one of the great victories of the Federation. In 1881 the question of a Bureau of Labor Statistics was considered and Congress was urged to create such a department. In 1883 the law was enacted, but it was only after vigorous prodding for months that the President of the United States appointed a Commissioner of Labor. In 1896 the Executive Council was directed to prepare a bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor. The bill was met with an opposition measure to establish a Department of Commerce and Industries. The convention contended:

> "From the foundation of our government up to the present day the representatives of business and commerce have had absolute and exclusive representation in the Cabinet and in every department of our government. Since the wage earners of our country are so essential to its well being, and they form so large and overwhelming a number of the citizenship of the United States, it does seem as if the interests and needs of Labor require a direct representative in the councils of the President."

The 1900 convention opposed the creation of a Department of Commerce and Industries and reaffirmed emphatically its demand for a Department of Labor. Congress, however, established the former, which absorbed the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Federation did not rest, but continued its agitation for a Department of Labor. Ten years later Congress enacted a law for its establishment. No provision, however, was made for paying the expenses of the department or the salaries of its officers. A year later an emergency appropriation was passed, but it did not provide sufficient funds. The convention contended that to have it thus handicapped in its initial work retarded the progress of the great humanitarian purpose for which the department was brought into existence. It said:

> "We cannot too strongly condemn the niggardly, picayunish policy of Congress in dealing with the only department entrusted with promoting the welfare of the wage workers."

W. B. Wilson, the Secretary of Labor, is a coal miner. He has been a member of the Miners' Unions for forty-eight years. Soon after his appointment he was accused of being partisan to labor. In an address to the 1914 convention he answered this by saying:

> "I never have understood the trade union movement stood for anything else than justice to the wage workers. It never has desired to impose an injustice on anybody else. If securing justice to those who earn their bread in the sweat of their face constitutes partisanship, then count me as a partisan of labor."

Since its establishment, the Department of Labor, despite obstacles, has rapidly become a great humanizing force. Its investigations of economic conditions are the most complete ever made by any government and the results when published have made the whole world marvel at the advanced methods of the United States to lighten the burdens of the great masses of the population. The Secretary of Labor has permitted no influence to interfere with his determination to let the people know the truth. The Monthly Bulletins printed by the Department are not equalled in any other country. In fact, the entire work of the Department is a prodigious step in the evolution of the country's humanitarian work.

The first convention declared for the protection of American workingmen through a tariff on imports. This became a political issue and in the 1882 session the plank was eliminated from the platform. This was objected to by the iron and steel workers and they refused to send delegates to the next convention. In answer the Secretary of the Federation sent this reply:

> "It was the unanimous desire of the convention that the Federation should remain unpledged on this vexed question, and protectionists as well as

free-traders voted for the motion to place the organization upon a neutral footing. It was believed the tariff was a political issue and one on which men equally honest in the labor movement might always differ. It was thought best, therefore, while so large a field for harmonious and united action remained open for trade unionists that the tariff plank should not be forced upon those who could otherwise subscribe to our platform of principles."

Fearing that some disaster might overtake this organization, as had been the fate of its predecessors, a manifesto was issued to the subordinate unions, discountenancing political action, on the ground that the Federation had been organized as a purely industrial body. The manifesto set forth further:

"We favor this Federation because it is the most natural and assimilative form of bringing the trades and labor unions together. It preserves the industrial autonomy and distinctive character of each trade and labor union, and, without doing violence to their faith or traditions, blends them all in one harmonious whole—a 'federation of trades and labor unions.' Such a body looks to the organization of the working classes as workers, and not as 'soldiers' (in the present deprecatory sense) or politicians. It makes the qualities of a man as a worker the only test of fitness, and sets up no political or religious test of membership. It strives for the unification of all labor, not by straining at an enforced union of diverse thought and widely separated methods, not by prescribing a uniform plan of organization, regardless of their experience or interests, not by antagonizing or destroying existing organizations, but by preserving all that is integral or good in them and by widening their scope so that each, without destroying their individual character, may act together in all that concerns them. The open trades unions, national and international, can and ought to work side by side with the Knights of Labor, and this would be the case were it not for men either over-zealous or ambitious, who busy themselves in attempting the destruction of existing unions to serve their own whims and mad iconoclasm. This should cease and each should understand its proper place and work in that sphere, and if they desire to come under one head or affiliate their affairs, then let all trades and labor societies, secret or public, be represented in the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions."

As will be observed from reading this manifesto, the friction between the Federation and the Knights of Labor had already become serious and irritating. The next convention, that of 1883, favored arbitration instead of strikes. The eight-hour rule was insisted upon and laws were demanded to limit the dividends of corporations and to introduce governmental telegraph systems. A committee was appointed to wait on the national conventions of both the Republican and Democratic parties the following year, and secure the insertion of planks in their respective platforms favorable to the interests of the labor movement. The Legislative Committee was instructed to present a bill to Congress creating a national Department of Industry or Labor. This project also, like many of those foregoing, was strenuously advocated later by the Knights of Labor as an idea of their own. Before the convention adjourned another committee was appointed to confer with the Knights of Labor and other kindred organizations with a view to securing a thorough unification and consolidation. Correspondence was subsequently opened with the Knights of Labor on the subject, but the proposition was repulsed.

The 1885 convention in Washington was principally directed to strengthening the national organization and preparing for the eight-hour movement. The Knights of Labor had been invited to coöperate but had adjourned its General Assembly at Hamilton, Ohio, without taking any action or expressing any sympathy for the shorter workday campaign.

The 1886 convention was originally called to meet in St. Louis in the latter part of the year, but the stirring events incident to the eight-hour strikes and the difficulties existing with the Knights of Labor led to the memorable conference of the officers of the trades unions on May 18, where defensive measures were outlined

to protect the trades unions and to secure harmony with the Knights of Labor. A committee attended the special session of the Knights' General Assembly, at Cleveland, on May 26, and after several days' waiting, marked by long and animated discussions in the General Assembly on trade-union issues, no definite assurances were obtained, and no action was taken. The trades union committee a second time met the Knights of Labor Executive Board on September 26, and secured promises that definite action would be taken at the Richmond General Assembly, which would lead to harmony between the two organizations.

The trade unions objected to the admission to the Knights of Labor of members who had been suspended, expelled, or rejected for cause by their own organization; they opposed the formation of Knights of Labor assemblies in trades already thoroughly organized into trade unions, and complained of the use of Knights of Labor trade-marks or labels, in competition with their own labels, notably so in the case of the Cigar Makers' International Union. At the Richmond General Assembly, the trade union chiefs presented a mass of grievances, showing where their local unions had been tampered with by Knights of Labor organizers, where movements had been made to disrupt them, and where, in cases where such disruption could not be effected, antagonistic organizations were formed by the Knights. The General Assembly, however, instead of removing these alleged evils or giving satisfactory redress to the trade union element, administered to the Federation a slap in the face, as the latter understood it, by passing a resolution compelling the members of Cigar Makers' International Union connected with the Knights of Labor to withdraw from the order.

The call for the St. Louis convention of the Federation was then abrogated, and a circular was issued designating Columbus, Ohio, as the place of meeting on December 8. At the same time all organizations not already affiliated with the Federation, were urged to attend a trade union convention to be held in the same place on the following day. After four days' joint sessions of the bodies, the old Federation of trade and labor unions was dissolved, and the American Federation of Labor—the result of long thought, mature brains, and arduous toil—was born to the world.

Twenty-five national organizations were blended in it, with an aggregate member-ship of 316,469 workingmen. A plan of permanent organization was adopted, very simple in its details, and an executive council of five members and chief officers were elected. Resolutions were passed favoring the early adoption of the eight-hour rule, demanding of Congress the passage of a compulsory indenture law, and condemning the Pinkertons' Preventive Patrol, and the Coal and Iron Police. After much deliberation, a constitution was agreed upon, in which the main objects of the great organization were stated to be "the encouragement of formation of local unions, and the closer federation of such societies, through central trade and labor unions in every city, with the further combination of these bodies into state, territorial, and provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interests of the working masses; the establishment of national and international trade unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies; and the aiding and encouragement of the labor press of America."

The new Federation was democratic in principle and its affairs were conducted in the most frugal manner, the antithesis of those of the Knights of Labor. The latter began, from that year, to disintegrate, while the Federation continued to move onward and soon became so strongly entrenched it was impossible for its enemies to endanger its future. Since its inception the Federation has not been in any manner a secret organization. Its conventions are open to all who may wish to attend, whether friend or foe. Its proceedings are printed and distributed to all who desire them. Occasionally detective agencies will trick a number of manufacturers who are not in touch with Labor to pay enormous sums for secret information secured by operatives at the Federation conventions. It is a confidence game pure and simple, as there is nothing done that is not given the freest publicity. Publicity is sought, not avoided.

In a retrospect of the history of the American Federation of Labor in 1905 the

convention called attention to the revolutionary change in thought of those who had so long opposed the trade unions. It declared that no one could doubt for a moment the efficacy of the labor movement and the high and lofty character of its aims, adding:

> "With pride and satisfaction we all observe the advanced stage of public opinion; the more friendly attitude it has assumed toward the work, splendid attainments, and the high aims of the organized American labor movement. To place the trade unions of the American Federation of Labor upon a still more exalted plane, to be of still further and greater advantage to our fellows, to aid to the fullest in securing better and still better material, economic, social and moral conditions for the toiling masses and for all our people, is the mission of our great movement. We are conscious of omitting no word or act calculated to be helpful to the great cause with which we have the honor to be associated. With the growing intelligence and persistency, with energy, faithfulness and earnestness of purpose of our fellow workers, we have an abiding faith of the absolute triumph of the principles and purposes for which our movement stands. We cannot too strongly impress upon the minds of all to still greater activity, that we may each year pass a milestone from the misery, poverty and degradation of the past, and on the rational, natural road of trade union evolution, reach the goal of justice, right and humanity. In that cause we are all enlisted, and our progress and triumph will be measured by the unity and federation, by the intelligence and the faithfulness and devotion to the cause of labor, which in its alpha and omega is the cause of humanity."

The 1916 convention again referred to the marvelous change in public sentiment, saying:

> "The history of the trade union movement at its inception reveals it was regarded as too insignificant for attention and was omitted entirely from serious consideration. As the movement gained in strength, power and influence, when the workers of our country had compelled public recognition it was treated with contempt and uncompromising hostility, regarded as a social enemy and an obstacle to our economic and industrial progress. All this has changed. Trade unions are now acknowledged essential to the interests of the men and women of labor and justified as an invaluable institution to human progress and for the advancement of a higher and a greater civilization."

One of the landmarks of Washington is the American Federation of Labor Building. It cost $189,317.68. The architecture of the structure represents the same thought that has animated the construction of the trade union movement. Its beautiful lines and stability, the quality of material used, the conveniences provided for carrying on the business of the great humanitarian movement, all emphasize the wonderful strength and adaptability of the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

In ancient days all social laws failed because they left out the laborer. He was neither heaven-born nor could he worship the same religion as his master. He was denied his liberty and a soul. It is a long journey from those days of antiquity, but in the centuries that have passed the struggles of Labor for a place in the sun have been unceasing. Its trials and defeats were unending. The endeavor to organize during the nineteenth century were met by the destructive tactics of the employers backed by the bludgeons of the law. It was not until the American Federation of Labor was formed in 1881 that Labor found a plan of organization that has stood the intriguing and blows of the employers, the courts and industrial autocracy. But no matter how great the opposition, how effective have been the ever coercive methods of destruction aimed at the organization and its members, the trade union movement has lived and has grown. It has moved onward and upward. No matter how great the upheaval or bitterness over politics, it has stood as the rock of Gibraltar, impossible of overthrow. Does that not prove that the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is built are enduring, that some great power of resistance is hidden in the trade union principles that will keep it alive?

CONSTITUTION OF THE A. F. OF L. 1918-1919

PREAMBLE—Whereas, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit. It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled. We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION—ARTICLE I—Name: This Association shall be known as The American Federation of Labor, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II—Objects: Section 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

Sec. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III—Convention: Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m. on the second Monday in June, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 3. The following committee, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

Sec. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

Sec. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

Sec. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

Sec. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV—Representation: Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to

unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than April 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organizatieon he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V—Officers: Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of August succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council

ARTICLE VI—Duties of President: Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Fedration.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling, and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

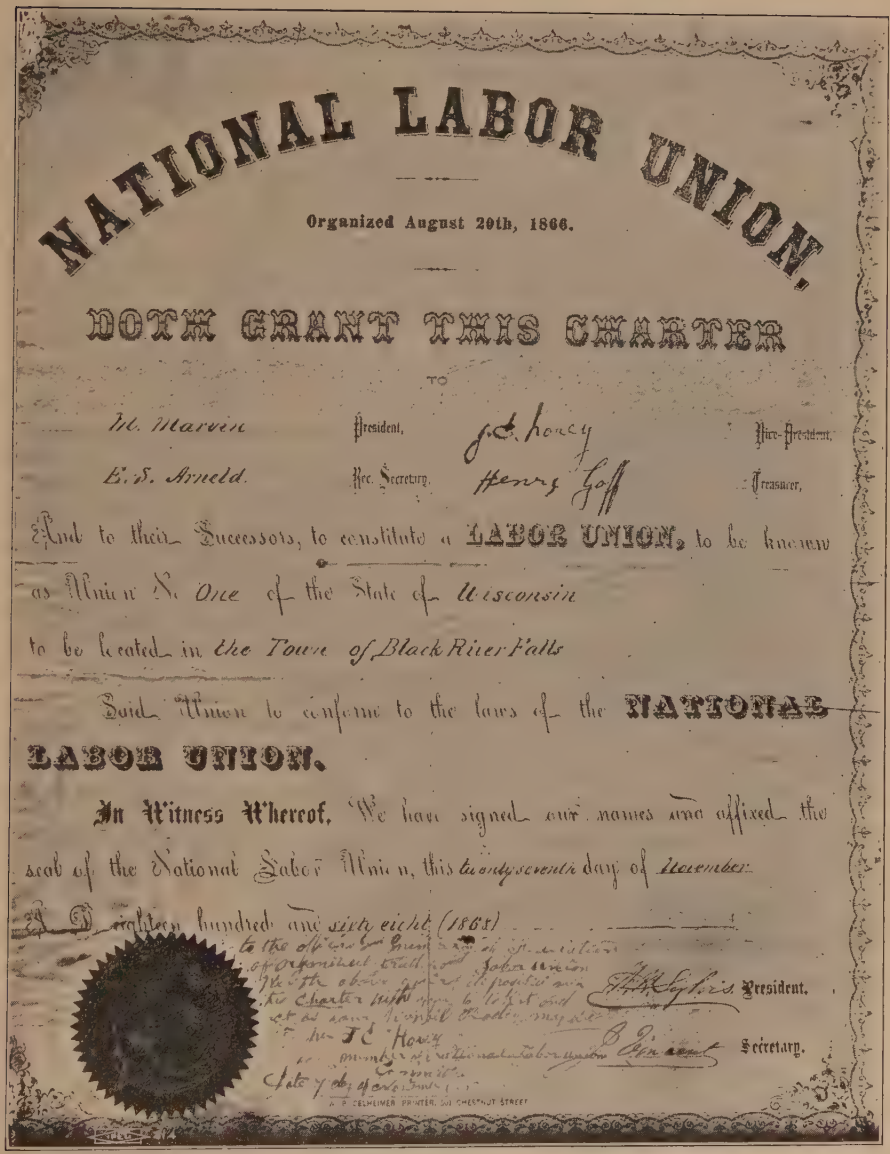
Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII—Duties of Secretary: Section 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding $2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on April 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of $2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the



NATIONAL LABOR UNION.

Organized August 20th, 1866.

DOTH GRANT THIS CHARTER

TO

W. Marvin President, J. C. Honey Vice-President,

E. S. Arnold. Rec. Secretary. Henry Goff Treasurer,

And to their Successors, to constitute a LABOR UNION, to be known

as Union No One of the State of Wisconsin

to be located in the Town of Black River Falls

Said Union to conform to the laws of the NATIONAL LABOR UNION.

In Witness Whereof, We have signed our names and affixed the seal of the National Labor Union, this twenty seventh day of November

A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty eight (1868)

to the Officers and Members of Organized Trade and Labor Union No 1 We the above officers of said Union do hereby certify that the Charter issued upon the 27th day of November A. D. 1868 to the J. C. Honey and members of said Union has been lost and destroyed and that the same is a true copy of the original Charter issued to said Union

State of Wisconsin } ss
County }

W. Marvin President.

E. S. Arnold Secretary.

A. P. CELHEIMER PRINTER, 301 CHESTNUT STREET

CHARTER OF NATIONAL LABOR UNION, 1866

AMERICAN FEDERATION of LABOR

DOTH GRANT THIS

Certificate of Affiliation

To A. Strasser, John S. Kirchner,
C. W. Perkins, Frank H. Gill,
Samuel Gompers, Fr. Westermayer,
George S. Warren, Wm. Nemoth,
Aug. Strimel,

and to their successors legally qualified, to constitute the Union herein named and known under the title of

Cigar Makers International Union of America

for the purpose of a thorough organization of the trade, and a more perfect Federation of all TRADES and LABOR UNIONS. And the Union being duly formed, is empowered and authorized to initiate into its membership any person or persons in accordance with its own laws. And to conduct the business affairs of said Union in compliance with the best interests of the trade and labor in general. The autonomy of the Union is hereby ordained and secured.

Provided, That the said Union do conform to the Constitution, Laws, Rules and Regulations of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and in default thereof, or any part, this Certificate of Affiliation may be suspended or revoked according to the laws of this FEDERATION. And should the said Cigar Makers International Union of America be dissolved, suspended or forfeit this Certificate of Affiliation, then the persons to whom this Certificate of Affiliation is granted, or their successors, bind themselves to surrender the same with such other property as shall properly belong to this FEDERATION. And further, in consideration of the due performance of the above, the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

does hereby bind itself to support the said Cigar Makers International Union of America in the exercise of all its rights, privileges and autonomy as an affiliated Union.

In Witness Whereof, We have subscribed our Names and affixed the SEAL of the American Federation of Labor, this First day of May A. D. One Thousand Nine Hundred and Nineteen

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

- John McGompers — President.
- James Duncan — 1st Vice-President.
- Jos. F. Valentine — 2d " "
- Wm. D. Mahon — 3rd " "
- Frank Duffy — 4th " "
- Chas. Fischer — 5th " "
- W. D. Mahon — 6th " "
- [illegible] — 7th " "
- Jacob Fischer — 8th " "
- Daniel J. Tobin — Treasurer.
- Frank Morrison — Secretary

CHARTER OF AFFILIATION, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, 1919

Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII—Duties of Treasurer: Section 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be $500.

ARTICLE IX—Executive Council: Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be $7 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of $4 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change

its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X—Revenue: Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of seven-eights of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, $10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to April 30 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this article.

ARTICLE XI—Local Central Bodies: Section 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

Sec. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless

they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

ARTICLE XII—Assessment in Defense of National and International Unions: Section 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII—Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions: Section 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized, and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four ($4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand ($5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than sixty (60) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than $1 nor more than $10, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded

to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the members' due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIV—Miscellaneous: Section 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five ($5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV—General Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor: Section 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments

other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of August immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll call be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the American Federationist to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI—Amendments: This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

DELEGATES TO 1918 CONVENTION

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators—Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 11th Street, Elmhurst, L. I.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, 310 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.; Peter Beisel, New Club Hall, 13th and Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.; R. C. Schneider, 29 Oakland St., Salem, Mass.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.; Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.; Jas. C. Shanessy, 222 Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.; C. M. Feider, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.; C. F. Foley, 420 N. Second St., Pottsville, Pa.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance—Thomas Noonan, 2 Elton St., Dorchester, Mass.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, 1235 Transportation Bldg., 608 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; Wm. F. Kramer, 1235 Transportation Bldg., 608 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; W. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice St., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Rooms 1 & 2, Law Building, Kansas City, Kans; Louis Weyand, Rooms 1 & 2, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.; Chas. F. Scott. 417 Heed Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.; Chas. McGowan, 2104 3d Ave., Rock Island, Ill.; Dan McKillop, 214 Jefferson St., Seattle, Wash.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.; Walter N. Reddick, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Collis Lovely, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.; Chas. L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.; John F. Grant, 65 Battles St., Brockton, Mass.; Mary Noonan, 1827 Bason St., St. Louis, Mo.; Frederick C. Schmidt, 938 Bank St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—John Sullivan, 25 Third Ave., New York, N. Y.; Albert J. Kugler, 167 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J.; Joseph Proebstle, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio; Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio; John Rader, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Wm. J. Bowen, University Park Bldg., Indian-

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apolis, Ind.; Thos. R. Preece, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; Wm. Dobson, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; Malcolm Geddes, 328 Van Buren St., St. Paul, Minn.; John J. Corcoran, 358 So. Hamlin Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Walter V. Price, 174 St. Nicholas Ave., New York, N. Y.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, the United—Frank Butterworth, 166 W. Washington St., Suite 700, Chicago, Ill.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association—J. E. McClory, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; Sam Tobin, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; P. J. Morrin, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; F. M. Ryan, 304 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will R. Boyer, 851 King Place, Chicago, Ill.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood of Railway—Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Fred Schnorr, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Venner Anderson, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; O. J. Shoemaker, Box No. 526, Wichita Falls, Texas; Theodore Thompson, Route 4, Box No. 37, Fort Worth, Texas.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Bldg., 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.; Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.; O. E. Woodbury, 443 East 43d St., Chicago, Ill.; T. M. Guerin, 290 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.; E. W. Van Duyn, 517 Franklin Ave., Des Moines, Iowa; Bob White, 1002 West 21st St., Oklahoma City, Okla.; J. A. Ross, 813 Oakwood St., Pittsburgh, Pa.; P. H. McCarthy, Merchants Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. Tenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.; W. A. Campbell, Care of G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.; R. S. Sexton, Care of G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—James J. Forrester, Room 407 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Rose Yates, 30 Belmont St., Worcester, Mass.; Fred W. Smith, 637 Simpson Ave., St. Paul, Minn.; H. C. Reeves, Northern Pacific R. R. Office, Minneapolis, Minn.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—E. E. Baker, 132 E. St. Clair St., New Philadelphia, Ohio; H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana; W. G. Desepte, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Cal.

Coopers' International Union of N. A.—Andrew C. Hughes, 1012 Boylston St., Newton Highlands, Mass.; James J. Doyle, 615 South St., Roslindale, Mass.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 323 Washington St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—Jas. P. Noonan, 408 Reisch Bldg., Springfield, Ill.; Martin T. Joyce, 427 Old South Bldg., Boston, Mass.; Jas. J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.; Frank Fisher, 122½ Capitol St., Charleston, W. Va.; C. E. Brissman, 75 W. 7th St., St. Paul, Minn.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 708 S. 52d St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Engineers' Beneficial Association of the U. S. of A., National Marine—William S. Brownfi 356 Ellicott Sq. Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Milton Snellings, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Jas. G. Hannahan, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Herman M. Comerford, 696 Washington St., Boston, Mass.; E. L. Edgerton, 212 Post-Standard Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.; Peter J. Brady, 923 Pulitzer Bldg., New York, N. Y.

Federal Employes, National Federation of—E. J. Newmyer, 409 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Luther C. Steward, 4015 Chestnut Ave., Kansas City, Mo.; Chas. F. Nagl, 480 Federal Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Thomas G. Spellacy, 546 Brandywine Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.; Owen C. Dunn, Fire Headquarters, St. Paul, Minn.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, 211 East 45th St., New York, N. Y.; C. L. Shamp, 3615 No. 24th St., Omaha, Nebr.; Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.; William J. Brennan, 66 So. Orange Ave., Newark, N. J.

Foundry Employes, National Brotherhood of—A. R. Linn, 810 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Canada, International—Philip A. Silberstein, 291 Stockton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Morris Kaufman, 747 E. 182d St., Bronx, N. Y.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.; B. A. Larger, Room 117 Bible House, New York, N. Y.; John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Margaret C. Daley, Room 117 Bible House, New York, N. Y.; Frank Doyle, Room 117 Bible House, New York, N. Y.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, 31 Union Square, New York City; Jacob Heller, 117 2d Ave., New York, N. Y.; Max Gorenstein, 7 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.; Al. Laporta, Lincoln Park, New Jersey; M. Friedman, 16 W. 21st St., New York, N. Y.; I. Feinberg, 40 E. 23rd St., New York City.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada—John A. Voll, 1005-8 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.; John W. Clifton, 201 W. Grant St., Streator, Ill.; Thomas W. Eames, 517 N. Second St., Millville, N. J.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, 738 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio; John F. Kennedy, 212 N. Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; John B. O'Brien, N. Myrtle Ave., Vineland, N. J.

Glass Workers, National Window—J. M. Neenan, 419 Electriv Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio; J. G. Montross, Utica, Ohio.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Agnes Nestor, 139 North Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, 25

School St., Quincy, Mass.; Alexander W. Russell, 21 Gilmore St., Quincy, Mass.; Joseph D. Will, 356 N. Main St., Barre, Vt.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, 72 Bible House, New York City; Cornelius F. McCue, 251 Main St., Danbury, Conn.; Richard M. Humphrey, 989 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hod Carriers, Builders and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.; J. B. Etchison, 120 North Noble St., Indianapolis, Ind.; J. V. Moreschi, 1055 North Richmond St., Chicago, Ill.; John Carley, 310 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; W. F. Dwyer, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal.

Horse Shoers of U. S. and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—John F. Kane, 4430 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.; Hubert S. Marshall, 707 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, 375 Oak St., Buffalo, N. Y.: Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio; Thomas S. Farrell, 1936 E. 83rd St., Suite 6, Cleveland, Ohio; Emanuel Kovelaski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.; John J. McDevitt, 926 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, Room 506 House Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.; John J. Sullivan, 913 144th St., E. Chicago, Ind.

Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated—David L. Gould, 545 West Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, 401 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio; Joseph H. Duty, Room 5, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, P. O. Box 11, Station 1, Troy, N. Y.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 504 Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainor, Kenois Bldg., Washington, D. C.; John T. Mcgavin, 3114 Woodburn Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio; Charles D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill.; L. E. Swartz, 1200 Seventh Ave., North Nashville, Tenn.

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Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, 704 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.; Thomas P. Woodland, 2908 Fourth St., New Orleans, La.; George F. Freitas, 217 Lawrence St., Sandusky, Ohio; Simon P. O'Brien, 281 Cumberland Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

Machinists, International Association of—Wm. H. Johnston, Room 300 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; A. O. Wharton, Ohio Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.; Jas. O'Connell, Room 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.;Thos. J. Savage, Room 310 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Jas. A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.; Thos. Van Lear, Minneapolis, Minn.

Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljozdal, 57 Pearl St., Winnipeg, Man., Canada; F. Finnson, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Intl. Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 446 E. 149th St., New York, N. Y.

Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of—John H. Pruett, 423½ 49th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N. A., Amalgamated—John F. Hart, Yorkville, N. Y.; Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.; Fred Schmidt, 4146 Osceola St., St. Louis, Mo.; Timothy McCreash, 653 Kansas Ave., Kansas City, Kans.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Thos. Redding, 5019 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.; Jas. T. Moriarty, 9 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.; Jas. J. Ryan, 522 South Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Chas. H. Moyer, 509 Denham Bldg., Denver, Colo.; Wm. Davidson, New Denver, B. C., Canada; Patrick Deloughery, care of Box 229, Butte, Mont.; Joseph D. Cannon, 143 West 81st St., New York, N. Y.

Mine Workers of America, United—Frank J. Hayes, 1106 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; John P. White, 1109 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; William Green, 1107 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; John H. Walker, 302 Workman Bldg., Springfield, Ill.; Frank Farrington, 508 Farmers' Bank Bldg., Springfield, Ill.; John Moore, 77 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio; John L. Lewis, 1109 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; John T. Dempsey, 512 Miller Bldg., Scranton, Pa.

Molders' Union of N. A., International—Jos. F. Valentine, Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio; John P. Frey, Box No. 699, Cincinnati, Ohio; Daniel Regan, Sunnyvale, Cal; Arthur Burns, Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.; J. W. Mara, 130 Endicott St., Worcester, Mass.

Musicians, American Federation of—Jos. N. Weber, 110-112 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.; Owen Miller, 3535 Pine St., St. Louis, Mo.; Jos. F. Winkler, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago.; D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Painters' Decorators and Paperhangers of A., Brotherhood of—Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.; J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.; P. J. Guerin, 318 4th St., Troy, N. Y.; A. J. McKeon, Box No. 571, Bridgeport, Conn.; John J. Lynch, 23a Grove St., Medford, Hillside, Mass.; A. Avins, 138-40 E. 112th St., New York, N. Y.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, 127 North Pearl St., Albany, N. Y.; Geo. J. Schneider, 941 State St., Appleton, Wis.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—Jas. A. Wilson, Rooms 1008-9 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio; Jas. L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. 57th St., New York, N. Y.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States

of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, Box 27, Albion, N. Y.

Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, Intl—Chas. Dold, 166 W. Washington St., Room 610, Chicago, Ill.

Plasterers' International Association of the U. S. and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, Castell Bldg., Middletown, Ohio; John Donlin, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Chris Hede, 908 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.; Thomas George, 1321 Russell Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the U. S. and Canada, United Assn. of—John R. Alpine, 411 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.; Thomas S. Kearney, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.; Charles Anderson, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa; Charles M. Rau, 126 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. V. Britton, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio; George Leary, 408 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio; H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard Ave., W. Pullman Station, Chicago, Ill.

Postal Employes, National Federation of—Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 400, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, Box No. 6, East Liverpool, Ohio; Will T. Blake, Box No. 34, East Liverpool, Ohio.

Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., Machine, Natl. Association of—Patrick E. Lyons, 334 Trenton Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.

Printers' Union of N. A., Intl. Steel and Copper Plate—Daniel Hassett, 2024 I St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of N. A., International—Geo. L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.; Wm. H. McHugh, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.; Chas. O. Isaacson, 148 W. George St., St. Paul, Minn.; Thomas Yould, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.; Chas. L. Strunk, 495 St. Anthony Ave., St. Paul, Minn.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Canada, Intl. Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer K, Fort Edward, N. Y.; Herbert W. Sullivan, Main St., Orono, Me.; Maurice LaBelle, P. O. Box 263, Sturgeon Falls, Ont., Canada.

Quarry Workers' International Union of N. A.—Fred W. Suitor, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.

Railway Employes of America, Amal. Assn. of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, 104 East High St., Detroit, Mich.; Wm. Quinlan, 332-334 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.; P. T. Sheehan, 167 Copeland St., Campello, Mass.; Michael J. Cahill, 125 Illinois St., Central Falls, R. I.

Railway Mail Association—William M. Collins, 604 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Walter J. Brown, 1391 Commonwealth Ave., Allston, Mass.; James R. McCoy, 1329 Benton Boulevard, Kansas City, Kans.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the U. S. and Canada, Intl. Brotherhood of—Henry Sands, 346 Sussex Ave., Newark, N. J.

Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile—J. M. Gavlak, 3643 W. 47th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, 57 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.; Paul Scharrenberg, Underwood Bldg., 525 Market St., San Francisco, Cal.; Patrick Flynn, 58 Commercial St., San Francisco, Cal.; John Vance Thompson, 49 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.; Oscar Carlson, 40 Burling Slip, New York, N. Y.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Railroad—D. W. Helt, 533 S. Market St., Shamokin, Pa.

Spinners' International Union—Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman St., Holyoke, Mass.

Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Chas. C. Shay, 107 West 46th St., New York, N. Y.; Lester G. Dolliver, 107 West 46th St., New York, N. Y.; John J. Barry, 86 Draper St., Dorchester, Mass.; John Suarez, 1434 N. Garrison Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of—W. M. Welsh, Room 303, 39 Cortland St., New York, N. Y.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of N. A., International—Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.; J. Fremont Frey, The News, Indianapolis, Ind.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Sam Griggs, 528 Am. Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; Walter W. Drayer, 528 Am. Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 Jefferson Ave., East, Detroit, Mich.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Samuel E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.; Thos. Clohessy, 7207 Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.; Jas. B. Connors, Room 600, 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

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Teachers, American Federation of—Charles B. Stillman, 1620 Lake Ave., Wilmette, Ill.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.; Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.; William A. Neer, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.; John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline St., Boston, Mass.; James Wilson, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, Cal.

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Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, 86 Bible House, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Sara A. Conboy, 86 Bible House, New York, N. Y.; Thomas F. McMahon, 762 Atwells Ave., Providence, R. I.

Tile Layers' and Helpers' Int'l. Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—James J. Daly, 17 Welling St., Astoria, L. I., N. Y.

Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of—Louis A. B. Agethen, 547 Chauncey St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—A. McAndrew, 2002 Wayland Ave., Norwood, Ohio.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 3067 Hull Ave., New York, N. Y.
Typographical Union, International—Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio; Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Hugh Stevenson, 97 Leuty Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada; J. W. Hays, 640-650 Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.; B. G. Brady, 640 Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Upholsterers' International Union of N. A. —James H. Hatch, 229 E. 67th St., New York, N. Y.
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Illinois State Federation of Labor—John P. McGrath, 1355 Ledlie Ave., Springfield, Ill.
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Ohio State Federation of Labor—James Boyle, 217 W. Twelfth St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Edgar Fenton, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor—E. J. Stack, 412 Stock Exchange Bldg., Portland, Oreg.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Michael Eagen, Suterville, Pa.
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Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Jerry Williams, 316 Third Ave., North, Nashville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry L. Spencer, Box 403, Houston, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor—J. B. Clinedinst, Newport News, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor—Robert H. Harlin, Box 1285, Tacoma, Wash.
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Augusta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Max Wilk, The Labor Review, Augusta, Ga.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—John H. Ferguson, 2715 Jefferson St., Baltimore, Md.
Battle Creek, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Mrs. Goldie M. Spencer, 603 Ward Bldg., Battle Creek, Mich.
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Billings, Mont., Trades and Labor Assembly—Stephen Ely, Billings, Mont.
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Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—Chas. Malloy, P. O. Box 1135, Butte, Mont.
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Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Herman Derolph, 2182 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton & Campbell Counties—Harry V. Dill, Bavaria Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Dan J. O'Shea, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—Lillie M. Barber, 114 West Main St., Norfolk, Va.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council—Geo. W. Lish, 3rd and Washington Sts., Olympia, Wash.
Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council—Michael F. Greene, Orange, N. J.
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Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Joseph Richie, 417 Heed Bldg., 1211 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—Luther Ott, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Council—E. J. Vennewitz, Lumber Exchange Bldg., Portland, Oreg.
Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. H. Young, 121 East 8th St., Pueblo, Colo.
Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—A. J. Linck, 486 Water St., Racine, Wis.
Roanoke, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—Dan M. Gayton, Ponce de Leon Hotel, Roanoke, Va.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor

Council—Richard H. Curran, 107 Hobart St., Rochester, N. Y.
Rochester, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—John A. Fricke, Rochester, Minn.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union—M. McGurk, 950 N. Horsman St., Rockford, Ill.
Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—Adam Wilkinson, Roundup, Mont.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—F. W. Brand, 416 S 22nd St., St. Joseph, Mo.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—E. O. Jennings, 1745 Missouri Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
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San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—T. A. Reardon, Upper Terrace and Clifton Sts., San Francisco, Cal.
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Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—Jas. A. Duncan, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Wm. J. Fallon, 410 West 3rd St., Sioux City, Iowa.
Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—Archie Mackellan, 1936 S. Spring Ave., Sioux Falls, S. D.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—H. W. Raven, 7958 Constance Ave., Chicago, Ill.
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Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—Michael J. Scanlan, 14 Lyndale St., Springfield, Mass.
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Detroit Mich., Federation of Labor—William Bailey, 94 Macomb St., Detroit, Mich.
Dubuque, Iowa, Trades and Labor Congress—J. M. Conley, Dubuque, Iowa.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Harold Williams, P. O. Box 65, Easton, Pa.
El Paso, Tex., Central Labor Union—G. F. Hardy, El Paso, Tex.
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Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—A. G. Hutton, Box 167, Fort Worth, Tex.
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Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Claude O. Taylor, 325 Ann St., Grand Rapids, Mich.
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Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union—E. S. Alden, 214 Maple St., Holyoke, Mass.
Hoquiam, Wash., Trades and Labor Council—Harry S. Kress, 2610 Aberdeen Ave., Hoquiam, Wash.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Thomas L. Gregson, 1448 E. 69th Place, Chicago, Ill.
La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—R. G. Knutson, 614 S 3rd St., La Crosse, Wis.
Lansford, Pa., Central Labor Union of Panther Creek Valley—John B. Breslin, Lansford, Pa.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—George C. Burton, 9 Lincoln Apartments, Louisville, Ky.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—Joseph H. Brown, 740 Crandall St., Madison, Wis.
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Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Nels Nelson, 43 South 4th St., Minneapolis, Minn.
Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council—P. J. Ryan, 2 St. Paul St., East, Montreal, Que., Can.
New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union—Mrs. Fannie Sellins, Central Hotel, New Kensington, Pa.
New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union—R. P. Brindell, 1890 Daly Ave., Bronx, N. Y.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union—Samuel Ross, 109 County St., New Bedford, Mass.
New Orleans, La., Central Labor Union—F. T. Chinn, Jr., 2121 Delechaise St., New Orleans, La.
Superior, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas B. Campbell, 1809 Hughit Ave., Superior, Wis.
Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council—Thos. F. Burns, 1153½ Broadway, Tacoma, Wash.
Taft, Cal., Central Labor Union—S. C. Mosher, Taft, Cal.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—W. F. Bush, 62 Alton Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Troy, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—James Lemke, 160 3rd St., Troy, N. Y.
Vincennes, Ind., Central Labor Union—Chas. Kuhn, Vincennes, Ind.
Virginia, Minn., Central Labor Union—J. P. F. Sanders, 414 3rd St., S. Virginia, Minn.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—E. L. Tucker, 904 B St. S. E., Washington, D. C.
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Winona, Minn., Trades and Labor Council—F. H. Hester, 118 W. Mark St., Winona, Minn.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—George B. McGovern, Yonkers, N. Y.
Zanesville, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Pat Casey, 506 Luck Ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12646—Mrs. Carl Beck, 243 E. 84th St., New York, N. Y.
Cloth Examiners' and Spongers' Union No. 11680—Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 1123 Broadway, New York City.
Coal Trimmers' Union No. 15277—George

W. Millner, 948 Barney St., Norfolk, Va.
Cold Drawn Steel Workers' Union No. 15539—Walter Bruen, 210 5th St., New Brighton, Pa.
Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171—Mrs. Grace H. Harte, Suite 501, 21 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Draftsmen and Designers' Union No. 15635—M. J. Browne, care Secretary A. Strippleman, 4955 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705—Edward Lampa, 735 N. Larmie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 7426—Miss Mary Morris, 912 N. 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 11587—Ida Levi, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Federal Labor Union No. 15047—Frank Devanzo, 916 Railroad Ave., Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 15214—William B. Gay, 1816 Chestnut St., Trenton, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 15284—Robert L. Hankins, 412 Hatten Ave., Rice Lake, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 15295—William Worland, 3019 S. Wayne Ave., Ft. Wayne, Ind.
Federal Labor Union No. 15679—Ed. Wendell, P. O. Box 21, Willisville, Ill.
Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 14569, United—Minnie Teitelbaum, 7 East 15th St., New York City.
Felt, Straw, Panama, Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 15850, United—Alice Scott, 845 Broad St., Newark, N. J.
Grain Workers' Association No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 210 E. 5th St., New York City.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 15876—Wm. Schultze, 5015 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo.
Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14332—Wm. F. Quesse, 4732 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14601—G. W. Kester, 579 Selby Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Lead Burners' Union No. 14951—Joseph Staunton, 53 East 33rd St., Bayonne City, N. J.
Library Employes' Union No. 15590—May Walker, 59 West 10th St., New York City
Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15380—Plato F. Waplington, 8422 10th Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15388—J. C. P. de Krafft, 411 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Navy Yard Laborers' Union No. 16015—Thos. J. Williams, 823 Johnson Ave., Norfolk, Va.
Neckwear Makers' Union, United, No. 11016—Louis D. Berger, 64 McKibben St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200—Miss Anna Weinstock, 919 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Newsboys' Local Union No. 15834—Nathan P. Birch, 214 Orpheum Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
Office Employes' Association No. 12755—Joseph J. Ellicott, 5250 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15049—W. E. Welch, Drumright, Okla.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15387—W. W. Burns, Goose Creek, Tex.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15503—C. O. Moore.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15505—W. A. Campbell, Oil City, La.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15610—C. A. Hunter, 617 Fannin St., Shreveport, La.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15612—M. H. Crane, Fellows, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15651—Oliver Miller, Box 424, Maricopa, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15676—T. F. Bell, Vivian, La.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15691—O. D. Pinkston, Taft, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15731—R. H. Frazer, Brea, Cal.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15748—H. R. Paramore, P. O. Box 216, Guffey, Texas.
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15525—Walter J. Yarrow, Marsh Strong Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15529—John L. Coulter, Box 38, R. F. D. No. 1, Bakersfield, Cal.
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union No. 15644—J. J. Butler, Lost Hills, Cal.
Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883—Michael K. Riordan, 4419 Berkeley Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Pipe Caulkers and Tappers' Union No. 7348—Frank A. Byrne, 1428 East 10th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Railroad Laborers' Union No. 15947—C. G. Voigt, 10 Cronkhite Ave., Danville, Ill.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15781—E. B. Pruitt, Horton, Kans.
Shipyard Laborers' Union No. 15785—B. S. Lancaster, 554 St. Francis St., Mobile, Ala.
Sign and Pulletin Board Hangers, Union No. 14872—George Rincker, Villa Park, Ill. (General Delivery.)
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Mrs. J. Sharon, 26 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—J. E. Giles, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
British Trades Union Congress—F. Hall, M. P. Miners' Offices, Barnsley Yorks; Miss M. Bondfield, Dilke House, Malet st., London, W. C. I.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Thomas Moore, Niagara Falls, South, Ontario, Can.
Women's International Union Label League—Miss Anna Fitzgerald.
National Women's Trade Union League—Miss Melinda Scott, 43 E. 22nd St., New York City.
National Labor Publicity Organization—David J. Berry, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.

DELEGATES TO 1881 CONVENTION

Adams, John F., Pittsburgh—Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L.
Bengough, H. H., Pittsburgh—Printers' Local Assembly 1630, K. of L.
Betting, William, Chicago—Cigarmakers' Protective Union No. 14.
Brant, Lyman A., Detroit—International Typographical Union.
Brennan, W. J., Pittsburgh—L. A. 791, K. of L.
Burgman, Charles F., San Francisco—Representative Assembly of the Pacific Coast Trades and Labor Unions.
Byrne, Michael J., Buffalo—Operative Plasterers' Union
Carroll, Thomas, Pittsburgh—Horseshoers' L. A. 1586, K. of L.
Cline, Isaac—Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L.
Conway, Michael F., Pittsburgh—Miners' Association.
Cooke, George, Brooklyn—Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
Cowan, Archibald, Coal Bluff, Pa.—L. A. 151. K. of L.
Cox, M. W., New Castle—Good Will Lodge No. 59, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Crawford, Daniel, Pittsburgh—Carpenters' and Joiners' L. A. 1498, K. of L.
Crawford, Mark L., Dwyer, Leo P., Chicago—Amalgamated Painters' Union.
Crozier, James W., Pittsburgh—L. A. 1632, K. of L.
Cummin, Sherman. Boston—Typographical Union No. 13.
Cumming, Thomas, Allegheny—Carpenters' L. A. 1588.
Davis, W. H., Pittsburgh—Sligo Lodge No. 8, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Dolan, William, Pittsburgh—Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L.
Donahue, John W., Pittsburgh—L. A. 1689, K. of L.
Dovey, George, Pittsburgh—Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L.
Edmund, Richard, Unionville, N. J.—District Assembly No. 2, Knights of Labor, Malaga
Egan, M. D., Pittsburgh—Stonecutters' Association of Allegheny County.
Erb, Charles, Detroit—Council of Trades and Labor Unions of Detroit.
Evans, W., Pittsburgh—Harmony Lodge No. 18, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Tyler, John W., Pittsburgh—Boilermakers' L. A. 1595, K. of L.
Fesse, John H., Pittsburgh—Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300.
Fisher, D. A., Pittsburgh—L. A. 1302, K. of L.
Foster, W. H., Cincinnati—Trades and Labor Assembly of Cincinnati and Vicinity.
Fowitz, Gustav, Baltimore—German-American Typographical Union.
Francis, David, Pittsburgh—Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300.
Gaw, R. R., Pittsburgh—Tailors' L. A. 1620, K. of L.
Gompers, Samuel, New York—Cigarmakers' International Union of America.
Grandison, Jeremiah, Pittsburgh—L. A. 1665, K. of L.
Gray, John, West Elizabeth—L. A. 109, K. of L.
Gullyes, Robert, Pittsburgh—L. A. 1548, K. of L.
Hanigan, Patrick, Pittsburgh—L. A. 1638, K. of L.
Henneberry, Thomas, Cleveland, Ohio—Coopers' International Union of North America.
Hill, John, Pittsburgh—Iron Molders' Union No. 243.
Howard, Robert, Fall River—Cotton and Mule Spinners' Association.
Hunter, Thomas J., Pittsburgh—Carpenters' L. A., K. of L.
Jarrett, John, Pittsburgh—National Lodge A. A. of I. and S. W.
Kelley, John, Buffalo—Unions' Assembly.
Klokke, Fred J., Buffalo—Buffalo Branch of Chicago Seamen's Union.
Kelly, John M., Pittsburgh—Friendship Lodge No. 50, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Kinnear, John, Cambridge, Mass.—Central Trades and Labor Union.
Kugelmaier, Jacob, Pittsburgh—L. A. 1534, K. of L.
Layton, R. D., Pittsburgh—Third District K. of L.
Leffingwell, Sam L., Indianapolis—Trades and Labor Assembly.
Lucker, D., Pittsburgh—L. A. 1397, K. of L.
Lynch, Charles D., Detroit—Brass Finishers and Molders' Protective Union No. 1.
Lynch, James, New York—Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union of New York and Vicinity.
McBride Thomas J., Pittsburgh—Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L.
McClure, Joseph, Pittsburgh—Cigarmakers' L. A. 1374, K. of L.
McGill, Michael, Pittsburgh—L. A. 1606, K. of L.
McGonnell, Thomas J., Pittsburgh—Pattern Makers' L. A. 1302, K. of L.
McIver, M., Pittsburgh—Stonemasons' L. A. 1621, K. of L.
McKean William G., Erie—Typographical Union No. 77.
McMasters, Thomas, Pittsburgh—L. A. 1525. K. of L.
McWilliams, Alexander McK., Pittsburgh—Typographical Union No. 7.
Mackenzie, Kenneth, New York—Bookbinders' Protective Association of New York and Vicinity.
Madera, A., St. Louis—Trades and Labor Assembly.
Maloy, James, Pittsburgh—Soho Lodge No. 70, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Meagher, John, Erie—Iron Molders' Union No. 38.
Menke, George C., Marietta—Iron Molders' Union No. 207.
Michels, James, Pittsburgh—Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L.
Moore, C. T., Pittsburgh—L. A. 1575, K. of L.
Moore, William, Buffalo—Boot and Shoemakers' Union.
Morgan, David W., Pittsburgh—L. A. 1477. K. of L.
Morgan, John J., Allegheny—Bishop Lodge No. 38, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Osborn, George W., Springfield, Ohio—Iron Molders' Union No. 72.

Owens, A. M., CClarksburg—D. A. 39, K. of L.
Pollitt, William, Pittsburgh—Glass Packers' L. A. 1653, K. of L.
Pollner, William C., Cleveland—Trades Assembly.
Powell, Eli, Pittsburgh—Engineers' L. A. 1536, K. of L.
Powers, Richard, Chicago—Seamen's Benevolent Union.
Rankin, Alexander C., 61 Robinson St., Allegheny—Iron Molders' Union No. 14.
Reibenstein, Theo., Allegheny—Tanners and Curriers' L. A. 1447, K. of L.
Rennel, Valentine, Pittsburgh—Chimney Glass Blowers' L. A. 319, K. of L.
Rigg, Charles, Cannelton—Miners' Association.
Riley, J. M., Pittsburgh—L. A. ——, K. of L.
Robertson, Richard, Wheeling—L. A. 1551, K. of L.
Rodgers, Daniel, Pittsburgh—Miners' Association, Pittsburgh District.
Rodgers, M. T., Pittsburgh—Plumbers' L. A. 1569, K. of L.
Sennett, J. C., Beaver Falls—Iron Molders' Union No. 217.
Shattuck, John S., Beaver Falls—L. A. 1569, K. of L.
Shay, William J., Cincinnati—National Marine Cooks' and Pastry Cooks' Association No. 1.
Sheers, James, Pittsburgh—Victory Lodge No. 33, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Shuttinger, John F., Pittsburgh—Carpenters L. A. 1705, K. of L.
Slicker, W. H., Pittsburgh—Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L.
Smith, Joseph B., Allegheny—Bricklayers' L. A. 1627, K. of L.
Smith, M. H., Pittsburgh—Grainers' Union.
Stewart, Andrew, Allegheny — Allegheny Lodge No. 14, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Somers, Perry G., Joliet, Ill.—Fourth District Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.
Staub, John, Pittsburgh—Ever Faithful Lodge No. 51, A. A. of I. and S. W.
Street, H. S., Chicago—Typographical Union No. 16.
Sullivan, J. W., Pittsburgh—Coopers' L. A. 1662, K. of L.
Thomas, D. H., Houtzdale, Pa.—Miners' Association, Clearfield District.
Thompson, John J., Westerly, R. I.—Granite Cutters' National Union.
Walsh, Michael P., Milwaukee—Trades Assembly of Milwaukee and Vicinity.
Weber, R. E., Pittsburgh—Printers' L. A. 1630, K. of L.
Wilson, William, St. Louis—Typographical Union No. 8.
Wind, E., St. Louis—Carpenters' Union Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
Woodhall, George, Brownsville—L. A. 1610 K. of L.

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

Organizations Using Labels.

American Federation of Labor.
Bakers and Confectioners.
Bill Posters and Billers.
Boilermakers.
Blacksmiths.
Bookbinders.
Boot and Shoe Workers.
Brewery Workmen.
Brickmakers.
Broommakers.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.
Carvers, Wood.
Cigarmakers.
Coopers.
Electrical Workers.
Garment Workers, United.
Garment Workers, Ladies'.
Glove Workers.
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.
Hatters.
Horseshoers.
Iron and Steel Workers.
Jewelry Workers.
Lathers.
Laundry Workers.
Leather Workers.
Lithographers.
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.
Machinists.
Marble Workers.
Metal Polishers.
Metal Workers, Sheet.
Molders.
Painters.
Papermakers.
Photo-Engravers.
Piano and Organ Workers.
Plate Printers.
Powder Workers.
Pressmen, Printing.
Print Cutters.
Sawsmiths.
Slate Workers.
Stove Mounters.
Tailors.
Textile Workers.
Timber Workers.
Tobacco Workers.
Typographical.
Upholsterers.
Weavers, Wire.

Organizations Using Cards.

Barbers.
Clerks, Retail.
Engineers, Steam.
Firemen, Stationary.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.
Musicians.
Stage Employes, Theatrical.
Teamsters.
White Rats Actors.

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor Label: Badges, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers; Bottle Cap, Cork Workers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers; Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909. Samuel Gompers. 1911. James Duncan. 1913. George W. Perkins.
*1915. *1917.

To British Trades Union Congress

1895	Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1903	Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1911	Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.
1896	J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1904	W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1912	George L. Berry. John H. Walker.
1897	Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1905	John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1913	Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.
1898	James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1906	Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	*1914	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.
1899	James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1907	John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	***1915	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.
1900	J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1908	Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1916	W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1909	John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1917	John Golden. James Lord.
1902	Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1910	W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1918	J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.

From British Trades Union Congress.

1894	John Burns. David Holmes.	1902	M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1911	G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.
1895	Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1903	William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1912	J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.
1896	Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1904	William Abraham. James Wignall.	1913	I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.
1897	Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1905	William Mosses. David Gilmour.	**1914	
1898	William Inskip. William Thorne.	1906	Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1915	C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.
1899	James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1907	David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1916	H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.
1900	John Weir. Pete Curran.	1908	John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1917	John Hill. Arthur Hayday.
1901	Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1909	A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1918	F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.
		1910	W. Brace. Ben. Turner.		

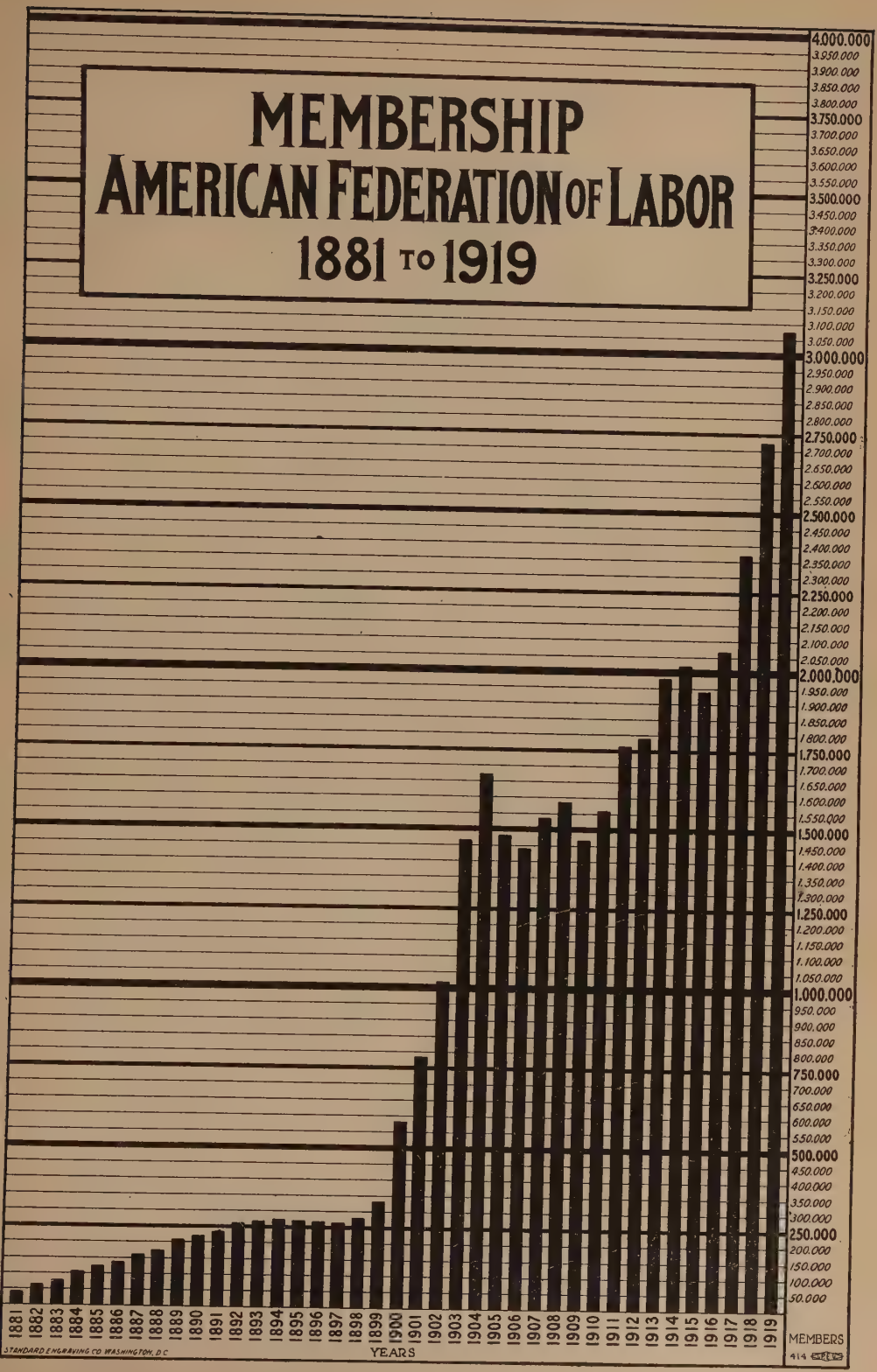
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1905 Frank Feeney.	1912 John T. Smith.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1908 Hugh Frayne.	1915 H. J. Conway.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1909 Jerome Jones.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.
1903 John Coleman.	1910 John J. Manning.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.
1904 John H. Richards.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1905 William V. Todd.	1912 John W. Bruce.
1899 David A. Carey.	1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1913 Gus Francq.
1900 David A. Carey.	1907 W. R. Trotter.	1914 R. A. Rigg.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1908 P. M. Draper.	1915 Fred Bancroft.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1909 F. Bancroft.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson
1903 James Simpson.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1917 Wm. Lodge.
1904 John A. Flett.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1918 Thos. Moore.

*No convention. **No delegates. ***Delegates did not attend.


MEMBERSHIP
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
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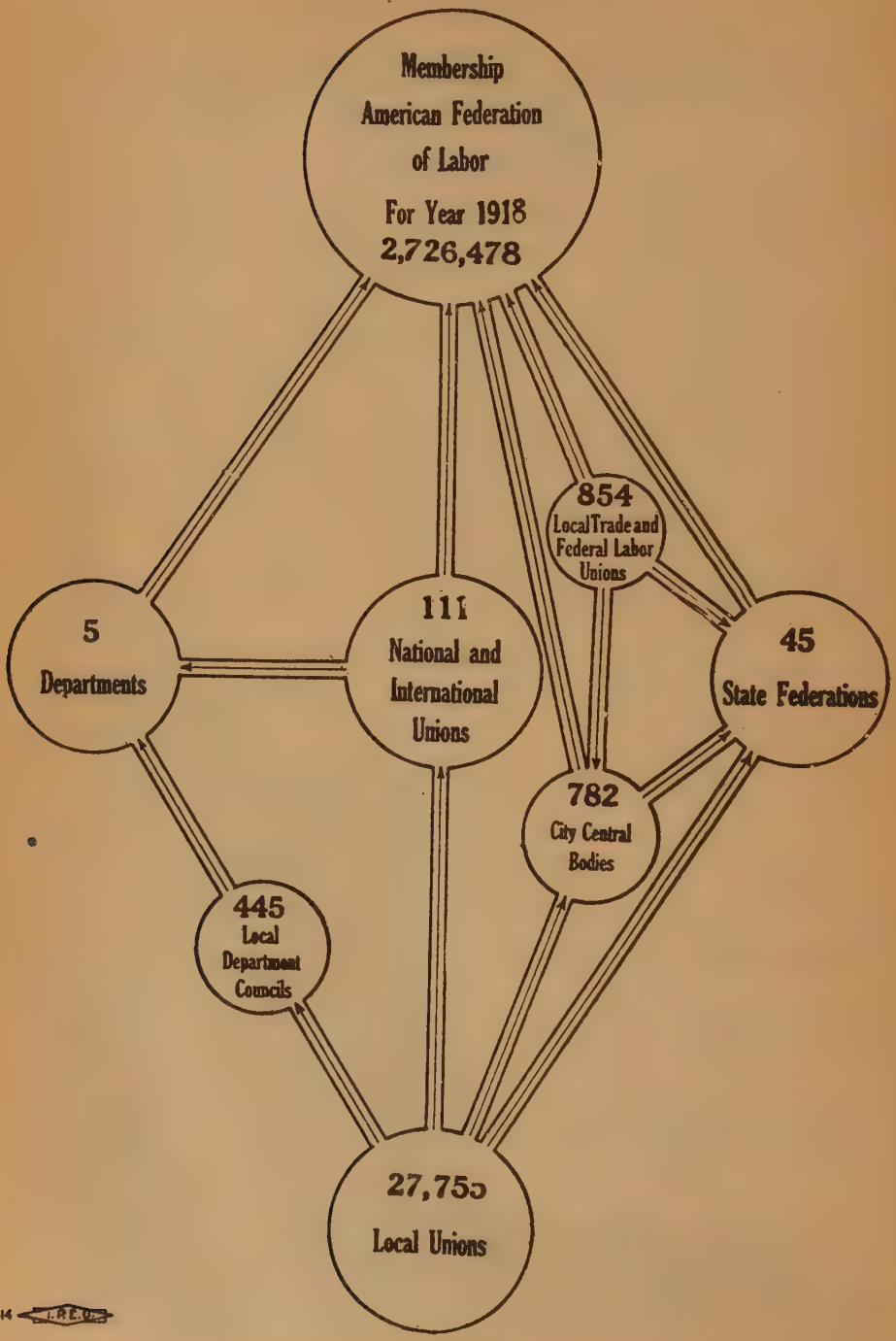
STANDARD ENGRAVING CO. WASHINGTON, D.C.
414


Membership
American Federation
of Labor
For Year 1918
2,726,478
854
Local Trade and
Federal Labor
Unions
5
Departments
111
National and
International
Unions
45
State Federations
782
City Central
Bodies
445
Local
Department
Councils
27,755
Local Unions

LABOR IN PEACE AND IN WAR

THERE was no division in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor when war threatened our country. Previous to the breaking out of hostilities that had been forced upon the United States every move made by our government was supported by the American Labor movement. Its declaration to stand by the government whatever might occur and the history of its activities may be found in the following condensed official statements and decisions by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the national and international unions and the various conventions:

(1917, pp. 72-75-308) The Congress of the United States on April 6, 1917, passed a resolution declaring war upon the Imperial Government of Germany and directed the President of the United States to employ the armed forces of our country to carry the purposes of the war to a successful end. We made every effort to prevail upon Congress to avoid compulsory military service, but we were not successful, the law having been enacted for the drafting of all available men between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive. The necessity for the development of plans for defense of the nation became imperative. The scope of the war was so gigantic and the nature of modern warfare so complex that mobilization of our nation necessitated reorganization of the entire nation from a peace to a war basis. Such plans affect the life and the work of the entire nation. Whether in peace or in war tools are the basic instrumentalities for all creative work. The determination of defense plans was of vital concern to wage-earners. The issues and the consequences were so tremendous that responsible agents had to have ready plans to meet any emergency. It was of vital importance that those immediately affected by these plans should have a voice in their determination. Clearly if wage-earners, as represented in the organized labor movement, remained aloof from all participation in defense activities and preparations, they would have to accept the determination of those outside of, and perhaps hostile to, the labor movement who either had no personal knowledge of the lives and problems of workers or were the active enemies of organized labor. If wage-earners did not take a responsible part in determining our relations to war work that field would be left undisputed to those not immediately concerned in their welfare. In addition to this plain duty of defending their rights and interests, the radical changes necessary for mobilization afforded opportunity that would either be used by the wage-earners in furtherance of human welfare and progress or would be used by the agents of reaction and for the entrenchment of the privileges of wealth. The only justification for the destruction of war is that the sweeping aside of existing conditions affords opportunity for the establishment of new ideals and conditions based upon broader and truer concepts of human rights. It was, in view of this situation, that the Executive Council approved the proposition submitted to them by President Gompers that a conference of the representatives of the national and international trade unions be called at Washington to consider the position which American labor should take toward the war situation. Accordingly, a letter was sent to the representative officials of all national organizations, both those affiliated to the A. F. of L. and those not affiliated, asking them to meet in Washington in the A. F. of L. Building March 12. The E. C. met on March 9 and devoted the following three days to the preparation of a statement to be submitted to the conference for consideration and action. There were present at that conference, in addition to the members of the E. C., 148 representatives of 79 affiliated organizations, 5 unaffiliated organizations, and 5 departments of the A. F. of L. The declaration was submitted to the conference. A spirit of intense seriousness pervaded the deliberations. The representatives of the workers in practically every trade had encountered new situations developing out of defense measures that made them realize the nearness of war and its consequence to the labor movement. With profound attention they listened to the reading of the following declaration:

"American Labor's Position in Peace or in War.—We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

"A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished.

"Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries,

including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

"The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the nation's problems afford an opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; and necessarily applies to the relations between employers and employes, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

"In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the the institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

"In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

"Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

"It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, whole-hearted cooperation of wage-earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hindrances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

"War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

"We maintan that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, Labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost.

"In previous times Labor had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of 'national safety.'

"The European war has demonstrated the dependence of governments upon the cooperation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

"The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

"Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

"Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods. As the representatives of the wage-earners we assert that conditions of work and pay in government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

"A nation can not make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend.

"The cornerstone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.

"The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford its greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective cooperation in spirit and in action. During the long period in which it has been establishing itself, the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage-earners. Whether planning for peace or war the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must cooperate with wage-earners. Industrial justice is the right of

those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies. We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both qually essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible, that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property. We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages. We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product. Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war and they also recognize that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country—a heritage that is to be maintained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

"The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greeter freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice. Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion. The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions of the state from civic activites and from creating military agencies out of touch with masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

"The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made between military service for the nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

"We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commerical service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war.

"It is fundamental, therefore, that the government cooperate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards. The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

"Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies of national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations, upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances. Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

"The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

"We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic. In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

"But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the mael-

strom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whosoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service."

After careful consideration and thorough discussion of each paragraph of the declaration the members of the conference unanimously adopted it. Thus the declaration of Labor's attitude whether in peace or in war was unanimously set forth by the conference before the declaration of war by the Congress of the United States. In addition to the declaration of principle it is necessary to organize agencies for carrying the declaration into effect. As was reported to the Baltimore Convention President Wilson appointed the President of the American Federation of Labor one of the seven men composing the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. In carrying on the work of the Advisory Commission each member of the Commission was authorized to appoint a committee to help him in performing his duties. Mr. Gompers, as chairman of the Committee on Labor Including Conservation and Welfare of Workers, asked a number of representative men and women to accept membership on his committee. Since the jurisdiction of the committee was to be as wide as the labor relations arising out of war work for the government, it was fitting that the members of the committee should represent all elements concerned in determining or regulating labor conditions. The personnel of the committee, therefore, included employers of labor, financiers, directors of corporations, publicists, technicians, as well as representatives of men and women employed as wage-earners. The functions of the committee were purely advisory and necessarily subject to the approval of the Advisory Commission and the Council of National Defense. For practical work the following committees were organized: Executive committee, wages and hours, mediation and conciliation, women in industry, information and statistics, press, publicity, cost of living and domestic economy. Welfare work, which includes the following divisions: Industrial safety, sanitation, vocational education, housing, recreation, public education in health matters, standard guides for employers.

(P. 318) This resolution was uanimously adopted by the convention: "That this convention in regular session assembled fully endorse and concur in the course pursued by President Gompers and the Executive Council in calling a conference of the National and International officers on March 12, nearly one month before war was declared, and concur in the action taken at that conference at which the representatives of labor declared their unswerving loyalty and fidelity to the labor movement and to our common country in peace or in war, and while asserting that insofar as lies within its power labor would suffer none of the successes achieved as a result of years of sacrifice and struggle to be taken away from labor on any pretext, and while hoping for an honorable peace, they declared that if our country were drawn into the maelstrom we would stand squarely behind the administration and our country, and urged that all members of organized labor do likewise. Moreover, we unreservedly endorse the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in all of their actions in connection with the war and all other labor men in accepting positions of trust upon boards, commissions and committees, and declare that in their so doing the best interests of organized labor have been advanced, safeguarded and protected."

The full list of those present is as follows:

Executive Council — President, Samuel Gompers; Secretary, Frank Morrison; Treasurer, John B. Lennon; First Vice-President, James Duncan; Second Vice-President, James O'Connell; Third Vice-President, Joseph F. Valentine; Fourth Vice-President, John R. Alpine; Fifth Vice-President, H. B. Perham; Sixth Vice-President, Frank Duffy; Seventh Vice-President, William Green; Eighth Vice-President, William D. Mahon.

Asbestos Workers—Jos. A. Mullaney, V. E. McClelland.

Bakery and Confectionery—A. A. Myrup, Chas. H. Hohmann.

Bill Posters and Billers—P. F. Murphy, Wm. McCarthy.

Blacksmiths—G. C. Van Dornes.

Boilermakers—J. A. Franklin, Chas. F Scott, A. E. Barksdale.

Bookbinders—A. P. Sovey.

Boot and Shoe Workers—C. L. Baine, Col lis Lovely.

Brewery Workmen—A. J. Kugler, Joseph Obergfell, John Sullivan.

Bricklayers—Thos. R. Preece.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Jos E. McClory, Edward Ryan.

Carmen, Railway—M. F. Ryan, J. F. McCreery, J. S. Wilds, R. E. Hamilton.

Carpenters, United Brotherhood—Frank Duffy.

Carriage, Wagon, Automobile Workers—Wm. A. Logan.

Cigarmakers—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers.

Clerks, Post Office—Thos. F. Flaherty.

Clerks, Railway—Jas. J. Forrester.

Clerks, Railway Postal—Carl Freeman.

Clerks, Retail—E. E. Baker.

Coopers—Andrew C. Hughes.

Diamond Workers—Andries Meyer.

Electrical Workers—F. J. McNulty, Wm. A. Hogan, W. S. Godshall, J. J. Purcell, George L. Kelley, J. S. McDonagh.

Elevator Constructors—Frank Feeney, Frank Schneider.

Engravers, Photo—Matthew Woll.

Firemen—Timothy Healy, Newton A. James.

Fur Workers—A. W. Miller.

Garment Workers, United—Thos. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Abe Berkson.

Glass Bottle Blowers—John A. Voll, Harry Jenkins, James Maloney.

Glass Workers, Flint—Wm. P. Clark.

Granite Cutters—James Duncan.

Hat and Cap Makers—M. Zuckerman, Max Zaritsky.
Hatters—John W. Sculley, Martin Lawlor.
Hodcarriers—D. D'Alessandra.
Horseshoers—Hubert S. Marshall, John F. Kane.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes—Edward Flore.
Iron, Tin and Steel Workers—John Williams, M. F. Tighe.
Jewelry Workers—Julius Birnbaum, Abraham Greenstein.
Lace Operatives—David L. Gould.
Lathers, Wood, Wire—Wm. J. McSorley.
Laundry Workers—Harry L. Morrison.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods—W. E. Bryan.
Longshoremen—Anthony J. Chlopek, Wm. F. Dempsey.
Machinists—Wm. H. Johnston, Fred Hewitt, E. L. Tucker, A. E. Holder.
Maintenance of Way Employes—Allan E. Barker, Henry Irwin.
Masters, Mates and Pilots—J. H. Pruett, Ulster Davis, Alfred B. Devlin, Robert S. Lavender.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen—Homer D. Call.
Metal Polishers—W. W. Britton.
Metal Workers, Sheet—John J. Hynes, O. E. Hoard, Harry H. Stewart.
Mine Workers, United—Wm. Green, Van Bittner, Wm. Diamond.
Molders, Iron—John P. Frey.
Musicians—Jos. N. Weber, J. E. Birdsell.
Painters—Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp.
Pattern Makers—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, A. J. Berres.
Paving Cutters—Carl Bergstrom.
Plasterers, Operative—E. J. McGivern, Chas. Smith.
Plate Printers—Jas. E. Goodyear, William G. Holder.
Plumbers—John R. Alpine, Wm. J. Spencer, Wm. J. Tracy.
Potters, Operative—Edward Menge, Frank H. Hutchins, John T. Wood, S. M. Moore.
Print Cutters—Ralph T. Holman.
Printing Pressmen—Jos. C. Orr, Henry L. Hardy.
Quarry Workers—Fred W. Suitor.
Railway Employes, Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon.
Roofers, Composition—J. T. Hurley.
Seamen's Union—Andrew Furuseth, V. A. Olander.
Signalmen, Railroad—A. E. Adams.
Steel Plate Transferrers—Benj. Goldsworthy.
Stage Employes, Theatrical—Chas. C. Shay.
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen—T. J. Brady.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers—James S. Briggs.
Stonecutters—Sam Griggs, Walter W. Drayer.
Switchmen—S. E. Heberling.
Tailors—Thos. Sweeney.
Teachers—Chas. B. Stillman.
Teamsters—Daniel J. Tobin, P. H. Jennings.
Telegraphers, Railroad—H. B. Perham, J. F. Miller.
Textile Workers—John Golden.
Tobacco Workers—A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Michael J. Carraher, Tito Pacelli.
Upholsterers—Jas. H. Hatch, John Hanley.
Weavers, American Wire—John F. Curley.
White Rats Actors—Jack Hayden.
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—W. S. Carter.
Railway Trainmen—W. G. Lee.
Railway Conductors—L. E. Sheppard.
Locomotive Engineers—W. S. Stone.
National Window Glass Workers—Herbert Thomas.
Building Trades Department—John Donlin.
Metal Trades Department—A. J. Berres.
Mining Department—James Lord.
Railroad Employes Department—A. O. Wharton.
Union Label Trades Department—J. W. Hays.

Accident Prevention—(1917, p. 461) Indorsed plan of committee on labor of the National Council of Defense to prevent accidents in order that a maximum amount of supplies be available for the allied armies.

A. F. of L.'s Influence in the War—(1915, p. 15) Report of Executive Council: The past year has been one of particular stress for the labor movement, testing its power and its practical efficiency. Like every other organization the labor movement has found itself confronted in its various relationships by war conditions and war difficulties. At the outbreak of the war there came a great catastrophic upheaval, when the activities and policies of peace were suddenly sundered and Europe was plunged into an atmosphere of fighting and destruction. Men's thought and efforts had been centered upon progress, upon the development of civilization and upon the conservation of human life and the enlargement of opportunities for human development. With the declarations of war, almost in an instant everything was changed, the course and purpose of organized society were changed to further the purpose of destruction and to serve war needs. Skill of men's minds and muscles, knowledge and scientific invention, progress of all the ages were put at the service of the armies and navies engaged in the terrific conflict, destroying human life with unparalleled effectiveness. It seemed as though Europe had suddenly gone mad; all of the agencies to which had been entrusted the welfare and the progress of humanity were suddenly made helpless. But after the period of almost paralyzed horror had passed, we began to devise ways by which we could control the convulsion following the war and utilize even war conditions for human betterment. The period of readjustment enabled us as a nation to adapt ourselves so as to organize upon a basis that would enble us to protect the citizens of our own nation. The working people have been those who have suffered most from these changes. During that period of wonder and horror that followed the beginning of the war many of the workers were suddenly left without the means of earning a livelihood; left to struggle on as best they

could for themselves and those dependent upon them, although they had not been able to provide out of their scanty wages to meet such an emergency. Industries throughout the country struggled on for a time in a halting sort of fashion and some stopped. The commerce that was prepared to meet the needs of peace was wasted in the war situation. There followed a period of depression which meant to the workers of our country unemployment of such a serious nature that thousands were facing starvation. Yet, in the midst of all of this confusion, this turmoil, uncertainty and even despair, there was one agency upon which the workers fixed their trust and hope, the one agency that was appealed to by the toilers and the oppressed, not only of this but of the nations that were suddenly submerged in the European war. The labor movement has done much in the crisis of the European war, but it has been hampered by lack of funds. The same obstacle is felt in carrying out ideals and plans for greater helpfulness in all international relations. This agency remained because it was founded for an unselfish purpose, because it did not exist for the hope of gain, because all of its efforts were bent upon the protection and assistance of human beings. The labor movement owes its existence to the needs of men. It expresses their hope for the future. It continues because it meets the needs of the people, and it maintains its power and its vigor in proportion as it keeps itself free from the agencies of greed and of selfish interest that would use it to further their own purposes or would weaken it to eliminate its opposition. In this country as the desires of men increase and are more urgent, the need for the labor movement becomes greater. In the period of distress and disrupture that followed, men's thoughts and men's hopes were turned to the labor movement of America. Whether organized or unorganized, they knew they could depend upon that organization to help them in their time of need. In the time of peace, the labor movement is the constructive force in the industrial world which brings system, organization and opportunity for progress into industrial relations between employers and employes. It is the democratic medium by which the toilers can work out their problems, remedy wrongs and secure for themselves ever increasing opportunity for better living. Industrial organization is now upon too large a scale to permit of haphazard methods and disorganized conditions in any of its relations. Employers have found that their interests in industry must be very highly systematized if they are to survive in the struggle with their competitors. Employes can not remain a helpless disorganized mass with inarticulate wants and needs if they are not to be crushed and maimed by the strong organized forces in industry. Such inhumane and unwise policy would result in reducing the workers to a condition for which only industrial revolutions and rebellions would secure betterment, protection or justice. Such a policy is not worthy of an enightened nation. It is subversive to all ideals of industrial progress or industrial statesmanship. It has become a generally accepted fact that all relations of life must be so organized that there shall be in existence agencies for constructive development and gradual and natural progress—agencies whereby the problems arising in these various relationships can be worked out without upheavals or unnecessary disturbances. It is now recognized that policies and principles of statesmanship must be applied to industrial relations as well as to political relations. In truth, industrial relations are now of greater consequence than political relations because they touch the lives of the people more intimately and with greater power for good or evil than do political relationships. Furthermore, it is now recognized throughout the civilized world that the agency necessary for the existence of regulation, system and progress in relations between workers and their employers is the trade union, which is founded upon the highest ideals for associated effort of any kind. It is a simple democratic organization which meets the needs of the workers and enables them to protect themselves and make such progress that they shall become of increasing value and importance to the nation. The labor movement of America was the great steadying force in the period of upheaval and transition that followed the outbreak of the war. It was the force that insisted upon the maintenance of existing standards that protected the workers against all efforts to throw upon them the full burden of the war. It was the force that demanded for the workers an opportunity to work in order to earn a daily living. It was the force that held true and tided things over. When employers had readjusted to meet the changing conditions and to meet the demands of European nations that had grown out of the conduct of the war, the labor movement of the country was the agency that enabled the workers to share more equitably the results of the industrial impetus given by the war. The workers soon realized that the employers intended to keep to themselves all of their vastly increased profits. The organized workers made demands through their regular representatives and many unorganized workers caught the spirit of the day and organized in order that they too might make their demands effective. Thus there came in many industries a great labor forward campaign. It was recognized that the organized economic power of the workers was their main dependence under all conditions and all necessities, whether for protection or for opportunity to share in prosperity. In the meanwhile the workers of the warring nations were constantly turning to the labor movement of America for assurance that the influence and the power of our own workers of this country would be exerted upon international relations for the maintenance of the cause and rights of humanity. Appeals came from the workers of desolated lands for assistance and in it all and through it all the spirit of fraternity, the spirit of fellowship among industrial workers survived, even when the outward physical ties of organization were temporarily lost in the stress of war. Even though of late there has been increasing difficulty in maintaining intercourse with the labor movements of some foreign countries, yet

there still remain the spirit of fraternity and the confidence that the American labor movement will stand for the rights of humanity, of the workers in all of the countries, and will insist upon the paramount importance of humanity. Yet to maintain the force of our labor movement straight and unerring, has not been an easy task. There have been innumerable influences that have sought to fasten themselves upon the labor movement of this country because they recognized its power and because they desired to use it to serve their own purposes. It has been due to the integrity, the honor and manhood of the wage-earners that many efforts to embroil our country in the present international complications have failed. They have held their ideals too dear to be sacrificed to personal gain, and they have not deviated from the determination to make all forces and all conditions contribute to the progress of the labor movement which is the well-being of the wage-earners. In every trade they have sought to obtain higher wages, shorter hours of work, and better working conditions. They have used their influence to secure not personal benefits, but something that would lift the labor movement upon a higher plane with greater opportunities. These efforts to use the labor movement have come in all manner of guises. They have come as humanitarian efforts; they have come as patriotic appeals; they have come as promoting the highest ideals which human beings have conceived. But the trade union movement of America has steadfastly refused to be moved from the principles upon which it has built up its present power and effectiveness. The trade union movement, the powerful militant organization in industry for the protection of the rights of the workers and for the maintenance of industrial justice, has refused to give its sanction to any political movement in furtherance of peace at any price. While the trade union movement recognizes that peace is absolutely necessary for normal, consecutive development and progress, yet it refuses to secure this peace at the sacrifice of ideals and standards of justice. It maintains that a necessary assurance of peace is power for self-protection and readiness to maintain rights. The principes of statesmanship that hold true in the industrial world hold true in the political world. The trade union movement holds that peace in any relationship can be secured only when justice prevails and that peace follows because men are accorded their rights and are assured opportunities for necessary progress. The trade union movement is founded upon democratic principles; therefore, it holds that people have a right to work out their own salvation according to their own ideals. In accord with this ideal it refuses to sanction any effort to interfere with others who are working out their own problems. Further, it holds that it ought to take advantage of every opportunity to plan for peace in a constructive way. At the Philadelphia Convention, the trade union movement endorsed a proposal that when the nations shall meet to determine upon conditions of peace at the conclusion of the present war, that representatives of the wage-earners—the great masses of all the nations—ought to be present in order to present and insist upon conditions and declaration that shall provide for the safety and the advancement of human welfare and shall maintain human rights as of greater importance than any other consideration. The trade union movement insists that a human being is of greater importance than the product of his toil. The human being is the creator and in him lies that infinitely valuable thing—creative genius. Creative genius is the thing that civilization and the agencies of civilization ought to protect. This is the principle which the trade union movement has endorsed, and which it proposes to further in all of the councils of state. As we have said again and again, the trade union movement is as wide and as deep as human life. There is nothing that concerns human life that is foreign to the labor movement. While the efforts of the trade union movement are directed first of all to secure certain material benefits, these benefits are for the purpose of promoting and advancing human life. It has been demonstrated that the shorter workday lengthens the lives of the workers. It gives them opportunities for better living. It is indisputable that higher wages provide the workers with necessaries for better living, and therefore make better men and women. Improved conditions of work protect the health of the workers, conserve their productive power and make them of greater value to themselves and the nation.

A. F. of L. Thanked by Wilson—(1918, p. 134) The White House, Washington, D. C., June 10, 1918. Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor, St. Paul, Minn.: Please convey to the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor my congratulations upon the patriotic support which the members of your organization have given to the war program of the nation in the past year, not only in the trenches and on the battlefield where so many of our younger men are now in uniform, but equally in the factories and shipyards and workshops of the country where the army is supported and supplied by the loyal industry of your skilled craftsmen. We are facing the hardships of the critical months of the struggle. The nation can face them confidently assured now that no intrigues of the enemy can ever divide our unity by means of those industrial quarrels and class dissensions which he has tried so dilligently to foment. In these days of trial and self sacrifice the American workingman is bearing his share of the national burden nobly. In the new world of peace and freedom which America is fighting to establish his place will be as honored as his service is gratefully esteemed.

WOODROW WILSON.

(1918, p. 205) The convention by unanimous vote instructed the President to reply to the telegram of President Wilson and this was sent: "St. Paul, Minn., June 12, 1918. Honorable Woodrow Wilson, The White House, Washington, D. C. Your message brought to the convention of the American Federation of Labor an inspiration impossible to express in words and by unanimous vote I was directed to make reply. It is my pleasurable duty to say that America's workers have come to regard you as the world spokesman for democracy and human justice and we confidently trust your leadership. We wish to express to you our de-

termination to give wholehearted support to the government of our free country in this war to establish principles of freedom that will insure peace between the nations. We are doing and will continue to do our part whether at the front or at home and will share the burdens and the sacrifices. We pledge loyal support and service until human freedom and equity shall be the common right of all peoples." (p. 134) This message was received from the National Council of Defense: Washington, D. C., June 10, 1918. Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, St. Paul Hotel, St. Paul, Minn. I am directed by the Council of National Defense to transmit to you the following resolution passed by the Council and Advisory Commission:

"Whereas, The Council of National Defense and the Advisory Commission are cognizant of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

"Whereas, The Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission are equally cognizant of the affirmative patriotic service rendered to the people, and the Government of the United States by the organized labor movement and the workers of America generally in the tremendous task now stretching before this republic and her allies in the world struggle for freedom, justice and democracy, be it

"Resolved, And it is hereby resolved, that the Council of National Defense and Advisory Commission transmit to the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the deep appreciation of this national service, and further of their knowledge of the efforts on the part of Samuel Gompers, Esquire, President of the American Federation of Labor, to make this service a tangible and vital thing in the interest of America and her allies.

"W. S. GIFFORD."

American Alliance for Labor and Democracy—(1917, pp 94-283) In May, 1917, a convention call was sent throughout New York State by the so-called Workingmen's Council, a branch of the People's Council, requesting unions to send delegates to a conference to be held in New York City to consider what provisions ought to be made to protect the interests of labor during the war. Because of the call there was apprehension lest wage earners of that city should be alienated from the best interests of America and from cooperation with American workers. The president of the A. F. of L., realizing the serious situation, in conjunction with the Central Federated Union, called a conference in New York City of the workers of the state at which a local organization was formed and given the name of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. The simple declaration on which the conference began work was as follows:

> "It is the sense of this conference that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics or religion, faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion, and we pledge ourselves to every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose."

When the insidious efforts of the enemies of our country had reached out into many of the states, it became clear that the true representatives of labor and democracy in this country ought to call a national conference to make plain not only their position but to disclose the disrupting destructive purposes of the other movements. A conference was therefore held in Minneapolis beginning September 5. Each person who participated signed the following:

> The undersigned hereby affirms that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics or religion, faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying on the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion and gives this pledge to uphold every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose, and to support the A. F. of L. as well as the declaration of organized labor's representatives made March 12, 1917, at Washington, D. C., as to "Labor's Position in Peace or in War," and agrees that this pledge shall be his right to membership in this conference of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

President Wilson, who had been invited to attend, sent this reply:

> "I am sure that you understand that my inability to accept the invitation to address the Minneapolis conference of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy is due only to official necessity, and not in any degree to lack of appreciation of the importance of the occasion. The cause you and your fellow patriots uphold is one with the cause we are defending with arms. While our soldiers and sailors are doing their manful work to hold back reaction in its most brutal and aggressive form, we must oppose at home the organized and individual efforts of those dangerous elements who hide disloyalty behind a screen of specious and evasive phrases. I have read with real pride the names of the men and women who are to take part in the Minneapolis conference. Not one but has a record of devoted service to fundamental democracy; not one but has fought the long, hard fight for equal justice, braving every bitterness that the humblest life might know a larger measure of happiness. With all my heart I want them to feel that their devotion to country is in nowise a betrayal of principle, and that in serving America today they are serving their cause no less faithfully than in the past. I myself have had sympathy with the fears of the workers of the United States; for the tendency of war is toward reaction, and too often military necessities have been made an excuse for the destruction of laboriously erected industrial and social standards. These fears, happily, have proved to be baseless. With quickened sympathies and appreciation, with a new sense of the invasive and insidious dangers of oppression, our people have not only held every inch of ground that has been won by years of struggle, but have added to the gains of the Twentieth Century along every line of human betterment. Questions of wages and hours of

labor and industrial readjustment have found a solution which gives to the toiler a new dignity and a new sense of social and economic security. I beg you to feel that my support has not been lacking and that the government has not failed at any point in granting every just request advanced by you and your associates in the name of the American worker. No one who is not blind can fail to see that the battle line of democracy for America stretches today from the fields of Flanders to every house and workshop where toiling, upward striving men and women are counting the treasures of right and justice and liberty which are being threatened by our present enemies. It has not been a matter of surprise to me that the leaders in certain groups have sought to ignore our grievances against the men who have equally misled the German people. Their insistence that a nation whose rights have been grossly violated, whose citizens have been foully murdered under their own flag, whose neighbors have been invited to join in making conquest of its territory, whose patience in pressing the claims of justice and humanity has been met with the most shameful policy of truculence and treachery; their insistence that a nation so outraged does not know its own mind, that it has no comprehensible reason for defending itself, or for joining with all its might in maintaining a free future for itself and its ideals, is of a piece with their deafness to the oft-repeated statement of our national purposes. Is it, perhaps, that these forces of antagonism have not yet learned to know the voice of that America we love and serve? It may well be that those among us who stand ready to forward the plans of aggression bred in secret do not understand the language of democracy when it proclaims the purposes of war in terms of a peace for the peoples that shall be untroubled by those to whom men are but the pawns in their struggle for power and gain. But true Americans, those who toil here for home and the hope of better things, whose lifted eyes have caught the vision of a liberated world, have said that of the policy of blood and iron there shall be an end and that equal justice, which is the heart of democracy, shall rule in its stead. May not those who toil and those who have made common cause of the larger hope for the masses of mankind take renewed heart as they think on these days when America has taken its stand for the rights of humanity and the fellowship of social and international justice? Sincerely yours,

"WOODROW WILSON."

The purpose and the spirit of the conference is disclosed in the following declaration unanimously adopted:

"The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, in its first national conference, declares its unswerving adherence to the cause of democracy, now assailed by the forces of autocracy and militarism. As labor unionists, social reformers and socialists, we pledge our loyal support and service to the United States government and its allies in the present world conflict. We declare that the one overshadowing issue is the preservation of democracy, either democracy will endure and men will be free, or autocracy will triumph, and the race will be enslaved. On this prime issue we take our stand. We declare that the great war must be fought to a decisive result; that until autocracy is defeated there can be no hope of an honorable peace, and that to compromise the issue is only to sow the seed for bloodier and more devastating wars in the future. We declare our abhorrence of war and our devotion to the cause of peace. But we recognize that there are evils greater and more intolerable than those of war. We declare that war waged for evil ends must be met by war waged for altruistic ends. A peace bought by the surrender of every principle vital to democracy is no peace, but shameful servility. Our nation has not sought this war. As a people, we desired peace for its own sake, and we held fast to our traditional principle of keeping aloof from the political affairs of Europe. Our President, with a forbearance and a patience which some of us thought extreme, exhausted every honorable means in behalf of peace; and the declaration of war came only after many months of futile efforts to avoid a conflict. This war, so relentlessly forced upon us, must now be made the means of insuring a world-wide and permanent peace. We declare that in this crisis the one fundamental need is unity of action. The successful prosecution of the war requires that all the energies of our people be concentrated to a common purpose. After more than two years of exhaustive deliberation, in which every phase of our relation to the great world problem had been thoroughly debated, the constitutional representatices of the people declared the nation's will. Loyalty to the people demands that all acquiesce in that decision and render the government every service in their power. We strongly denounce the words and actions of those enemies of the Republic who, falsely assuming to speak in the name of labor and democracy, are now ceaselessly striving to obstruct the operations of the government. In misrepresenting the government's purposes, in traducing the character of the President and of his advisers, in stealthily attempting to incite sedition and in openly or impliedly counselling resistance to the enforcement of laws enacted for the national defense, they abuse the rights of free speech, free assemblage and a free press. In the name of liberty they encourage anarchy; in the name of democracy they strive to defeat the will of the majority, and in the name of humanity they render every possible aid and comfort to the brutal Prussian autocracy. If the sinister counsels of these persons were followed, labor would be reduced to subjection and democracy would be obliterated from the earth. We declare that the betrayal of one's fellow-workers during a strike finds its exact counterpart in the betrayal of one's fellow-citizens in time of war, and that both are offenses which deserve the detestation of mankind. We declare that a sturdy defense of the interests of labor is wholly compatible with supreme loyalty to the government.

We fully recognize the many proofs given by the President and the administration chiefs to the principle that the war shall not be made an excuse for lowering any of the standards which have been established by labor in its long struggle. We declare, however, that predatory influences are at work at all times—and particularly in time of war—to lower these standards. These efforts, wherever made, must be resisted. Not only must all present standards be maintained, but there must be no curtailment of any of the present agencies which make for the betterment of the condition of labor. Our loyalty to the government is the loyalty of free men who will not acquiesce in any surrender of principle. This war, which on our part is waged for the preservation of democracy, has already set in motion base forces for the furtherance and extension of democracy. Revolutionary changes have been made—changes which reveal the power and determination of a democratic people to control its own economic life for the common good. We declare that peace shall not be another name for reaction, but that the gains thus far made for labor should be maintained in perpetuity. We declare that a condition which demands the conscription of men likewise demands the conscription of wealth, and that incomes, excess profits and land values should be taxed to the fullest needs of the government. We declare that industrial enterprises should be the servants and not the masters of the people; and that in cases where differences between owners and workers threaten a discontinuance of production necessary for the war, the government should assume complete control of such industries and operate them for the exclusive benefit of the people. We declare that the government should take prompt action with regard to the speculative interests which, especially during the war, have done so much to enhance prices of the necessaries of life. To increase the food supply and to lower prices, the government should commandeer all land necessary for public purposes and should tax idle land in private possession on its full rental value. We declare that the right of the wage-earners to collective action is the fundamental condition which gives opportunity for economic freedom and makes possible the betterment of the workers' conditions. The recognition already given to this principle should be extended and made the basis of all relationships, direct or indirect, between the government and wage-earners engaged in activities connected with the war. We declare that the wage-earners must have a voice in determining the conditions under which they are to give service, and that the voluntary institutions that have organized the industrial, commercial and transportation workers in time of peace shall be unhampered in the exercise of their recognized functions during the war; that labor shall be adequately represented in all the councils authorized to conduct the war and in the commission selected to negotiate terms of peace. We declare our full accord with the declarations agreed upon by the conference of American trade unionists called by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., held in Washington, D. C., March 12, 1917, in which the representatives of affiliated national and international trade unions and the railroad brotherhoods participated. Believing that the material interests of the nation's soldiers and sailors and of their dependents should be withdrawn from the realm of charity and chance, and that health and life should be fully insured, we indorse the soldiers, and sailors' insurance bill now before Congress. We declare for universal equal suffrage. Fully realizing that the perpetuity of democratic institutions is involved in freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage we declare that these essential rights must be guarded with zealous care lest all other rights be lost. We declare, however, that where expressions are used which are obstructive to the government in its conduct of the war, or are clearly capable of giving aid or comfort to the nation's foes, the offenders should be repressed by the constituted authorities in accordance with established law. Inspired by the ideals of liberty and justice herein declared as a fundamental basis for national policies, the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy makes its appeal to the working men and women of the United States, and calls upon them to unite in unanimous support of the President and the nation for the prosecution of the war and the preservation of democracy."

A declaration dealing with the Russian situation was considered separately. It is as follows :

"Sons of liberty in all lands are now watching with heavy hearts the desperate contest of their brothers in spirit and arms now battling on the plains of Russia. Born amidst the thunders of the greatest war of all times, the great Russian democracy brought to all lovers of man's freedom a new hope and inspiration. Assailed on all sides by a terrible and insidious foe, now spreading death and devastation in its ranks and now masquerading as a friend and penetrating, under the guise of revolutionist into the very councils of the revolution, the Russian democracy is now passing through the most critical time in its struggle for existence. The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy sends greetings to the fighters for liberty in Russia as brothers in the same cause. The aims of the Russian democracy are our aims; its victory is our victory and its defeat is our defeat; and even the traitors that assail the Russian democracy likewise assail us. In the conflict for the liberty of Russia, the liberty of America is likewise at stake. Every Russian soldier who faces unflinchingly the enemy in the field is striking a blow for the liberty of America. The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy representing every loyal thought of American labor and American Socialism, pledges and dedicates the American working class to the support and service of the Russian democracy. It calls upon the working people and the socialists of America and also upon the government of the United States to strain every effort and resource in their command to the aid of the Russian democracy, and

be it resolved, that a committee of five be appointed for the purpose of communicating with the leaders of the Russian democracy and extending to them the support here pledged." Upon the general problem of dealing with small nations the convention made the following declaration: "The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy expresses its unqualified approval of the avowal by President Wilson that one of the motives for America's entry into the war is to secure for the small nationalities the right to live their own lives on their own soil and to develop their own culture under free national auspices. Inasmuch as among all these small nationalities the Jews alone have no homeland of their own, we urge upon the President and the international congress which will negotiate terms of peace, the legitimate claims of the Jewish people for the reestablishment of a national homeland in Palestine on a basis of self-government."

The declaration on Russia was cabled to Premier Kerensky.

Since the Minneapolis Convention of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, trade unionists in many parts of the country have organized local Alliances affiliated with the central body in order that workers everywhere might be organized in support of the principles in which they believed.

Canadian Relations—(1918, p. 55) After the United States declared war against the German government and we became one of the Allies fighting for the common cause of freedom, the ties became even stronger that bound us to our northern neighbor, Canada. Common needs and common purposes have made it plain that there must be such an understanding between the governments and the people of Canada and the United States that national policies must conform to a general continental policy formulated for best interests. The boundary line between the two countries has become little more than a geographical convenience. The close relationships necessary for war purposes have bound our countries even more closely. The unity necessary for the continental policy was reflected long before the war in the relations between the workers of Canada and the workers of the United States. The Canadian labor movement was identified with the labor movement of the United States in an organization embracing the workers of the continent. In the initial conferences which the American labor movement held when it was inaugurating its war policies, representatives of the Canadian movement were present. In continuation of this friendly helpful relationship the President of the A. F. of L. was urged by the Canadian workers and government to participate in the Victory Loan Campaign which the Canadian government was conducting during and immediately after the Buffalo Convention. In addition to the purchase of Victory Bonds amounting to $10,000, which was authorized during the Buffalo Convention, President Gompers delivered an address in Toronto on November 28, 1917, in furtherance of the same cause. Early in this year urgent invitations were extended the President of the A. F. of L. by the labor and civic organizations of Ottawa and Montreal to deliver addresses in those two cities. The invitations came at the time when the new war government was assuming responsibility. It was particularly necessary that the labor policy of the new government should be constructive and of such a character as to insure cordial relationships between the government and the workers. In order to accomplish this purpose it was necessary that the workers of Canada should have representation and voice in matters concerning their interests and that they should cooperate with government officials in a spirit of confidence and mutual responsibility. Upon learning that President Gompers was coming to Ottawa the government extended to him an invitation to address both Houses of Parliament meeting in joint session. This was an honor that has been accorded to only two other men—Mr. Arthur Balfour, who was in Canada as the head of the British Mission sent to this country, and M. Rene Viviani, the head of the French Commission sent for a similar purpose at the same time that the British Commission was here. Mr. Gompers accepted the invitation and addressed Parliament on April 26.

Capital Issues Committee Policy—(1918, p. 64) The capital issues committee of the Federal Reserve Board acts upon requests for issues of securities during the war. That committee has made the following declaration of policy: "The solution of the problem of making available to the government to the greatest possible degree capital, labor, material, and transportation means creating a surplus of each of these elements so vital to our national needs at this time. The creation of a surplus of labor necessarily involves the creation of a short period of temporary unemployment, during which labor disengaged from unessential industry may be diverted to essential industry. To minimize any hardship upon labor arising from the creation of this unavoidable hiatus is the chief concern of all. The capital issues committee is closely studying the problem from this point of view, as it is anxious that its operations should not create idleness any faster than the demand for labor can counteract. A plan was adopted under which the committee, before acting upon any application for the issue of securities the approval or disapproval of which would affect seriously labor conditions, will seek the advice of the United States Employment Service, whose successful efforts to secure a scientific distribution of labor fitted to prevailing conditions are heartily supported by the A. F. of L."

Chinese Coolie Labor During War—(1918, pp. 110-284) House resolution No. 93 provided for the admission of 30,000 Chinese into Hawaii without right to proceed to any part of the U. S. Numerous letters pamphlets from various parts of the country advocating abrogation of the Chinese exclusion law followed. Then this resolution was presented in the Senate: "That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry is hereby directed to make careful investigation into the advisability of recommending legislation that will permit the importation of Chinese farmers into the United States under proper restrictions and regulations during the con-

tinuance of the war." Through opposition of the A. F. of L., both resolutions had not been reported.

Organized labor is unalterably opposed to the modification of the Chinese Exclusion law in order to permit Chinese coolies to enter this country, no matter for what purpose. The A. F. of L for many, many years fought for a restrictive immigration law, and assisted in securing the Chinese Exclusion Act. An overwhelming majority of the members of Congress enacted the immigration law containing a literacy test. Our advocacy of restricted immigration was based upon our knowledge of the economic situation and conditions in this country, and, in addition, having a due regard for the perpetuation of the institutions of our country. If for any reason the Chinese Exclusion law was modified or suspended, it must carry with it the modification or the abrogation of the Gentlemen's Agreement now existing between this country and Japan, which would permit large numbers of Japanese to also enter this country. In addition to our opposition to the modification or the suspension of the Chinese Exclusion Act, it has not been demonstrated that there is a shortage of labor which would justify the resorting to extreme measures. Whatever may be the opinion as to the effect of the importation of cheap and docile labor into this country, the history of the efforts of the working people everywhere unmistakably demonstrates that the high standard built up and maintained by intelligent and cooperative action must succumb to the insidious influences of a race of people whose hopes, ambitions and desires are gratified by a standard of living which falls far below that of a growing and fructifying citizenship. Even though we may be in the midst of war, and even though it were possible to adopt some measure whereby a large body of Chinese might be imported into this country for the period of the war and then deported at its close, the impress and results of coolie labor would still remain and constitute an added burden in the coming reconstruction days. Under present conditions of war, the organized labor movement has expressed itself as willing to meet the responsibilities imposed upon it, and in carrying out this policy, we are demonstrating to the government and the people of the United States our loyalty to its institutions. No labor movement of any belligerent country has taken a more advanced position than has the American Labor Movement. Even before war was declared, representatives of our movement promulgated a declaration in which its position was made clear. While it voiced its opposition to war, yet it also declared that if events finally drew this country into the maelstrom of war, it would stand solidly behind this government. In view of the attitude of the men and women of labor, we are justified in expressing the thought that our movement is absolutely and unalterably opposed to Chinaizing any of the industries of this country.

Eight Hour Day—(1917, pp. 93-407) The principle of a maximum workday of eight hours has been indorsed by society and officially by the United States Government. The eight-hour workday represents a standard of productivity, of living, and of conservation. By protecting workers against overfatigue and enabling them to sustain their highest degree of productivity and skill, the eight-hour workday not only is an assurance that workers will make their most effective contribution to production, but that they will also be more useful and honorable members of society. The eight-hour workday is no longer an experiment. It has been tried in nearly all countries, and everywhere results have demonstrated that it is a basic principle upon which industry and commerce should be organized. Representatives of our Republic incorporated this humanitarian standard in an eight-hour law applying to government work and contracts. Under war conditions the United States Government becomes the center of the nation's industry and commerce. Central authority has shifted from every private or corporation office to the government at Washington. The nation's needs are paramount. Anything that interferes with several of the collective needs of all the people must, under war conditions, be eliminated or regulated. There has resulted a complete reorganization of industrial and commercial life centered in government needs and purposes. As a result the nation's work has become government work or contracts. This condition has vastly increased the importance of the Federal eight-hour law, its interpretation and application.

The first law fixing eight hours as the maximum workday was practically nullified by narrow interpretation and application, which defeated the purpose of Congress in enacting it. This necessitated the enactment of the present eight-hour law. Again, there was manifest the tendency of officials to apply the eight-hour regulation within the narrowest possible scope. This tendency was strengthened by legal interpretations which took the heart out of the law. But organized labor refused to be defeated by legalistic interpretations and persistently stated their case for a wider interpretation and application of the law in accord with the purposes of those of Congress that enacted it. Progress had been made before the beginning of war. The present Attorney General rendered an opinion which gives labor greater protection. When the large contracts for war materials were being let organized labor insistently presented their case for the application of the eight-hour law to government contracts and government work. For a time the influences of existing officialdom were strong, and an enlightened policy did not prevail. Protests came from all labor organizations affected. Case after case was taken up with the government. At the beginning of war Congress, in order to protect the eight-hour principle, included in one of the sections of the Naval Appropriations law the following provision:

> "That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend the provision of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States: Provided further, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours of work with overtime rates to be paid

for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight hours."

This provision maintains the eight-hour principle while at the same time it takes care of any emergency that may necessitate longer hours of work and penalizes overtime in an effective manner that will prevent occurrence without real necessity. Whenever it has been necessary for the President of the United States to issue a proclamation suspending in any department the eight-hour workday he has quoted this clause as his warrant, despite the fact that he was amply authorized to take such action under the original law. However, this section of the Naval Appropriations law provides for overtime which is not included in the original law. When this question of policy came to the responsible members of the present administration, a change came, and the Secretary of War, despite the opinions of those who had the legalistic viewpoint, decided in favor of a more liberal interpretation, and inserted in contracts already made the eight-hour provision. A similar policy was followed by the Secretary of the Navy, who reopened a case already decided in his department. The case in point was that of the subcontract let by the Fore River Shipbuilding Company to the Farrell Foundry and Machine Company at Ansonia, Conn. The Fore River Company had established the eight-hour day, but the Farrell Company had a nine-hour day. The molders in the latter company, who were working on the Government contract, requested time and one-half for all time over eight hours. Secretary Daniels investigated the case and decided that under the eight-hour law time and one-half should be paid these molders on the subcontract for all overtime. With this extension of government work, carrying with it the principle of the basic eight-hour workday, the question has become acute in all industries that are still under private control or engaged in work for private concerns. The failure of all concerns to adopt the eight-hour basis is the cause of more industrial discontent and unrest than any other one condition. In many cases failure of private employers to establish this standard creates labor disturbances that interfere with work for the government and seriously impede plans for national defense. We urge, therefore, that some general action be taken by administrative authority declaring for an eight-hour day in all commerce and industries as a war measure. In our judgment such an action would be the most effective fundamental provision that could be adopted to promote general interests and welfare. In many provisions for the benefit of those saving the nation in this critical emergency, the administration has shown honest and understanding concern for the welfare of those who are risking their lives and their all for the sacred cause in which our Republic is engaged. It is in accord with this policy that we urge this additional measure. It is a measure based upon appreciation of the value of human life. Conservation of that wonderful yet perishable thing called human productivity is of fundamental consequence to the continued progress and perpetuity of the whole nation. Such a policy adopted by the foremost Republic of the world, engaged in a titanic world conflict for universal freedom and democracy, would come with a tremendous inspiration that would stir the whole world to its depths. No one single policy could do more to hearten the entire nation, to put courage into those upon the firing line, and to demonstrate beyond a shadow of a doubt the honesty of purpose and the idealism of our government in the fight it is making for better standards of life and for humanity as a whole.

(1918, p. 75) The attitude of the President toward the eight-hour or shorter workday has been very definitely shown by the fact that in every executive order he has issued waiving the eight-hour law he has based his action upon the authority granted him by the proviso provided by Congress in the Naval Appropriations Act, or else has specifically stipulated that compensation shall be not less than time and one-half for overtime in excess of eight hours. President Wilson's course has been in conformity with the position he took in regard to eight hours for railroad workers when he stated that society has sanctioned the eight-hour workday.

Among those unfamiliar with legal technicalities the Federal eight-hour law meant an eight-hour day on work for the government. With the declaration of war, government work and employment assumed much larger comparatice proportions in the industrial world. With this growth the limitations of the Federal eight-hour law became increasingly apparent. All workers employed for war production expected the basic eight-hour workday established in all instances where the eight-hour law was suspended for the war emergency. Protests from workers all over the country, who thought they had a legal right to the basic eight-hour day, were sent to the American Federation of Labor, the War Department, and the Navy Department. (P. 223) No one issue is the cause of greater discontent and feeling of injustice than the disparity of the application of the eight-hour law to war production. While the technical distinctions observed by lawyers in interpreting the application of this law may satisfy their sense of justice, they in no way satisfy the workers engaged in doing the actual work. For instance, the employes of the United States Steel Corporation at Sparrows Point, who are engaged in assembling the parts of the ships in the final acts of construction have the basic eight-hour day, but other employes of the same company, separated only by a fence barrier, who are employed in making the parts which are used by the shipbuilders, do not have the eight-hour day. The legal distinction does not satisfy them. No one policy which this government could inaugurate would do more to convince the masses of people of this country that the purposes of the war in which our government is engaged are genuinely humanitarian and democratic than the establishment of the basic eight-hour day for all government work and war production. Such a policy would be incontrovertible evidence that our government had gotten far away from the old commodity theory of labor and was genuinely and practically trying to establish the paramount claims of human beings.

English and French Commissions—(1917, p. 78) Approved by Convention:

Realizing that the experience of workers

an other countries who had been meeting and solving labor war problems would be of benefit to the workers of this country who were taking the initial steps in war matters, President Gompers cabled to Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain and Premier Ribot of France asking them to send representative labor men to advise with American workers. Mr. Lloyd George promptly cabled that he would send a commission of labor men as requested. Ambassador Jusserand of France wrote Mr. Gompers that he was instructed by his government to see that the best and most appropriate plan for Mr. Gompers to follow in securing representatives of French workers was to communicate directly with Mr. Jouhaux asking him to send two French workmen. In accord with this suggestion Mr. Gompers cabled to Mr. Jouhaux and Mr. Keufer of Paris. A cable in reply was received to the effect that it was impossible for the French labor movement to comply with the request from America. Upon the receipt of the cable from the British government a similar request was sent to the Prime Minister of Canada that Canadian representatives of labor be sent to the conference. The British Commission consisted of the following: C. W. Bowerman, Privy Councillor and member of British House of Commons; secretary of British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. James H. Thomas, Privy Councillor, member of Parliament; general secretary National Union of Railwaymen, Great Britain and Ireland. Joseph Davis, member of the secretariat of the prime minister. H. W. Garrod, representing labor, department of Ministry of Munitions. The Canadian representatives were: J. C. Waters, President of the Trades and Labor Council of Canada. Giddeon D. Robertson, vice president of the National Association of Railway Telegraphers. As soon as the British delegates arrived in this country a meeting of the Committee on Labor was arranged for April 2. There was a large attendance at the meeting, which lasted all day and evening. The British labor men were given ample opportunity to relate the full story of the war experiences of the English workers and to tell how the British Government and the English workers have worked out their joint problems and to answer all questions asked by the members of the Committee on Labor. The valuable information presented in these meetings was recorded stenographically, published in the American Federationist and later was made a Senate document. Arrangements were made for the British delegates to visit some of the industrial centers and to speak to representative audiences in various cities which included New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Albany, Schenectady, and Boston. In these meetings the members of the British Labor Commission told how the English people were meeting their labor problems arising out of war work and conditions and made suggestions to Americans how to deal with local situations.

Espionage—(1917, pp. 119-312) Provisions of the espionage bill, which appears to be unwarranted interference with freedom of speech and press and the right of assemblage, were defeated through efforts of legislative committee.

(1918, pp. 118) A literal interpretation of the espionage act confines it to reprehensible acts designed to hamper the United States Government in its prosecution of the war. The general consensus of opinion among members of Congress was that owing to the polyglot character of our population and with no effort having been made in the past to assimilate this heterogeneous mass of people into our institutions by education or otherwise, a restrictive measure of this character was essential to protect the interests of the American Government. With an almost unrestricted immigration from every country in the world, some of which maintained as a national policy that their nationals (whether naturalized in this country or not) still were subjects of their parent governments, presented a situation which was precarious. In addition to this, the history of this war when written will contain one conspicuous feature, and that is, the insidious propaganda which emanated from the imperial German government and spread by its agents and emissaries in every part of the world and which invaded the departments of our own government. No more striking illustration can be pointed to than the crafty campaign carried on in Russia and its demoralizing results. The American Federation of Labor yields to no champion of freedom of speech or action in its advocacy of those measures which give to the individual the widest latitude in expression of speech and to act, and its entire record has been one of consistency and persistent effort that this freedom should be guaranteed, but the A. F. of L. realizes that this country is engaged in a desperate conflict and that every fibre of the national being must be exercised to the end that we may be successful in our undertaking. The provisions of the espionage bill as literally interpreted provide punishment for those who knowingly and with full consciousness desire to hamper this government in the prosecution of the war. It provides punishment for those who say or do anything except by way of bona fide and not disloyal advice to an investor or investors, with intent to obstruct the sale by the United States of bonds or other securities of the United States or the making of loans by or to the United States, and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully cause, or attempt to cause, or incite or attempt to incite, insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct or discourage or willfully attempt to obstruct or discourage the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States. There is also a prohibition against those who shall willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, contemptuous, or abusive language about the form of the government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States, or the flag of the United States, or the uniform of the Army or Navy of the United States, or any language intended to bring the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States, or the flag of the United States into contempt; or who promote the cause of its enemies, or shall willfully display the flag of any foreign enemy, or shall by utterance, writing, printing, publication,

or language spoken, urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production in this country of any thing or things, product or products, necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war in which the United States may be engaged, with intent by such curtailment to cripple or hinder the United States in the prosecution of the war, or shall willfully advocate, favor, teach, defend, or suggest the doing of any of the acts or things in this section enumerated, and whoever shall by word or act support or favor the cause of the German empire or its allies in the present war or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein.

Flag Day—(1918, p. 226) All the delegates arose and the President said: "In honor of the flag of the Republic of the United States the delegates and visitors to this convention stand in fealty and loyalty and in the hope of its great leadership in the cause of humanity and freedom."

Free Speech in War—(1917, pp. 92-283) The conflict almost inconceivably gigantic, which is being waged to make the world safe for democracy, is, at the same time, testing the efficiency and reliability of existing democratic institutions. The situation develops a number of most difficult problems. The necessity for immediate results creates a situation in which compulsion seems to have superior advantages, but the methods and agencies of autocracy are completely at variance with democracy. Its spirit and attitude of mind are essentially different. It holds that compulsion is not an efficient method; that the best permanent results can not be secured without the consent of the people. For the wonderful advantages and opportunities which democracy affords, some penalties are incurred. The mistakes of democracy result from the shortcomings of human nature and intelligence and from insufficient experience in the methods of freedom. The labor movement has always contended that the remedy is more freedom—greater opportunity for educational development and experience. One of the especially puzzling problems which confront our people today is that connected with freedom of the press. We know that in all ages freedom of the press has been the palladium of free institutions. The only environment in which free institutions can be maintained is generated through freedom of expression and press. Untrammeled discussion is the only safe preliminary to determination of policy. All aspects and relations of the proposition should be considered. In national issues every group and every citizen has the right to express his views and information by exercising his constitutional right to freedom of expression. If he can not convince his fellows, at least his personality and his mentality are not repressed, though he must yield to the expressed will of the majority. A minority group suffering from injustice can more readily secure redress when freedom of speech exists. The minority cause of today becomes the accepted method of tomorrow. Repression never removed any injustice or corrected an evil. Restricted expression results in constricted mental development and vision. The public press is the public forum. It creates and directs public opinion. Publicity calculated to mislead can be counteracted by increased publicity for truth. Not restricted discussion, but more complete and enlightened discussion. If any one abused the opportunities of freedom, there are established agencies for protecting free institutions. Let those who speak or write treasonable thoughts be tried by the courts. We are entering upon an era that will test our constructive imagination and untrammeled thought to the uttermost, if we take advantage of the opportunities that will be presented. Timid expression and restricted discussion would be a sorry preparation for the new age we are entering. Those who are in hearts and minds democrats are apprehensive when we see democracy about to make mistakes deplored in autocracy. While we recognize the exigencies of war conditions, yet we hold that democracy must be more intelligent in meeting those needs than autocracy has been.

However, we recognize that war conditions present very different problems than those of peace. We know that this very freedom of expression, which is one of the great opportunities of a free people, constitutes an equally potential opportunity for the enemies of our country and our cause. Those who abuse freedom of the press in order to endanger the perpetuity of our Republic and to undermine our free institutions, should be punished as traitors to the nation. We believe that this is the only way in which this problem can be dealt with safely. To attempt to define the standards which every right-thinking citizen ought to establish to guide his public expressions and publications, would involve a very great danger to this basic right of free citizens. If these restrictions of free speech are not voluntarily assumed by citizens we hold that they ought to be vigorously dealt with at law. The emergency through which our nation is passing puts to a test our free institutions. It devolves upon those who advocate freedom to demonstrate its effectiveness in this situation which involves the existence of the nation. Abuse of the opportunities of freedom will inevitably endanger the sacred right. We urge on all the duty of making only such usage of the right of free press as will promote the general welfare. Freedom must not be confused with license. (P. 348) Executive Council instructed to protest against rulings of the Postmaster General in suppressing newspapers and other publications on technical grounds in defiance of the Constitution of the United States.

Godhart, M. Justin—(1918, p. 311) In addressing the convention, M. Godhart, former presiding officer of the French Chamber of Deputies and a member of a mission from the French Government, said: "I thank you for the hearty welcome you have given me and for interrupting your work to receive the short message we bring you from France, from our men, from our soldiers and workers. Wherever they are, in the trenches or in the factories, they have only one aim and one object, to win this war. These are the thoughts of the French workmen. They know what you are doing for them now and how you can help them in the future. They know the great effort of your organization, showing that you want justice and right for the workers. I have said that out of this war will be a union, not only between the workmen in France, but a union between the American workers and the French workers."

Industrial Problems Because of War—(1917, p. 409) The industrial problems arising through our nation's participation in the war and the agencies in operation to preserve industrial peace and establish an adequate degree of cooperation between the employer, whether private or governmental, and the employe, has created a condition which makes it essential that certain conditions and principles shall be clearly kept in mind and generally accepted. If justice is to be done and terms of employment and conditions of labor equitable to the employer and employe established, certain broad principles must be applied. In determining what the wage rates should be there are several vital factors to be considered apart from the increased cost of living. The existing wage rate in an establishment should first be considered as to its equity: Was it established as a result of joint conference and agreement between the employer and his employes, or was it established as a result of the employer's individual conception of what wages should be paid to those in his employ? To what degree did the previous wage rate compare with those in establishments in the same district where wages have been established through joint agreement between the employer and the employe? How did the wage rate adopted through joint agreement in the district compare with the wage rates in other districts where joint wage agreement existed? In the composition of boards or commissions which are to consider questions of terms of employment and conditions of labor, it is essential that there should be equality of representation between the employers and the wage earners. In the event that a wage board or commission is to consist of an unequal number, then a civilian should serve as the odd man. One-half of the remaining number of this body should be the direct representatives of the wage earners, to be nominated by organized labor. The right to organize is essential to the solution of problems arising between employer and employe. Employers apply this right, but in many instances this right has been denied to wage earners by employers. All agreements formulated by wage boards or commissions should contain a clause announcing that the right to organize is inalienable and that prevention of the exercise of this right by the employer or his representative constitutes a violation of these principles. The nation's interest makes it essential that cooperation should exist in the industries. No efficient cooperation can exist except through organization. Cooperation presumes good will, and there can be no good will without recognition of mutual rights. Therefore, the recognition of the employes as a group having common interests is one of the fundamental prerequisites to cooperation. There can be no true efficiency in production without good will. Good will and cooperation cannot exist where the employer exercises autocratic authority in determining the terms of employment and the conditions of labor. The highest efficiency in production can only be secured through the application of the principles of democracy. These are as essential in industry as they are in civil government. Whenever the employes in a department or an establishment have a common complaint or grievance, it is fundamental that the employer should meet those who may be selected by the workers to represent them. It is advisable that production should not cease because of an apparent injustice or oversight contained in an award, for it is necessary to the nation's protection as well as to the welfare of the trade union movement that there should be no cessation of work except as a last resort.

Industrial Service Section—(1918, p. 63) Many government departments dealing with war work have appointed either representatives of labor organizations to cooperate in the general work or have established industrial departments. Some departments have combined both methods which, of course, is the most desirable. Industrial service sections, though managed for the best interests of workers and furthering their welfare, fail in the essential principles of democracy for which the labor movement contends. In addition to the humanitarian labor administration, there must be presentation of the views and demands of workers by the representatives of workers. Industrial service sections ought to round out their program by agreements with organizations of workers affected and by according to representatives of those organizations adequate representation whenever decisions and policies are determined. In the War Department the following industrial service sections have been organized: Ordnance Bureau, Quartermaster Department, Signal Corps, Construction Division. The Ordnance Department has arranged with several institutions to give courses in employment management. Men from the Ordnance Department as well as from the management staffs of munition producers will benefit from this instruction. Another evidence of the humanitarian and enlightened attitude of the Ordnance Department is General Orders No. 13. This order, although not having a mandatory effect, contributes to the elimination of the commodity theory of labor. It is published in the June issue of the American Federationist. A very similar order was issued by the Quartermaster's Department as Circular No. 18. In the Quartermaster's Department an administrator of labor standards in the manufacture of army clothing has been appointed. The Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation has an industrial section which deals with the administrative side of labor problems. This section dealt with emergency problems before other war labor agencies were created to deal with the general field. The board therefore has dealt separately with its problems in vocational training, housing, employment, labor management, etc. The board has arranged for the training of workers in allied trades who are free to come into shipbuilding work. Those who thus far have been trained have served principally as instructors for groups of other untrained workers coming in as the industry expanded to meet the war needs. Fully appreciative of the fact that workers must be dealt with as human beings, the Shipping Board reached the conclusion that labor managers must deal with the shipping employes in an intelligent manner and thereby reduce the turnover and the causes of discontent and friction. Under the agreement between the Seamen's Union and the Shipping Board, schools of training for men who wish to

become seamen have been established. However, this plan has met with difficulty, as certain shipping companies have refused to employ these men even after they have been trained, although the members of the Seamen's Union have asked that places be made for them. Even though some of the seamen may have difficulty in finding employment, the Seamen's Union is looking to the future when numbers of additional seamen will be required to man the boats that are being built. The government has shown its appreciation of the function of organized labor.

Insurance, War Risk—(1918, p. 108) Congress passed joint resolution providing application for war risk insurance can be made by relatives and friends other than the insured. Signed by President.

Inter-Allied Conference Program—(1918, p. 339) Referred to Executive Council program adopted by a conference of labor representatives from Belgium, France, Italy and Great Britain, declaring: "For America's workers and our whole people, the A. F. of L. has formulated certain fundamental principles for reconstruction both during and after the war. We should not commit our movement to a program in its entirety though formulated by our friends but who may not be in a position to comprehend the institutions, conditions and temperamental characteristics of the people of the United States. We should not be asked to adopt in its entirety any all-embracing program in the making of which we were unable to, and did not, take part, and which was prepared to meet some problems which may not exist in America."

International Labor Relations—(1884, pp 12-17) Fourteen French workmen sent to America by the municipality of Paris in 1883 afterward began a correspondence with the secretary of the A. F. of L. with the view of opening friendly relations with the workingmen of America. The secretary was instructed to send a suitable reply to the Federated Union of the Central Region of France.

(1885, p. 13) Indorsed an international law proposed by the government of Switzerland regulating the hours of labor for working people, female and child labor, factory inspection and other measures for the amelioration of conditions of the laborers of the world. Urged Congress to enact laws along those lines.

(1887, p. 17) Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain congratulated the determination of the 1886 convention to keep trade unionism on its old foundation instead of mixing it up with other movements. Invited convention to send a delegate to the International Trade Union convention in London in 1888. (p. 26) Deemed wiser first to unite the labor organizations of America before trying to unite with the workingmen of Europe. (p. 30) Decided present friendly relations with European labor movements be continued.

(1888, p. 19) Fraternal greetings received from the Societe Professionell des Ouvries Mechaniciens of Paris. (p. 34) President A. F of L. instructed to write British Trade Union Congress.

(1889, p. 14) President had written two letters to the International Labor Congress in Paris. (p. 16) U. S. had not received invitation of Swiss Government to decide upon international labor relations. Decided International Labor Congress be held in Exposition city in 1892, but afterward changed to 1893. (p. 23) Invited John Burns to visit U. S. (p. 38) Letter of congratulation from French Typographical Federation.

(1890, p. 15) President reported little encouragement for an international labor conference.

(1891, p. 13) President reported that because of nonrepresentation at the Brussels International Labor Congress and misrepresentation of the character of the A. F. of L. the congress refused to meet in the U. S. in 1893. (p. 40) Executive Council instructed to send fraternal delegate to England and correspond with other countries and request them to send representatives to our congress to convene on Labor day. (p. 39) Indorsed Bakers' International Congress to meet at Hamburg, Germany.

(1892, p. 15) British Trade Union Congress alone accepted invitation to attend World's Fair International Labor Congress, which was later abandoned.

(1893, p. 16) Milan, Italy, invited A. F. of L. to send representative to an international exposition and congress in that city. International labor congress at Zurich voted to meet in London in 1896. (p. 36) Invited John Burns to come to America and hold meetings to secure a closer unity of effort among the toilers of America. (p. 55) Thirty French artisans who came to U. S. to study the labor question visited the convention. They were given a letter of greeting to take back with them to the labor unionists of France.

(1894, p. 21) John Burns and David Holmes were fraternal delegates from British Trade Union Congress. The A. F. of L. sent two delegates to the next congress.

(1895, p. 65) Declined invitation to send delegate to international congress of socialists, as it would be as consistent to recognize the socialist party as the republican and democratic.

(1896, p. 25) Suggestions by A. F. of L. for a bona fide international congress were submitted to affiliated unions by British Trade Union Congress. General correspondence was kept up with labor movements of the world. (p. 52) Fraternal feeling between countries growing, as was evidenced by the London Trades Council indorsing a boycott levied by the A. F. of L. (p. 85) Representatives of the Musee Sociale, Paris, addressed convention.

(1897, p. 24) President said it had been the constant aim to cultivate most friendly fraternal relations between workers of the world.

(1897, p. 17) Encouraged cultivation of fraternal feeling and interest in the welfare of the wage earners of all countries.

(1898, pp. 80-116) Executive officers of all affiliated international and national unions were urged to correspond with the officers of their respective crafts in Great Britain with the view of bringing them closer together for mutual protection and trade benefits.

(1899, p. 166) President was instructed to invite representatives of foreign trade unions to attend A. F. of L. convention.

(1900, p. 23) As year by year commercial competition becomes keener, and the standing armies of the great powers are

more and more used in aggressive wars, undertaken with a view of opening new markets for our surplus machine-made products, the danger of fratricidal war between the competitors becomes greater and greater. Thus the preservation of the peace of the world devolves more and more upon organized labor, whose voice is ever becoming more potent in the formation of public opinion, that supreme tribunal before which both monarch and merchant must inevitably bow. It is, therefore, with a sense of profound gratification that we greet the fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress and extend to them a hearty welcome. We trust that the bonds now established between the workers of the two great divisions of the English-speaking people will never be broken, but, on the contrary, will ever be more strongly cemented by time, and that efforts will be made in the near future to extend those bonds, on strictly practical lines, until they shall include the workers of the world.

(1901, p. 20) We are justly proud of having inaugurated the exchange of fraternal delegates with our organized fellow-workers of Great Britain and Canada. We trust that the time is not far distant when this rule shall be more general, and that as an outcome we shall see a federation of the workers of the world.

(1906, p. 206) Declined to send a representative to Australia to investigate its labor political movement and legislation.

(1908, p. 217) Instructed delegates to the 1909 convention of the British Trade Union Congress also to attend the International Secretariat.

(1909, pp. 111-189-256) Condemned the Swedish manufacturers' lockout of labor as a most brutal and tyrannical effort to crush the trade union movement. Also voted to prevent strike breakers going to Genoa, Italy, to take the places of strikers in the gas works.

(1910, p. 49) A. F. of L. delegate to the International Secretariat offered a resolution recommending to the trade union centers the formation of an International Federation of Labor, and it was placed on the program for consideration in 1911. It provided that autonomy of the trade union movement of each country be guaranteed. (p. 125). Before our affiliation to the International Secretariat scandalous accusations without having any basis in fact or truth and malicious misrepresentations were sent broadcast throughout the world to the trade unionists and other organized workers of these countries—sent by the enemies (I. W. W.) of the American trade union movement—the enemies to the progress and success for the protection and promotion of the interests of the toilers of our continent. Since our affiliation to the International Secretariat we are kept advised of such calumnies and misrepresentations which at least we will receive in an official capacity. The International Secretariat has notified the A. F. of L., and at the same time officers of other international trade union centers, that the subject will receive the consideration of the Congress of the International Secretariat, which is to be held in Budapest in August, 1911. In view of all circumstances we realize the advantage, as well as the necessity, of America's organized workers to be in full affiliation with the International labor movement of the world under the auspices of the International Secretariat. The delegate to the 1911 convention of the International Secretariat was instructed to urge the passage of the resolution providing for the formation of an International Federation of Labor, the purpose being for the protection and advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage workers of all countries and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity; that it shall be the purpose of the labor movements of all countries to prevent the workers of one being induced to emigrate to another during periods of industrial depression or disputes are in contemplation. (p. 314) Formation of International Federation of Labor reindorsed.

(1911, pp. 29-277) International Secretariat at Budapest in 1911 repudiated the so called Industrial Workers of the World. One of the articles of the constitution of the Secretariat prescribes that but one national body from each country shall be represented in its conference. The effrontery of any one presenting himself as a representative from America in opposition to the delegate from the A. F. of L., it might be thought, would be appreciated at once at its proper value by the delegates from the other countries, but inasmuch as the would-be delegate from the corporal's guard that composes the I. W. W. professed to support the policies and program of the Confédération Générale du Travail of France, his pretensions were supported by the latter organization. Between them he and its delegates managed to bring up sufficient discussion to consume the entire first day of the conference. At the close of the debate, the I. W. W. aspirant to a seat was rejected, all the votes being against him excepting that of the Confédération Générale du Travail. The case against the I. W. W. delegate was conducted in a masterful manner by the delegate from the A. F. of L. The decision on this and other questions during the sessions of the conference tends to show that the true position of the A. F. of L. in the great labor movement of the world is becoming better known and appreciated by the representatives of labor in Europe. Not only is the sentiment for a unity among the wage workers of the different countries advancing but recognition is being made of the points on which solidarity may become practical. Among the resolutions passed was one introduced by the A. F. of L. delegate proposing that labor organizations of all countries prevent by all means possible the migration of workingmen from one country to another in time of labor disputes. The two propositions, the one for an International Federation of Labor brought forward by America two years ago, and the other for an International Congress of Labor, introduced by France, were sent back to all the national bodies for discussion. It was voted that the International Secretariat could in exceptional cases initiate a wage movement where the number of workers engaged was so great that the necessary funds could not be furnished by either a national organization or an international union interested. The labor movement of America stands better with the Secretariat representatives of the European countries than it did two years

ago, before our case was plainly put by an American delegate, speaking upon an equality, face to face with the other members of the conference. It may, however, take years to disabuse the minds of many who are active in the movement abroad of their prejudices against our movement, so long was it exposed to misrepresentation by men in this country who were trying to divert its aims and change its policies. With experience, it has become clear to the representative men of labor in all countries that each country has its peculiar problems, which must be worked out by its own workers by the methods they deem most applicable and advantageous. The advice, "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" can not be carried into actual practice to the extent of similarity of organization and procedure. In trade unionism, the possibilities are promising for internationality in respect to recognition of union membership, in refraining from blacklegging, and in financial and other support in case of great strikes and lockouts. But politically, no two countries are on the same plane. There may be a general sentiment favoring the emancipation of labor everywhere from its disqualifications, an agreement upon many points in an analysis of the injustices of society as now organized, and even common assent as to certain principles or maxims for guidance in forming the better society that is coming, but to fix hard and fast rules by which the wage earners in all countries are to work in building for the future is an impossibility. The important things for American trade unionists to consider, in connection with the International Secretariat, as well as other of our international associations, are such as relate to trade union work, as brought up through the mobility of labor made possible by today's means of transportation, or as suggested by the experience of the unions of the different countries. The peoples of all civilized countries are coming to the realization that in many respects they have a cause in common—that of justice, freedom and humanity. There is no force in society so potent to crystallize that sentiment and the establishment of human brotherhood as the historically developed and developing labor movement of the world.

(P. 138) The A. F. of L. delegate to the Secretariat had been given these instructions by the Executive Council: 1. We do not favor anti-patriotism or anti-militarism in the sense as proposed by the representatives of the Confederation General du Travail of France; 2. We do not favor the general strike as proposed by the Confederation General du Travail of France; 3. We favor the organization of an international federation of labor, the representatives of the international trade union centers not to be confined to the secretaries thereof; 4. That every means be taken to prevent the exportation of strike breakers from one country to another, whether a strike is in actual existence or contemplation; 5. For legislation in the several countries more uniform in character, governing hours of labor of women and men in dangerous trades, and for the abolition or restriction of the labor of children under the age of fourteen in any gainful occupation; 6. For safety appliances, sanitary conditions of labor, housing reform and improvement of the workers; 7. The publication of an official monthly journal or bulletin by the International Secretariat or International Federation of Labor in several languages, in which shall be given the state of trade in each country, conditions of labor, progress in legislation and all other matters affecting the labor movement in the various countries. Also invited next conference be held in San Francisco in 1915.

(1912, pp. 26-313) Indorsed plan to send delegate to the 1913 convention of the International Secretariat and invite it to held its next session in San Francisco in 1915. The secretary of the Secretariat visited the U. S. and was given every assistance to enable him to learn the industrial conditions in this country.

(1913, p. 85) Name of International Secretariat was changed to the International Federation of Trade Unions and voted to meet in San Francisco in 1915.

(1914, pp. 50-471) Notice received International Federation of Trade Unions could not be held in 1915 because of the war. Twenty-two countries comprised the federation: Great Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, Hungary, Servia, Roumania, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, United States, New Zealand and British South Africa. (p. 472) Regretted British fraternal delegates could not attend.

(1915, p. 53) Executive Council report indorsed: As a result of war conditions, the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been virtually suspended. The international conflict disrupted the interests and occupations of peaceful civilization and has instituted a war regime. All life and industry have been forced to readjust to war conditions. The ideals and the purposes of peace have been replaced by institutions and organizations to serve the purposes and furtherance of war. As the war has cut asunder many of the ties that bound nation to nation, so it has rendered impossible the fraternal relations existing between the national labor movements of the belligerent countries. Since the headquarters of the National Federation of Trade Unions is in Berlin, the capital of a country virtually surrounded by armed forces, it has been difficult for this international organization to continue its work or to keep in touch through correspondence with the trade union centers of other countries. In November of 1914 President Legien of the International Federation announced that under the conditions the regular work of the organization would be discontinued and the funds be used only for the purpose of maintaining the organization, and not for the purpose of propaganda. This was necessary in order to preserve the neutrality of the labor organizations. He also announced that the President of the Dutch Trade Union Center would be the intermediary through whom he would communicate with the various national trade union centers. It was also decided that the congress of the international federation which the Zurich Congress decided should be held at San Francisco, 1915, would be indefinitely postponed But the progress of the war intensified feeling and made communication increasingly difficult. The rigid censorship in many

countries renders it practically impossible to secure adequate and comprehensive information in order to keep in touch with labor conditions in the various countries and to discuss any common interest. In February a conference of some labor representatives of France and England was held in London. Both the British Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation du Travail of France disavowed any responsibility for the holding of this conference, or any of the views expressed therein. The French trade union movement had been invited to participate in that meeting, but not the British as an organization. The delegates from the French organization were instructed to confer during their stay in London with the British Federation in regard to plans for the future of the International Federation of Trade Unions. As a result of long and serious conferences, W. A. Appleton and L. Jouhaux jointly wrote to President Gompers. In their letter they asserted that, while there was no personal animosity toward the people of Germany, yet that all present in the conference agreed that the national and racial bitterness engendered by the war would nullify the usefulness of the international trade union movement if headquarters were continued within a belligerent country. They stated that it was obvious that many years must elapse before the British, Belgian and the French workers could proceed to Berlin with the same freedom and confidence that existed prior to the outbreak of war. They felt that some change was necessary in order to prevent the disintegration of the international trade union movement, and they suggested that the international office should be moved, at least for the time, to some country whose neutrality was guaranteed by treaty and physiography. America was considered ideal in all respects except that it was too widely separated by distance. Switzerland was the only other country that seemed to have all desirable characteristics, and Berne was designated as the most satisfactory location. Inasmuch as Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux appreciated fully the gravity of the situation and the desirability of avoiding dismemberment of the international trade union movement, they requested President Gompers to present this matter to Mr. Legien. They most earnestly and emphatically asserted that their request was not due to any personal feeling against President Legien, but because of their deep anxiety to maintain the solidarity of the international trade union movement. In accord with this request, President Gompers wrote to Mr. Legien and laid the matter fully before him. The course which President Gompers pursued was endorsed by us in our official capacity as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We proposed also that a plan be adopted which, in case of future wars, would automatically remove the headquarters of the international federation from a belligerent country to a neutral one. As before referred to, the war has made regular correspondence extremely difficult. Mr. Legien wrote in connection with this matter, but his original letter was lost. His first impression was that the proposition was a matter that ought not to be decided by vote through correspondence, but only after a thorough and personal conference in which the whole question could be discussed. He felt that to change headquarters of the International Secretariat at that time, under the existing conditions, would be an expression of lack of confidence that would, in the future, have a harmful effect upon the whole movement. He expressed uncertainty as to whether or not the request of the French and British representatives was in the form of a regular motion that was to be submitted to the members of the international federation, or whether the affiliated organizations that did not participate in the London conference should have a separate conference. However, in the interim, before his letter was received, the representatives of the British and French movements issued a circular to the affiliated organizations presenting this proposition for neutralization of the offices and officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions. In the official journal of the British General Federation of Trade Unions, the correspondence which that office had between Messrs. Appleton, Jouhaux, Legien, Oudegeest and Gompers was published. Later, Mr Oudegeest of Holland, upon request of Mr. Legien, issued a circular publishing a fuller version of the correspondence. In the November, 1915, issue of the American Federationist, President Gompers published the entire correspondence between him as the representative of the A. F. of L. and the officers of the trade union movements of other countries; and between the officers of various countries. This correspondence is published under the title, "Labor's International Relations—As a Result of the European War. Labor's Book of All Colors." That correspondence should be considered in connection with our report. Mr. Legien's proposal to hold a conference in Amsterdam did not meet with general approval. Mr. Appleton in writing to Mr. Oudegeest upon the subject stated that Mr. Legien did not appreciate the bitterness that the war had engendered in Great Britain and France, and that it would be useless to ask the people to agree to a conference. We have endeavored as best we could to maintain friendly relations with the labor movements of all countries and to avoid any action that would in the slightest degree interfere with our usefulness and our influence in promoting the best interests of the organized labor movement the world over. We have been able to hold ourselves in readiness to be helpful at such a time when an opportunity for constructive work shall be presented and in order that our influence may be unimpaired and may be powerful for the cause of human rights and democracy. We have been very careful to avoid anything that might be construed as unneutral or in any way hostile to the interests of any group of workers. In December, 1914, Mr. Oudegeest of Holland wrote a circular letter to the various trade union national centers presenting the terrible conditions that existed in Belgium and the want and dire necessity that had befallen the Belgian people. They had no work and no way to maintain themselves. The peril of starvation was imminent. Mr. Oudegeest asked in behalf of these Belgian workers contributions from the trade union movement of the other nations. A personal representative of the Belgium people brought

President Gompers information which substantiated the statements already received. This appeal for help for the Belgian workers the E. C. of the A. F. of L. directed to be published in the American Federationist with the direction to send all contributions to Mr. Oudegeest who was entrusted with their distribution. As already stated the regular congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions was to have been held at San Francisco concurrent with this convention. That was to have been the first meeting this organization ever held outside of Europe. For that reason it was expected that this meeting would have a far-reaching influence and consequence in extending the spirit and relationship of fraternalism, and in strengthening and increasing the tie of unionism that binds together the working people of all countries. However, 1915 finds such conditions existing in the civilized world as have made impossible the holding of this labor congress from which so much was expected that would be of infinite value in promoting human welfare and in establishing agencies whereby the workers could secure for themselves ever increasing benefits and opportunities. In discussing the subject of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, President Gompers has urged upon the officers of the labor movement of other countries that the spirit of the Zurich declaration should be observed and that when the official congress shall be held after the close of the war, it should be held in the United States, and at some time approximately near the time of the holding of the convention of the A. F. of L.

(1915, p. 460) Indorsed "Labor's Book of All Colors," as it shows the human side of the world's trade union movement and emphasizes the necessity of a more comprehensive and effective system that will safeguard the movement regardless of any circumstances which may develop. Convention declared: "Because the maintenance of the trade union movement of our country, or all civilized countries, and of the International Federation of Trade Unions is of paramount importance in so far as the economic condition of the workers is concerned, at all times and under all conditions, the stability of our movement here or elsewhere should not be subject to the disturbing influences and possible destruction by any cataclysm, be it a fire, flood, war, or pestilence. In times of great stress there is more and greater need of workable machinery and unhampered officers to safeguard and protect our movement and the rights and best interests of the members thereof. Under the present laws of the Trade Union Centers and the International Federation of Trade Unions, there is no law flexible enough to meet an emergency which might be caused by any of the foregoing catastrophes. The next delegate to the Congress of the Federated Trade Unions is hereby instructed to offer a motion creating an honorary President who shall perform under circumstances stated hereinafter all of the functions and necessary duties of the president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, to wit: If the president of the International Federation of Trade Unions is prevented from exercising and performing the normal functions of his office, by reason of a disastrous fire, flood, war, or pestilence, they shall temporarily revert to the honorary president, and as soon as the cause which rendered it impossible for the president to perform the normal duties of the office no longer exist, the functions of the office of president of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall automatically revert to the regularly elected president." Executive Council was instructed to advocate holding of the first convention after the war in the U. S. (p. 460) We note with extreme regret that the war has temporarily interfered with the free exchange of fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress, but express the hope that normal conditions will soon permit the free and untrammeled exercise of that fraternal spirit which will finally band together the world's workers, regardless of birth or nationality, in one common whole, with one purpose, a better and still better economic, social and political existence for all working men and women, and a result which is inextricably bound up with the welfare of all humankind.

(1916, p. 256) Notice was received by the Executive Council that the special conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions scheduled to be held in Berne, Switzerland, to "consider incidents that appeared to mean the breaking up of the organization," had been canceled. (p. 257) This Executive Council report was adopted: "We ought to call the attention of the delegates to the action of the American Federation of Labor approving the proposal submitted by the Federation Generale du Travaile of France to move the international office to Switzerland. The American Federation of Labor then submitted that in the event of war between groups of countries the labor movements of which are affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions the headquarters should be automatically neutralized and the affairs of the international labor movement protected against the charge or the appearance of partisanship. The American labor movement has refused to consider or to suggest any other international proposition concerned with the labor matters during the war. The proposition considered by the Philadelphia and San Francisco conventions was to give the workers an opportunity to find a means for presenting the immense human interests affected by international relations at the time when, after the war, steps were being taken for reconstruction and for giving direction, tone and purpose to future development. We have been appalled by the human suffering, the physical and mental agony and the loss and waste of human life in the European war and we ernestly desire to prevent the recurrence of such a horror. That purpose cannot be achieved unless constructive measures are devised to accomplish it. The domain of international relations is yet in chaotic condition. There exists a vague mass of customs known as international law and the beginnings of international morality. However, there has been little or no effort to organize this domain for peace and for constructive work. Public opinion has been educated far in advance of the development of agencies through which it must operate.

The important thing is to take steps in the right direction, when peace brings opportunity. This thought has been uppermost in the minds of humanitarian men, many of whom have banded together and formulated definite programs. In order that the wage-workers of America may be ready to participate in the field of international affairs, it is necessary for us to consider various tentative suggestions and to determine upon a definite program promoting labor's interests. The various proposals for the organization of international relations disclose that the field and its problems are analogous to those of relations between individuals—a domain that is now systematically regulated by the governments of the various states. Some of the same principles will apply to the larger domain between nations. We submit that there ought to be a voluntary union of nations, a league for peace to adjust disputes and difficulties, and to take the initiative in constructive efforts to direct and facilitate world progress in accord with highest concepts. Among the suggestions usually made for maintaining peace is arbitration. Arbitration has been so generally discussed that it is not necessary at this time for us to consider its purposes and functions. However, it has been generally conceded that arbitration has an exceedingly important field of service within definite limitations. Arbitration can be effective only in the adjustment of differences, and thus is limited to justiciable matters. We suggest, therefore, that it is not suited to adjust difficulties that are most likely to threaten peace between countries, and it cannot deal constructively with elements and conditions in their making, which, when further developed, would inevitably result in friction, misunderstanding or the use of force. There is nothing novel or untried in the first proposition. Arbitration treaties exist between practically all civilized countries. Between some, as the United States and Canada, permanent courts have been established to adjudicate differences. To apply this principle to world relations would necessitate a permanent agency, to which would be submitted all justiciable differences arising between signatory nations and not susceptible of other adjustment. Would not a permanent world judicial tribunal, composed of jurists and those familiar with international law, with jurisdiction over judicial questions concerning members of the league, be a fitting agency to perform this work? In international, judicial and justiciable matters there are a large number of problems susceptible to mediation and administrative action. For these we suggest a second agency adapted to deal with matters of an entirely different nature, such as economic issues and the affairs concerned in the daily life and work of the citizens of the nations. Such a commission should be composed of men in close touch with industrial and commercial forces in action, not those who from a viewpoint remote from the political and industrial struggle look down upon the activity of the people and the creative forces hewing out the destiny of the nations. The real interests, needs and ideals of the people would be best represented by selecting for this commission journalists, publicists, scientists, professional men, men of affairs, wage-earners—those in close touch with the heart of the nations, through their work, whether as organizers of the processes of production and commerce or as the human agents necessary for the utilization of material resources. Fundamentally, would not the creation of this commission for hearing, considering and recommending as to the infinite variety of interests arising between nations make for the organization of the field and forces of diplomacy? By democratizing the commission and appointing to it those representatives of the rank and file of nations and their varied interests, the light of publicity would be turned upon secret diplomacy and its agents would be rendered more responsive to the will of the people. Old style diplomacy here failed. The traditional diplomat regarded his service as an art detached from the crude struggle for an existence and was unmindful or ignorant of the human interests involved in machinations of diplomacy. Diplomacy must be made more open, more honest, more effective if our civilization is not to be brought into question and jeopardy. We suggest consideration of means to make the purpose of the League for Peace effective. Would not those nations that band themselves together in a league for peace need to agree upon means for securing compliance with regulations and for the use of force against a signatory nation which might go to war or engage in hostilities against another member of the league without having submitted its grievances in the proper way provided by the agreement? Joint use of both economic and military forces of signatory nations could be directed against the offending nation. In order to render international law more tangible and better adapted to the problems with which it must deal would it not be well to provide for conferences of nations to meet at definite times to formulate and codify international law? The suggestions which we submit are to be considered as a general foundation for organization for peace between nations, and would help to avert unnecessary wars. We do not declare that it would abolish war—but by mediating the causes of war, war becomes less probable. We submit for consideration whether each separate nation ought not to maintain its separate agencies for compulsion, with the assurance to each of sovereignty and necessary authority to determine matters of a distinctively national character? Collective action by a league of nations ought not to dictate the limitation or the regulation of military and naval equipment, but it can properly prevent the use of such force for national aggrandizement and for exploitation of the small countries. We deplore militarism, but the fight against militarism must ultimately be made by the citizens of the different nations. Establishing methods and agencies which render display of military and naval power no longer effective is the practical and direct way to abolish rivalry between nations in standing armies and naval equipment. The way to prevent war is to organize for peace. The working people of all countries are vitally interested in the maintenance of world peace. We feel that in addition to expressing our

desire we ought to consder constructve suggestions. We are keenly conscious that institutions and regulations alone are not sufficient. These are only the agencies. Back of them must be an international mind and conscience educated to demand the democratization and humanization of our common affairs. The labor movements of all countries have contributed much to the will for peace and justice, and must do their part in the development of the agencies by which their will can be expressed." (p. 384) The Executive Council was authorized to continue its efforts in behalf of an international labor conference after the war, with instructions to have the A. F. of L. represented in that conference. No one can foretell what eventuality may occur in the war; perhaps it may end before our 1917 convention. Therefore, the Executive Council ought to be in a position to take action to carry out labor's purpose and to protect its interests.

(1917, p. 59) Report of Executive Council Indorsed: There has been practically no constructive development since the report to the Baltimore Convention on the subject of international peace relations. As was reported to that convention, there was, at that time, under consideration a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions to be held in Berne, Switzerland, some time in December, 1916. The authorized representative of the various trade union centers did not endorse this proposal and the conference was not held. Later in the year an effort was made to revive this project for holding a conference at Berne, Switzerland, but that also was not successful. For the convenience of the delegates to this convention as well as for the assistance of committees dealing with this particular subject, the correspondence upon this matter, as well as upon all other matters affecting international labor relations, is published in the November, 1917, American Federationist. The announcement of the overthrow of despotism in Russia and the establishment of governmental control by the people is one of the encouraging results of the terrible European conflict. The change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom created a situation that was extremely critical. The advocates of freedom in Russia had had little practical experience and only opportunity for theorizing. The ardent advocates of human freedom were now made responsible for putting their theories and ideals into actual practice. Since the overthrow of Czardom came in the midst of the European war the Russian people found themselves confronted by two gigantic problems, either of which was enough to test the mettle and ability of any nation well disciplined and well schooled in governmental activities. They had to develop methods and agencies for carrying on the war against the central European powers and also to devise and establish immediate provisional governmental agencies and to develop permanent constitutional institutions. All who had the best interest of Russia at heart were keenly apprehensive lest the Russian people, in their eagerness to establish freedom and their natural desire that every vestige of despotism within the country should be abolished, might be more eager to achieve these purposes than was at the time compatible with practical constructive results. Nations with free institutions have found that the ideals of human freedom can not be established at once but that it is a matter of development following a constantly broadening ideal. Governmental agencies can only afford opportunity for freedom—people achieve freedom in their daily life. The people of the United States, one of the oldest republics, felt keenly their responsibility to place at the disposal of the Russian people the experience that we have acquired since our declaration of freedom in 1776. No class of citizens rejoiced more deeply in the newly established freedom of Russia and felt more keenly their obligation to assist the Russian people than the workers of America. The enforced abdication of the Czar was followed by a provisional government, which made the following declaration of principles as the basis of an appeal for support: "The new cabinet will base its policy on the following principles: 1. An immedite general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses. 2. Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials, within the limits admitted by military requirements. 3. Abolition of all social, religious and national resirictions. 4. To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional assembly, based on universl suffrage, which will establish a governmental regime. 5. The substitution of the police by a national militia with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the government. 6. Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage. 7. The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed but will remain in Petrograd. 8. While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens. The provisional government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned." The Russian revolution was, in a large degree, the result of the aspirations and the efforts of Russia's workers. It was, therefore, particularly fitting that an expression of the feeling of America's workers should be conveyed to those in charge of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Therefore, we, in the interim of conventions, as the spokesmen of the American labor movement, sent cablegrams to the revolutionary leaders of Russia. In order to assist the Russian leaders to steady the diverse and fervid movements in Russia which wished to direct constructive developments, the President of the United States determined to send a commission of special envoys to the Russian government. This commission was entrusted with the responsibility of conveying to the people and the revolutionary government of Russia a message of good will, hope, encouragement and support, and offering service and the experience and the methods of America in establishing and using free institutions. The Russian revolutionary government represents the will of the masses of the Russian people. That the

American commission should receive the fullest confidence and trust of the revolutionary Russian government there was appointed upon the commission representatives of American workers and advocates of human freedom. In appointing the commission, President Wilson selected, among others, James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America. Mr. Duncan was the first representative of organized labor ever appointed on a diplomatic mission of the government of the United States. From several different sources suggestions were made for the holding of international labor conferences. Early in the spring it was suggested that a meeting of International Federation of Trade Unions be held in Berne, Switzerland, to consider several matters, among which the most important were the continuance of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the publication of the Weekly News Service of the International Secretariat, and the program adopted by the Leeds Conference, which met in England in July, 1916. The Leeds program was a declaration formulated by representatives of the labor movements of the allied countries. It contains proposals, which it was suggested labor ought to seek to have incorporated in the peace treaty that shall be drawn up at the close of the war.

(1917, p. 450) We hold and declare that no movement can properly function, regardless of whether it be economic, social or political, in the absence of free speech, free press and the constitutional rights of the people to exercise self-government. After all, democracy is the first essential in the lives of the peoples of all nations. No movement of any nature can properly function without freedom of action and self-government, which are inseparably associated with democracy. The trade union movement, first in importance in the economic field, is necessarily dependent on democracy in the organic form of governments. There was no real trade union movement in Russia, nor can there be in any other country that is burdened with autocracy. Upon these fundamentals rest the successful achievements of human rights, freedom and liberty, economic, social and political justice. We declare that had there been a trade union movement in Russia it would have had a stabilizing force and a far-reaching beneficent effect in the crisis now resting so heavily upon the Russian people. The Russian people have lived for centutries in one of the most brutalized autocracies that has ever disgraced the pages of history; they were denied the right of self-government, the right to congregate for any economic or political purposes, the right to attain an education, and because of these limitations there existed a lack of experience that would have been of priceless value now in stabilizing and maintaining their new-found freedom. The trade union movement, had it existed in Russia, would have developed discipline and a central power not of an autocratic nature, but a power rather to execute and carry into effect the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people.

Jews, To Cease Persecutions of—(1915, p. 461) A. F. of L. requests all governments to cease discriminations against the Jews; the same appeal is made to the organized workers of all nations. The resolution was referred to the labor peace delegates when selected.

Labor Mission to Great Britain and France—(1918, p. 138) The report of the mission to Great Britain and France was in part as follows:

"The members of the mission began the work which lay before them by conferring with President Gompers in Washington and receiving his final advice. From the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor the members of the mission proceeded to New York City. Before sailing, Sir Andrew Caird met the delegation at a luncheon as a representative of the British government. Once aboard ship, the members of the mission arranged for daily sessions at which they discussed the problems before them and more thoroughly familiarized themselves with the official records of the American Federation of Labor relative to its war aims and policies, and the suggestions which they had received from President Gompers. Two incidents gave excitement to the voyage. The ship passed through an exceptionally severe storm, and on the last morning was subjected to a sumbarine attack, the torpedo passing about eight feet from the ship's bow and hitting the stern of the cruiser, which at that time formed a part of the naval convoy. Fortunately the damage done was insufficient to sink the battleship, and two well-placed depth bombs, discharged by one of the destroyers, in all probability sent the submarine to the port where it properly belonged. After landing at a port somewhere in England, the party was taken to a large city to pass the night and rest, but a Zeppelin raid, the first which had visited this city for two years, made rest impossible. Shortly afterwards the party found themselves in London, where the delegation immediately placed themselves in touch with the representatives of the General Federation of Trade Unions and the British Trade Union Congress. During our trip through France and the British Isles nothing was more often or more forcibly borne in upon us than the high esteem and respect universally felt in those countries for our own President, Woodrow Wilson. It was a source of great satisfaction to note the position of world leadership which our President occupies. Wherever the mission went it found the same generous measure of praise and the same high degree of admiration and confidence expressed. No matter in what differing industrial or political circles we found ourselves there was the same profound admiration for him. In public meetings everywhere mention of President Wilson's name and his war aims always brought forth a spontaneous and prolonged demonstration. The actions and utterances of President Wilson have immeasurably heartened the people of the countries of our allies and have inspired them to a lofty and abiding faith in the triumph of democracy. It is to President Wilson that millions of our brothers across the sea look with confidence as the great leader who will bring the world to peace through victory on the same high libertarian plane that so

strikingly characterized America's entry into the conflict. In our discussions with the various sections of the labor movement abroad one of the notable features was the unanimity with which all agreed in support of the war aims set forth by President Wilson and endorsed by the A. F. of L. No matter what other differences there were on questions concerning the war, all wings came together on this point. It is President Wilson's interpretation of the war and his declaration of its purposes that have made it in reality among all people what Samuel Gompers so graphically termed it, 'a crusade for human freedom.' The leaders of the British and French Trade Union movements, having been informed by President Gompers of our mission, were eagerly awaiting our arrival. In London and Paris arrangements had been made to hold conferences at which the representatives of the movement in the respective countries would be present. The conferencs which were held proved of the utmost value, for they gave the opportunity for an exchange of opinions, viewpoints and policies which could not have been secured by any other methof of communication. As a result, it was possible for the mission to clearly and definitely state the attitude and policy of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of war aims, and what was equally as important, give the reasons which had prompted American trade-unionists to adopt these policies which have so profoundly influenced the program of the movement in the allied nations. These conferences also gave us the invaluable privilege of meeting the leaders in Great Britain and France and receiving from their lips a concrete statement of the policies which they had adopted, and the reasons and conditions upon which these were based. In both countries we found nothing but the heartiest approval of the war aims adopted by the American Federation of Labor, coupled with the oft-repeated assertion that our brothers in the allied countries had been greatly heartened by the position which the American trade union movement had taken. They had looked to America for assistance in formulating sound policies and their expectations had been generously fulfilled. Upon but one policy was there a marked divergence of opinion, and upon this there hinged a question of the most vital importance. The Blackpool Convention of the British Trade Union Congress, in 1917, adopted a resolution which provided for the calling of a conference to consider peace terms, at which representatives of the workers from all of the warring countries would be present. In February, 1918, an Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference was held in London at which represetatives of the trade union and socialist movements of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Roumania and South Africa were present. This conference adopted a memorandum on war aims, which was accepted by those present as a guide for the workers in the nations which were represented. One section of this memorandum provided for the calling of an International Congress of Labor and Socialist organizations for the purpose of removing misunderstandings and obstacles which stand in the way of world peace. Such a conference would be held in a neutral country 'under the auspices of an impartial committee,' and would seat representatives from the Central Powers. As an essential condition, all organizations desiring to be represented would be called upon to state in precise terms through a public declaration their conformity with the principles of 'no annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination,' and that they were working with all their power to obtain from their governments the necessary guarantees to apply these principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference. Furthermore, the memorandum provided that such conferences 'provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace.' It was apparent to the members of our mission that there was a wide divergence of opinion between the leaders in both Great Britain and France as to the interpretation and construction to be placed upon the latter portion of the sentence quoted. To some it meant that the delegates at such an international conference would adopt resolutions or formulate policies or programs of a definite and all embracing character; by others it was interpreted to mean that such a conference would not be permitted to proceed further than an exchange of opinions. In fact, one leading figure most prominently connected in Great Britain with the project of an international congress assured us in the most emphatic manner that he was opposed to having such a congress go further than conversations, and that he was opposed to having it take any action in any way binding upon any of the delegates. These statements were made before a joint session with the parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and were not challenged by any one present. It is possible that there are leaders in Great Britain who are of the opinion that such a conference should adopt a program more or less binding upon the respective movements, and there are a goodly number who express the most vigorous opposition to any conference at which representatives of the workers from the Central Powers are seated until German armies have been withdrawn from the soil of France, Belgium, Italy and Russia, and the German military machine is no longer a menace to civilization. While the representatives from France at the Inter-Allied Conference subscribed to the memorandum and today give support to the thought that an international conference should go no further than conventions, a number of the leaders in that country expressed the opinion that it would be folly to hold it unless binding action was taken. At the conferences held in both countries there were prominent leaders who naively informed us that it was the intention to make the qualifications for a seat in an international conference so stringent that representatives from the Central Powers would decline to be present, their failure to participate, should they so decide, supplying

evidence that they were insincere in their desire to have a peace established which would provide equal justice and freedom to all of the nations involved in the war.

"Our first conference with labor representatives was held in a chamber of the House of Commons, London, on April 17, representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and of the Labor Party being present. At this session little more than a limited reference was made to the war policies of the respective movements. On April 29th, and 30th, conferences were held with the same representatives in Central Hall, Westminster. At the first of these the official actions of the American Federation of Labor upon the war were read from the convention proceedings, beginning with the resolution introduced by President Gompers at the Philadelphia Convention, 1914, and including all that was adopted by the Buffalo Convention, 1917, bearing upon our movement's war policies. This was followed by a lengthy statement covering the war experiences of our movement and the reasons which had prompted the American trade union movement to adopt the war policies and aims which now determine its actions. In reply representatives of the British movement gave us the benefit of many of their experiences. Much of the time was devoted on the part of some who were prominent because of their positions, to a discussion of the reasons why in their opinion an international conference was essential. The opinion was expressed by one prominent leader that our American movement would be unfortunate if it maintained its position not to participate in an international conference as one would be held in all probability without our presence, yet later on the same individual during the conference expressed the thought that should the position of the A. F. of L. be maintained it would probably make the convening of an international conference an impossibility. From the opinions expressed the mission is justified in assuming that the leaders in Great Britain are far from unanimous upon the question of the advisability of holding an international conference and that there also exists a divergence of opinion on the part of those who do, upon what it could accomplish and the conditions under which such a conference should be held. Many of those who believed in the holding of an international conference were vigorous in their belief that the German military machine must be defeated, their opinions being that such a conference would assist in bringing about this result through its influence upon the workers of Germany and Austria, and the effect upon the workers in the allied countries should the workers of the Central Powers refuse to participate. With the exception of the self-confessed pacifists, we found the British representatives stoutly insisting that the allied armies must be loyally sustained by the workers in industry, and the German military machine defeated. There was also a unanimous agreement with the thought that the time had arrived when the trade union movement should be more directly represented in international diplomacy connected with the war, and that there should also be a similar representation at the official peace conference following the ultimate armistice. It was suggested that the mission, after having participated in the conference, should endeavor to determine the extent to which the A. F. of L. war aims agreed with those of the British Trade Congress and the Inter-Allied Conference of February last. The mission, however, assumed the position that it had no authority to negotiate or agree relative to the actions taken by the labor movements in any of the allied countries. It held that it was only authorized to state the war aims and policies adopted by the A. F. of L. and to confer with the representatives of the labor movements of the allied nations so that an accurate report of their aims and policies could be submitted to the American movement. Furthermore, the members of the mission declined to take part in the consideration or adoption of any resolution which might have been introduced, or to make any public statements as to any points of agreement or disagreement which might exist in the war aims of the trade union movements of America and the allied countries. By assuming this position your mission prevented any misconception as to its functions and the misconstructions and misinterpretations which might have been placed upon its actions by those who were desirous of discrediting it or making it appear that there existed a difference of opinion, however slight, between the members of the mission and the official war aims of the A. F. of L. Upon its return from France the mission again met with the same group of British representatives, this conference being held on May 17, in Central Hall, Westminster. On this occasion the impression received as the result of conferences with the joint representatives of the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist Party were submitted, and the need for a closer and more continuous method of contact and communication with French trade unionists expressed. In France there exists a joint representative body created between the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist party to consider all questions relative to labor's war aims and policies. It was this joint body which welcomed us by a luncheon in Paris on May 5th. Several hours were devoted to a statement of the French and American labor war aims, and the ground prepared for the two conferences which took place the following day at the headquarters of the Confederation General du Travail. At the first of these the official reports of A. F. of L. conventions were read as they had been at our conferences in London and the same explanation given. Those present representing French labor were in hearty agreement with the A. F. of L. war aims, though they differed somewhat with the methods adopted by our movement, and the great majority were opposed to the American determinations to participate in no international conference until German armies were no longer a menace. One of the most prominent figures in the Confederation General du Travail expressed the opinion which was supported by practically all French representatives present, that an international conference was necessary, his conviction being that it would be possible to impress upon the German and Austrian workers that it was their duty to act for

the general welfare of the workers of the world. If these representatives should refuse to agree upon just peace terms, then nothing would be left but to continue the war. He believed, however, that by meeting with them, action could be taken which would hasten peace and supplant plutocratic government by a socialist government. While our French brothers differed somewhat with the methods of the A. F. of L. they repeatedly expressed not only their unqualified approval of the A. F. of L war aims, but their conviction that in adopting these the American labor movement had clearly shown the way for all labor movements to follow. We found during our conferences that among our French brothers there existed wide differences of opinion as to the methods by which war aims were to be applied, and that as in Great Britain there existed no small differences as to methods and policies between those who were purely trade-union representatives, and those who represented the political groups assuming to speak for labor. As in Great Britain, efforts were made to have us commit ourselves to the points of agreement or difference which might exist in the program or methods of the two countries, but we declined to do otherwise than maintain the position assumed at the London conferences. Our French brothers had extended a most generous welcome to us, every courtesy was shown on their part, and the farewell which they gave conveyed in full the sentiments of affection for the personnel of the mission and their high regard for the A. F. of L. It is our opinion that much practical good will follow from the London and Paris conferences in which we participated. The press of both countries in more than one instance had failed to clearly and accurately express the A. F. of L. policies, so that these had not been clearly understood, and several individuals for personal or political motives had evidently colored their statements relative to our movement to accomplish whatever purpose they had in mind. The misconceptions which had arisen were overcome through the presentation of the official records of the A. F. of L. conventions, and if the mission accomplished nothing else, it succeeded in clearly stating the position of the American trade-union movement on the subject of war aims and policies.

"While in London and Paris representatives of the labor movements of several countries met members of our mission for the purpose of describing the problems with which they were forced to contend, and requesting information as to the manner in which the A. F. of L. was dealing with similar questions if they arose. They also desired to be more fully advised relative to the war aims and policies of the American Trade Union movement. Among those whom we met under these circumstances were representatives of the Roumanian, Serbian, Italian and Greek workers. We also had several lengthy interviews with the leaders of the Belgian movement who were attending to the interests of the Belgian workers in Britain and France.

"During the conferences held in London and Paris with representatives of the labor movement and in private conversations with many of the leaders in both countries, reference was made to the many existing conditions which could only be adequately met through the re-establishing of an effective International Federation of Labor. In both countries it was the unanimous opinion that it should be re-established in a neutral country. At present there exists an unfortunate dearth of official records of the several national trade union movements, and owing to this it has been possible for politicians and the partisan and general press to spread much misinformation among the workers relative to the attitude of trade union leaders and official policiees. There is a crying need for a much greater international exchange of trade union information, experience and ideas, which can only be accomplished satisfactorily through a central international trade union bureau or secretary. Such an international center is also most essential so that greater stability and unity of purpose may be established. In Great Britain and upon the European Continent there exists today among the workers more or less joint industrial and political movements, the French workers having the joint committee of the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist party, while the British workers in their labor party include Socialist groups such as the Independent Labor Party, National Socialist Party, British Socialist Party and the Fabian Society. While these Socialist groups work with the trade unions politically they maintain their separate affiliation with the International Socialist organization. Our European trade union brothers are the best judges of what their political activities should be and what affiliatons, political or otherwise, which this should include, but the existing condition tends nevertheless to emphasize the urgent necessity for a purely international trade union federation at which the industrial problems can be given ample consideration entirely apart from any political movements or considerations It is unsafe and unsound to passively contemplate the influences exerted upon the trade union movement in the great industrial nations of the world by political leaders, however sincere they may be, whose viewpoint and experiences are those of the theorist and politician. The policies and programs of the workers must be formulated by the workers themselves, acting through their industrial organizations, if their best interests are to be conserved.

"Your mission was authorized to convey to our brothers in the Allied Nations a statement of the American Federation of Labor war aims and policies, and to bring back with them a report of this work, coupled with a statement of their observations. It was not instructed to submit recommendations. It is with some hesitancy, therefore, that its members unite in placing before you for your serious consideration a recommendation, which, if adopted, will inaugurate a new feature in our international relations. As the result of painstaking observations and investigation your mission was impressed with the failure of ordinary official methods of communication to keep the trade-unionists of the Allied Countries sufficiently well informed as to developing tendencies, and the tentative programs which were being considered by many of the leaders, or launched upon the movement by

some of its affiliated groups. There is, of course, no difficulty in securing complete statements of all the official aims and policies adopted in conventions or conference by representative trade union bodies. But in the strong currents set in motion as a result of the industrial dislocations due to war time conditions, there is much transpiring of a most vital influence upon our movement, which may not become a matter of official report for months. It is unnecessary to present any lengthy argument for the purpose of making it apparent that if intercommunication is necessary to the welfare of our movement during normal times, it becomes increasingly so during war time, and absolutely essential to the welfare of our movement during such a war as the present world-wide conflict, in which not only armies, but industrial movements as well, may prove the determining factor for victory in the final balancing of the scales.

"While there exists free intercommunication between the trade union movements of the Allied Nations, this has in our opinion proved insufficient to enable our movement to keep in as close touch with what was transpiring and developing abroad as was essential to our mutual welfare. We, therefore, recommend that during the period of the war, the American Federation of Labor maintain one or more direct representatives in Europe.

"During the last few days of our stay a visit to Ireland was arranged for those members of the mission who found themselves free from engagements in London. The mission was unable to secure meetings with representatives of the labor movement. An effort to prolong the stay was made, but the sailing time of our homeward-bound vessel made this impossible. We were compelled to leave Ireland with only a hasty impression of the remarkable beauty and possibiities of the country. Fortunately, though the visit was most brief, it was possible to meet a number of representative Irishmen.

"At another point in this report there has been reviewed at length the desire of many leaders, and the declarations of the Inter-allied conference, in favor of holding a conference or conversation with representatives of the German workers, it was not deemed wise to add to that section of the report the findings which we wish to record in this paragraph, but these findings should be conveyed to our movement. We were able to learn before leaving Britain that unquestionably the leaders of the German and Austrian trade union and Socialist movements have for some time had full knowledge of the pronouncement of the Inter-allied conference of February last and that they have failed to make any statement of their own purposes and have failed to indicate any willingness to enter into any meeting with representatives of allied labor as proposed in the Inter-allied declaration. This of itself seems to show clearly the attitude of the German workers and to prove that the entire program for an international conference falls of its own weight. Throughout Great Britain and France we were impressed with the desire of the people for a closer relationship with America and a better understanding of Americans and American ideals. This desire was constantly expressed with the deepest feeling and at every turn we were made aware of a love for our land and our people and that, we feel, must have its full flower and fruition in a common effort to build a better and nobler civilization upon the foundation we now are fighting side by side to make secure. As Americans we were deeply touched by these expressions of affection so frequently brought to us by representatives of all walks of life. The people of our allies indicated to us a resolve for a partnership of ideal effort and a brotherhood of spirit that shall last for all time, utilizing to the full the opportunities that shall be ours in common through democracy made safe from attack by scientific despotism and brutality. It was their thought that as we fight together today to maintain our freedom, so we must work and learn and build together when our armies and navies have opened the way to a resumption of peaceful pursuits. So generous and heartfelt was the cordiality with which we were received by our brothers of Britain and France, so genuine were the constant expressions of friendship and brotherhood in labor's cause, that we find it a keen delight to here declare the pleasure with which we accepted these tributes to the American Trade Union movement. We felt constantly that it was as representatives of the American Federation of Labor that these attentions were shown us and these pledges of friendship given. We bring back to our movement the word of these evidences, expressing here but feebly the spirit with which we were met everywhere. No matter what differences as to questions of trade union tactics we found, there was at all times a gratifying affection shown for the American trade union movement and a real and deep-seated desire for permanent mutual effort in achieving the common goal of enlightened trade unionism. On behalf of our movement we expressed to our brothers our appreciation of the kindness shown us, but we must add here what we said then, that we shall trust to our deeds rather than our words to demonstrate what lies deepest in the hearts of the American workers. We wish to add, also, an expression of thanks to the military and naval officers of allied nations who were our painstaking guides on all expeditions to war making establishments and to the fleets and battle fronts. It was their kindness and forethought, often exercised under the most trying circumstances, that enabled us to bring back so complete a picture of the war and its magnitude and meaning. Our whole endeavor while abroad was to present the war policy of the American Federation of Labor as it is found in the official records. This was done in private conversation, in conference, in public meetings and in statements to the press. We gave the record from the beginning, describing first the conference of trade union officials held in Washington, March 12, 1917, nearly a month before America entered the war, at which time the leaders pledged themselves to the support of the government 'in peace or in war.' We explained that this action was necessary because there was not time for a regular convention to meet the situation. We described the industrial difficulties which arose following the declaration of a state of war and the conferences held with

government representatives, through which adjustments satisfactory to labor were reached. It was with special pride that we described to our brothers across the sea the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to which President Wilson came to pay high tribute to labor's fidelity, and in which, as we repeated on every occasion, every question of labor war policy was determined by unanimous vote. We recounted the various steps that had been taken in promotion of the proposal that representatives of organized labor should sit with the government plenipotentiaries around the table at which peace terms are to be drawn. But we proclaimed with vigor at every opportunity the determination of the American trade union movement not to be drawn into any conference or conversation with German representatives of any kind while Prussian militarism remains a menace to freedom and democracy, and while the armies of that despotism remain on the soil of France and Belgium. During our stay abroad the position of the American Federation of Labor was not only carried to the labor movements in Britain and France, but was in fact laid before the world, due to the prominence given our mission. Moreover, we left for home with the definite knowledge that our declarations had penetrated into Germany and Austria with sufficient depth to give to large sections of those countries a knowledge of the spirit and determination of the American trade union movement. It is fair to assume, in the light of this knowledge, that at least the German and Austrian leaders of a misguided population know that in America the workers understand that the barrier between us and them has been raised by their own actions and must be destroyed by the Teutonic people themselves or by the weight of our armed forces before there can be any discussion with them relating to peace or international fellowship. We arrived at an Atlantic port and immediately got into long distance communication with President Gompers and arranged to be in conference with him at the Executive Council room of the A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. At 10 o'clock Saturday morning, June 1, the mission met in conference with President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, with the officers of the various departments and other labor men and women in Washington, where we were welcomed and greeted and an informal general survey of our observations was given. Arrangements having been made, the mission, together with President Gompers and Secretary Morrison had a conference with President Wilson in the White House at three o'clock Saturday afternoon, June 1, lasting 45 minutes. A general exchange of views ensued, the President expressing his great appreciation and gratitude for the service the mission had performed. We cannot find words to express the gratitude and admiration which came to us not only from the interview itself, but the simplicity and the democracy of the President's manner, the frankness with which he addressed us, the evident keenness of his mind, the clarity of his expressions and the modesty of his entire demeanor and personality. In addition to the great respect and admiration manifested on every hand for President Gompers, both from the representatives of the masses of labor with whom we came in contact, as well as the representatives of the governments of Great Britain and France, we have been importuned to urge upon him a visit to those countries at the earliest possible time. We therefore recommend to the Executive Council, and we trust and hope through the E. C. to the convention, that President Gompers be authorized and requested to undertake such a mission at an early date and before the close of this year."

(1918, p. 333) Executive Council empowered, if found expedient, to maintain one or more representatives in Europe during the war. Also instructed president of the A. F. of L. to proceed to Europe at the earliest time possible and before the close of 1918 in compliance with the requests of the government, the people and labor movements of Great Britain and France. Also that he visit Italy. (p. 334) The necessity for the labor commission being sent to Europe was set forth as follows: "Owing to undisputed German propaganda working insiduously in all allied and neutral countries, and misstatements and misunderstandings created as a consequence which if not corrected, the entering wedge in an effort to divide labor's forces, both industrial and as to its attitude to our respective governments, would have been driven home with great damage resulting to our cause. Statements of such a character, having their origin in the camps of our enemies, were made and unless corrected the whole aims, objects and attitude of labor here and in our allied countries would have been misunderstood. All of which would have been giving aid and comfort to the enemy. To have failed to send the commission the Executive Council would have been derelict in its duty.

Labor Peace Congress, World—(1914, p. 474) Executive Council authorized to hold itself in readiness to call a world labor conference after the war at the same time a general peace congress is in session, to the end suggestions may be made and such action taken as will be helpful in restoring fraternal relations, protecting the interests of the toilers and thereby assisting in laying the foundations for a more lasting peace.

(1915, pp. 49-459) Convention reaffirmed its position on a World Labor Conference to be held at the same time of the World's Peace Congress. These plans for the labor conference were adopted: The Philadelphia Convention adopted a resolution favoring the holding of a labor conference at the same time and place that a general congress should be held at the close of the present European war in order to determine conditions and terms of peace. The resolution instructed the E. C. to hold itself in readiness to call to such a meeting representatives of the organized labor movements of the various nations. It was thought that such a conference would have great weight in urging and presenting the welfare of humanity and in determining the nature of the decisions of the world congress. This proposal was submitted to the various organized labor movements of other countries and they were asked to communicate their opinions in regard to the plan. So far as we have had replies expressing approval from the French national move-

ment, from the secretary of the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne and from the South African Industrial Federation; from Germany came an opinion that such a plan was impracticable. Of course it is impossible to know whether the communication containing the section of the E. C. report upon international war and peace and the resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Convention ever reached many of the labor headquarters. Attention is here called to the correspondence published in the current issue of the American Federationist, and upon which we amplify under the caption, "International Federation of Trade Unions." That correspondence must also be considered in connection with the subject now under consideration. Previous peace congresses of this nature have been more concerned with political schemes and the aggrandizement of individual nations, the maintenance of spheres of influences, than they have been with human welfare, democracy and the rights of the people. The organized labor movement of the world represents the cause of humanity. There is no agency more capable or more fit to present and urge the claims of the people than the organized labor movements of the various countries. Ordinarily representatives in these great political congresses are not chosen by the people or as representative of the interest of the people, but they are chosen from among statesmen, politicians and those who represent great material interests. There is no assurance that the members of this next congress that must be held will be chosen in any different manner. Therefore, the holding of a Labor congress becomes necessary in order to infuse the spirit of humanity and democracy into tihs political conference. The congress will afford a tremendous opportunity, for many nations are involved in the war, practically all of the eastern hemisphere. There may be presented an opportunity tending to democratize the countries and the institutions of Europe politically, and to determine the spirit and the kind of relations that are to prevail between the peoples thereof in the future. This is an opportunity for which America is peculiarly fitted. Our country stands as the land of freedom, the land of democracy. Our ideals have been an inspiration to the people of all lands and have induced many to make the struggle for freedom. Freedom is our ideal because we value human life, because we have the conception of the possibilities into which men and women may grow. The people of all countries have turned to our shores for inspiration and for hope. Millions have sought refuge here; others sought opportunity. This congress may enable our country to make our ideals the ideals of the whole world. To be sure, we have not been able to realize our ideals fully, but the great value of America has been that she has given the world a tremendous inspiration. It may be in this congress we can come nearer to making that ideal a reality in the lives of the people of the whole world. It is because of this great opportunity we have been especially desirous that America and her citizens shall avoid any relations that may in the future interfere with our effectiveness in acting as a disinterested mediator and conciliator. The war is so tremendous, the struggle so intense, the chances so uncertain, that it is impossible to tell at what time peace may come and peace proceedings be inaugurated. For that reason it was felt that the E. C. ought to agree upon some tentative plan for the rapid assemblage of a labor conference. This is particularly necessary inasmuch as the organized labor movements of the fighting countries are necessarily somewhat demoralized through the war; their finances are depleted and they have not the means nor the facilities to obtain immediate and authentic information in regard to the political movements of the various countries. For these reasons, it is necessary that some general agreed upon plan shall be made public in these various countries. Of course, there will be bitterness engendered from the experiences and the results of the war, but the workers everywhere will have to lay aside their personal prejudices and even emotions that are closely related with their ideals, in order to cooperate for the mutual welfare and common betterment of humanity. As members of a great world society all of the interests of our lives are very closely entwined, and we can not, even if we desire, maintain our interests isolated. Either we must be united for our common advancement and our common protection or we will be defenseless against the plans and manipulations of the agents and representatives of the great interests, for it may be depended upon that these interests will cooperate for their own aggrandizement; that they will not allow individual feelings to interfere with their ultimate purposes.

Purposes of Labor's Peace Congress—A conference such as we proposed must be approached by representatives of labor of the world with full consciousness of common interest and all methods necessary to attain those interests. There must be so keen an appreciation of the great things and the important things that the ephemeral and the personal may not interfere with the cooperation necessary to establish greater ideals. The nations engaged in the war have the right to determine their own policies, and the American labor movement does not propose any interference with this right of each nation. The war was caused by conditions and influences for which we are not responsible and the beginning of which it is not now our mission to discuss. Any effort on the part of our country to intervene now would be interpreted as partisan and hence a violation of neutrality. Only by holding aloof from all movements, however well intentioned, until the right time to influence our government to interfere, can the labor movement be in a position to be most helpful in the constructive work of preparing regulations for international adjustments. The matters with which we are mainly concerned and which it is our duty to help determine, are those things which have to do with reorganization at the close of the war and the establishment of agencies to maintain international justice and therefore permanent peace between nations. During the previous history of the world, international relations have been left as the field for professional diplomats and politicians. As a result this field has not been organized and there are few permanent agencies for

dealing justly, comprehensively and humanely with international questions and rights. There exists, however, what may constitute a nucleus for developing permanent institutions. This nucleus consists of The Hague Tribunal and that indefinite mass of international customs known as international law. Suggestions have been made to these embryonic institutions to further develop into a more comprehensive provision for influencing international relations. However, there has been no effort to democratize these institutions and to make them directly responsible to the peoples of the various nations concerned. The demand for democratic control and democratic organization of international agencies and international methods must come from the people, for it is hardly probable that diplomats and statesmen will voluntarily propose to share their power and authority with the masses of the people; and yet it is the masses of the people who suffer most grievously from wars and who must bear the brunt of war both during the time of fighting and in the period of readjustment that follows cessation of warfare. Not only has there been little or no effort to democratize international relations, but very little consideration has been given to democratizing the foreign policies of countries. The latter problem must be worked out by each nation, but would follow naturally from the establishment of the rule of the people in international affairs. The matters that will be considered by any general Peace Congress called at the end of the present European war will be of vast importance in determining future policies and the directions of development for decades, aye, perhaps for all time. At all previous congresses of this type the matters considered have been purely political and have been determined from the viewpoint of professional diplomacy which is concerned with statescraft rather than with the larger problems of national statesmanship and the general welfare of the masses of the people. Since the welfare of the wage earners of all nations is largely affected by international regulations, in all justice it should be given primary consideration in the deliberations of a World Peace Congress. Just as the wage workers of each country have by insistent demands forced their political agents to consider matters affecting their welfare and have forced national recognition of the principle that the wellbeing of the people that constitute the nation is a matter of fundamental importance to the nation, so the wage workers of the various nations must insist that there shall be established as an international principle that the welfare of human beings is of the greatest importance in international relations and intercourse. In whatever provisions are made for international political agencies, the labor movements must present the demands of the people that these agents must be responsible to them. No doubt propositions concerned with international industrial and commercial undertakings will be considered by the peace congress. It will devolve upon the representatives of the wage earners to present and to demand recognition for the human element concerned in such agreements. It has been altogether too common for such problems to be considered only from the purely commercial and private profit standpoint. Consideration of the human side will result only from the self-interest and the altruism of the wage earners themselves. Any effective effort along this line will necessitate a more thorough international organization of the labor movements of the various countries. Experience has demonstrated that the success of the labor movement of each country has been directly proportionate to its success in economic organization, so success in maintaining the interests of the wage earners and international relations will depend upon the kind and nature of our international organization. It is impossible to plan in advance for all questions that may come up for consideration. The delegates must use discretion and judgment guided by the fundamental principle that human welfare must have the greatest consideration.

Suggested Plan for the Congress—There are various difficulties that arise in making a plan to convene the proposed conference. Not all the organized labor movements of the world belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and not all countries have national centers or federated labor movements, consequently any regulations for representation in such a congress must have considerable flexibility. This perhaps would be a workable plan:

Let every national center affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions send not more than two delegates to the conference. The labor movement of any country, even though not affiliated, could send one delegate. If there is no one general labor movement in a country, let the representatives of the organizations of that country agree to send one delegate. It happens that many of the European countries consist of several nations, which have their separate national labor organizations. The wage earners of many countries have not yet effected national organization. It would be extremely difficult to get in touch with the responsible officials of these labor movements as quickly as might be necessary in order for them to send representatives to the proposed labor conference. It is necessary then to make provisions for the representation of such countries in some other than purely formal methods. It is suggested that, in addition to the formal invitations sent to labor centers, that publicity be given to these invitations through the press, and that the notice of the time and place of holding the conference shall constitute in itself an invitation to participate in that conference through authorized representatives. In the meantime until then if there be time the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to extend formal invitations and issue the call in the name of the A. F. of L., and at the earliest possible moment after action has been taken by this convention. In view of the fact that peace when it comes will probably come very quickly and there will be comparatively little time for making provisions for the labor conference and for circulating information in regard to that conference, it might be well to prepare in advance a circular to be sent to national centers, national labor movements and to be circulated by the labor press of the world generally in order that a more complete representation may be obtained. Then it should

also be understood that representatives to this congress must be either officials or duly accredited representatives of economic organizations of wage earners. No representations of political organizations, of philanthropic associations, or any other sort of an organization except a bona fide labor organization, shall be admitted as members of the conference. The delegates to this international conference before leaving their home countries should make provisions for publicity through the labor press of their countries for the deliberations and the decisions of the labor conference so that the wage earners of the whole world would be in possession of the truth in regard to what transpires. In order that the position of the workers of the United States in regard to international peace and war may be fully representative and carry with it the weight of the unanimous voice of labor of the country, we recommend that all International Trade Unions be urged to give their endorsement and pledge their cooperation to the program and plan outlined by this convention for the holding of a World's Labor Conference.

(1916, p. 54) Executive Council reported: We regret to report that the proposal of the A. F. of L. to hold an International Labor Conference at the time and place when the representatives of the governments of the various countries shall meet for the purpose of determining conditions of peace and entering into a treaty was not approved by the organized labor movement of Great Britain. This action, together with the statement of President Legien of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany that such a movement would be of doubtful practicability, necessarily requires that our proposition be abandoned. When information of this official rejection of the plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention reached this country, because of the tremendous importance of the plan and of the infinite and boundless influence that a representation of wage earners could have upon the deliberations of the World Peace Congress, the following suggestion was considered by us and adopted: "Since the first proposal submitted by the A. F. of L. to the labor organizations of Europe has been definitely rejected by them, we suggest that the organized labor movements of those countries that shall participate in the general peace conference to determine terms and conditions of peace at the close of the war shall urge upon their respective governments that the wage earners shall be represented in an official commission from their respective countries. The same policy ought to be pursued also by organized labor movements of neutral countries if it shall be determined that neutral countries also will participate in the general peace congress. Thus representatives of wage earners would be seated with other representatives of the nations in general conferences connected with the formulation of peace terms. In this way the ideals and needs of wage earners would be presented and considered by the general official body."

(P. 384) Action of convention: We note with extreme regret the failure of certain European labor movements to accept the invitation and plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and submitted to all labor centers of all the countries to participate in a World Labor Congress at the same time and place as the World's Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the present European war. The present confusion and chaotic conditions of the world's trade union movement justify the wisdom of the proposition made and adopted at the San Francisco 1915 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, wherein we suggested that in times of stress, and when the normal functions and activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be interrupted for any cause, that the office of the President should automatically revert to some neutral country. Had this been agreed to we would not now be facing the danger of a disruption of the International Federation of Trade Unions. We cannot, and we do not, condemn the action of any federated center. We realize that they are influenced by extremely abnormal conditions, and that they are controlled by national and racial passions engendered by this war that are now at white heat; that their actions are not necessarily the sober second thought and judgment which might, and undoubtedly would be, expressed under normal living conditions. We are keenly mindful of the fact that it is extremely difficult for us to get information to the labor movements of certain countries, and more difficult for such movements to get the true information to us. All communications are held up and censored, hence judgment should be stayed, and conclusions reached only after we are in possession of the absolute facts. While we are forced to abandon the original proposition to hold a World Labor Congress at the time and place as the World's Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the war, while reaffirming the judgment which prompted the adoption of such a proposition, yet in the event of the failure to hold a congress such as proposed, we instruct the Executive Council to continue efforts to bring about a conference after the war in which the organized labor movement of all countries affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions may participate, and that the A. F. of L. be represented.

(1917, p. 59) From several sources suggestions had been made for holding an international labor conference and that the International Federation of Trade Unions should meet in Berne to consider among other matters a program adopted at Leeds by a labor conference containing proposals to have incorporated in the peace treaty that would be drawn up at the close of the war. It is our opinion that the Leeds program is not sufficiently constructive or comprehensive to enable the workers to take best advantage of the opportunity that will come in the Peace Congress. We feel that the Peace Congress will necessarily have to recommend some fundamental proposals for the better organization of international relations in order that in the future there may be some permanent agencies for dealing with the problems that arise in international affairs and to enable the nations to cooperate for the better management of their common interests and their individual needs. Labor is vitally interested in the character

and the scope of such proposals and can not afford to neglect the preparation of a concrete program. The Leeds program does not contain suggestions dealing with this broader problem of international organization. Many of the specific articles in the Leeds program are concerned with matters of a legislative nature, many of which in our country come under the jurisdiction of the several States and not of the Federal Government. For this reason alone, it would be inexpedient, so far as our country is concerned, to have these subjects included in the terms of an international peace treaty. The feeling aroused by the war is so intense, and the customs affecting communications between peoples of warring countries are so unfavorable, that the proposed Berne conference was not held. When the Russian situation became very acute and the impact of external and internal forces aroused serious apprehension as to the future of that country, there was an effort among certain Russian leaders to secure an international conference of labor representatives, either in Russia or in some neutral country. Stockholm was suggested. Labor representatives, chiefly from neutral countries and from the central allied powers, went to Stockholm to carry out this purpose. However, a general conviction prevailed that the forces controlling and perhaps manipulating the proposed Stockholm conference were really disingenuous and were in furtherance of the interests of autocracy with the hope of misleading the working people of all countries. We believe that the purposes of those directing the Stockholm movement were of such character as has been properly designated by the term "peace aggressive." The labor movements of the United States and Great Britain felt that they could not send representatives to Stockholm and act in good faith with their own governments and fellow citizens who were sacrificing for the cause of human justice and democracy. Therefore, the American labor movement refused to send representatives. The British labor movement at first acted in accord with the suggestion of Arthur Henderson, then a member of the British cabinet, and voted to send delegates. However, when the British government refused to issue passports to the British delegates and Lloyd George published correspondence in which it was stated that Kerensky, the head of the Russian government, did not indorse the Stockholm conference as the proposition to hold a conference came originally from Russian leaders, it was felt that the conference did not carry enough sanction to make it effective. The French government also refused to issue passports to French delegates. In the meanwhile the British labor party issued invitations to the labor movements of the allied and neutral countries to attend an international conference in London in August. Exchange of telegrams disclosed the fact that neither the labor movement of Great Britain nor of France were consulted as to whether these conferences should be held. As a consequence the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress were instructed not to attend that conference but to attend the conference called by the labor movements of the allied countries September 10 at London. This in addition to their duty to attend the British Trade Union Congress the week beginning September 8. In his cablegram President Gompers said that the American Federation of Labor was the official representative of the organized workers of America and that it could not and would not share with any political party the right to represent the workers of this country. The London conference of August 28 and 29 consisted of representatives of political movements rather than labor movements.

(1918, p. 48) Since our report to the Buffalo Convention discussion of labor's international relations has focused around three subjects: 1. Proposals to hold international labor conference in which representatives from enemy countries should participate, and 2. Discussion of "peace terms." 3. Reconstruction. In continuation of the discussion of matters of mutual interest at several previous Inter-Allied Conferences, British Labor in January sent invitations to the labor movement of the allied countries to attend an Inter-Allied Labor Conference to be held in London commencing February 20, 1918. The following is the invitation:

"London, 16th January, 1918. Dear Gompers: On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the National Executive of the Labour Party I have the pleasure to send you herewith particulars as to the conditions under which we are calling an Inter-Allied Conference to commence in London on 20th February, 1918. We trust it will be possible for the American Federation of Labor to be represented; for in addition to considering the British War Aims and any amendments thereto sent in on behalf of the respective countries, there is to be considered the very important question as to whether the time has arrived when we should hold an International Conference. A third most important question will be the arrangements to be made for working class representation in connection with any official peace conference. Even if your federation does not quite agree with the two committees responsible for organizing the Inter-Allied Conference, it would be desirable that your representatives, and especially yourself, were present to put the American point of view. We have had a request from the American Socialists, but the two committees have decided that your federation was the only body to be invited to this conference to represent America. I shall esteem it a favor, therefore, if you will give this matter your sympathetic consideration and let me know as early as possible any decision you may reach. Arthur Henderson."

This invitation reached the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor late February 9. The Executive Council was beginning its regular meeting on the following day; it was then too late to send a representative to be in time to attend the London conference February 20. On February 11 the Council considered the invitation and authorized the President of the American Federation of Labor to send a cablegram expressing regret that owing to lack of time it was impossible to be represented

in the Inter-Allied Conference. In accord with that action the following cablegram was sent:

"Washington, February 18, 1918. Arthur Henderson, London: Your January 16 letter reached me late Saturday, February 9, and brought to attention Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, in session on 11th. We regret that circumstances make impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, London, February 20. Executive Council in declaration unanimously declared, 'We can not meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us.' All should be advised that anyone presuming to represent labor in America in your conference is simply self-constituted and unrepresentative. We hope shortly to send delegation of representative workers American labor movement to England and to France. Please convey our fraternal greetings to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assure them that we are pledged and will give our man-power and at least half we have in wealth power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom and democracy. Gompers."

It will be observed that in Mr. Henderson's letter he stated that our federation was to be the only body to be invited to the conference to represent America. Information had come to us that a group of persons had decided to send one or more representatives to attend the Inter-Allied Conference at London February 20th, and it was for that reason that reference was made in President Gompers' cablegram to the fact that anyone presuming to represent labor of America would be simply self-constituted and unrepresentative. In addition, there was included in the cablegram sent to Mr. Henderson a statement that a representative from the A. F. of L. would not participate in any discussion or any conference in which representatives of enemy countries sat in. It was believed that this fact should be emphasized at that particular time by reason of the declarations of the A. F. of L. upon this point and for the further reason that there were some who in our judgment mistakenly or wrongfully urged such participation. When the war is won, the question of participation in a labor conference in which the representatives of all countries participate, can be decided. Upon the day that the cablegram was sent it was given out in Washington for publication. Some representative of the press in New York cabled the message over to British papers. On the day of the opening of the London conference British papers published a garbled cablegram purporting to be sent by the President of the A. F. of L., in which the following sentence had been injected: "American labor believes German influences have inspired the London conference and until this is disproved will avoid the conference." When the falsehood came to the attention of the Allied Labor Conference in London, the conference directed its Publicity Committee to publish the text of the cablegram as received from President Gompers, and also sent the following cablegram to him:

"London, Feb. 25, 1918. Gompers, American Federation of Labor, Washington. Press in this country circulating statement, your alleged authority, that American labour believes German influences inspire the London conference. Nothing appears your telegram to us. We feel sure you will resent gross falsification your message. Apparently part of campaign of malicious misrepresentation on part enemies of labor. Trust you will dissociate your federation from statement which is wholly untrue. Albert Thomas, President. Arthur E. Henderson, Sec'y."

Owing to important official engagements which necessitated absence from Washington, and to official duties that could not be deferred, reply to the telegram could not be made immediately, and in any event it would not be sent or received during the sessions of the conference, for it had already adjourned. However, the following cable reply was made:

"Washington, D. C., March 13, 1918. Arthur Henderson, London: Your letter January 16 inviting delegation A. F. of L. participate in London conference February 20 reached me February 9. Authority to designate delegates of the American labor movement vested in convention A. F. of L. or in Executive Council during interim. Executive Council in session February 11 with regret found it impossible to send representatives because insufficient time to reach London. We cabled this fact and fraternal greetings to Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assurance that American people are united in struggle for world justice and frcedom. American Federation of Labor responsible only for cable sent you by its representatives and not for cablegram garbled in press. American labor glad to meet with representatives labor movements of allied countries but refuses to meet representatives of the labor movements of enemy countries while they are fighting against democracy and world freedom. In the gigantic task to destroy autocracy there must be hearty cooperation among workers and we hope nothing will interfere with complete understanding and good will between workers of America and allied countries. A delegation representing American labor will shortly visit England and France to encourage, confer and cooperate in furtherance of the cause of labor and world democracy. Am sending identical cablegram to Albert Thomas, France. Samuel Gompers."

The statement was cabled from Great Britain that the Inter-Allied Labor Conference authorized a commission to come to the United States to confer with representatives of the American labor movement in order to clear up misunderstandings and to secure direct information of the views and plans of American labor. According to press reports the commission was to consist of representatives of British, French, Italian and Belgian labor. However, the only official communication received in regard to this commission is the following cablegram from L. Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travaile:

"Paris, March 21st, 1918. Gompers, Washington, D. C. I desire to make on the part of the working class delegation coming to America, to express to you satisfaction at our meeting soon. Jouhaux."

In view of the existing situation, for the

purpose of holding conferences with workers of allied countries, of ascertaining conditions both in Great Britain and France, to bring home to our movement this information and to convey the information to our fellow workers of the allied countries of what we were doing in the United States, to convey the message of good will; to bring about a greater degree of cooperation and effective service for the toilers and for our common cause in winning the war, we authorized the creation of a commission of representative workers of the United States to visit both England and France. When it became known in Great Britain and France that an American labor mission was going over, information was cabled across that the departure of the Inter-Allied commission would be deferred at least until conferences were had with the American labor representatives.

(1918, p. 332) Convention declared: We declare the position of the Executive Council in refusing to sit in conference at this time with delegates from countries with which we are at war is logically, morally and absolutely correct. We dare say, it is our judgment that no representatives to a conference of this nature could emerge from either of the Central Powers without the approval and consent of the autocratic rulers of these countries; hence, under such circumstances there could be no true expression of the hopes and the aspirations, and the true attitude of the toiling masses in those autocratically ridden, misgoverned, militaristic governments.

Labor Representation—(1918, pp. 73-327) Additional appointments since the Buffalo Convention were made to these boards: Two interpreters of labor standards and conditions to the Railroad Wage Commission to make recommendations on the request of railroad employes for increased wages; five on the National War Labor Conference Board, and later constituted the National War Labor Board; one by the Secretary of the Treasury to serve on a committee on Taxation of War Profits; one appointed by the Surgeon General to draw up a bill for the rehabilitation of soldiers; a Director of the Division of Labor and an assistant; one on the Committee on Meat and Food Administration; one to the Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation of the Department of Labor; three on the Advisory Commission to assist in organizing the labor activities when the Department of Labor was given charge of labor war administration; one chairman of the Labor Division of the War Industries Board, who also organized a War Prison Labor and No National Waste Reclamation Section on which another labor man was named; and three on the Appeal Board of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Labor Turnover—(1918, p. 74) A letter from the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board requested an expression of opinion of the A. F. of L. on these questions: "1. Can minimum wage rates prevent the continued serious labor turnover, or must there be standard rates for the period of the war? 2. Should government departments or boards in establishing wage scales and conditions of employment deal directly with local organizations, or only through the international presidents of various craft organizations? 3. Should the country be divided into districts in which uniform wages and conditions should prevail, or should there be one uniform wage rate for the entire country? If in districts, how are the limitations of such districts to be determined? 4. Should uniform wages and conditions prevail in a given craft within a district regardless of the industry in which the individual is employed, or should uniform wages and conditions for all crafts prevail within the same district? 5. Are there any basic crafts that should receive the same rate, and if so, what are they? 6. How can important government work obtain priority in labor supply over less important or private work? 7. Assuming the establishment of wage scales on government work, for how long a period should such scales remain in force—if for the period of war, should provision be made for periodic rehearings in case an increased cost of living be shown, or should the wages be increased automatically whenever government statistics show an average of 10 per cent increase in a given district? Until the above questions are determined, little satisfaction or stability will be obtained, and we therefore count on the continued cooperation of the A. F. of L. in seeking a solution of these problems." (p. 327) Convention requested the chief executives of the national and international unions concerned to hold a conference for the purpose of determining the reply to be made by the Executive Council.

Labor and the War—(1917, p. 67) Convention unanimously adopted this report of the Executive Council on "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War": It was not long after the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it became plain that our country could not long avoid taking part in the European war. The war had become world-wide in scope and involved issues of such a nature that our Republic could not much longer remain neutral. The Imperial German Government flagrantly imposed upon the neutrality of this country and the unbroken relations of good will and friendship that had existed between the people of the United States and the German people since the formation of our Republic. When it became plain that the German Government intended to trifle ruthlessly with its pledges to our government and with the lives and rights of our citizens, self-respect and appreciation of the rights of our citizens demanded that there should be no receding from our definition of rights and principles. Under all circumstances it is the duty of any government to protect its people against willful and wholesale murder. A government unable or unwilling to make every sacrifice in maintaining that principle is unworthy the respect and support of the people and should be overthrown. A people unwilling to make the supreme sacrifice in support of the government which undertakes to make that principle good are undeserving to live and enjoy the privilege of free democratic government.

Labor Distribution During War—(1917, pp. 89-281) Immediately after the declara-

tion of war by the United States Government, an agitation was commenced for the purpose of organizing what was to be known as an "Industrial Reserve." It was proposed that men in industry should become part of a semi-military organization to be directed and controlled by our military establishment, to the end that those employed in industry could be shifted from one location to another. Because of its military feature, the proposition was opposed by the officers of the A. F. of L. In the light of the experience gleaned in foreign countries now engaged in war, it appears that the shifting of workers has not only been necessary but vital to the carrying on of the great conflict. Several plans have been proposed, but none thus far has been accepted as a proper solution of the problem. The primary agency necessary for dealing with proper adjustment of workers is a national employment bureau, equipped to give workers information of employment opportunities and employers information of available and suitable workers. It is one of the necessary and essential activities of the war that certain industries on occasions are called upon to materially increase production, and, in this event, some plan must be inaugurated to meet the needs of the government. (p. 281) There should exist within the Department of Labor a bureau which would supply labor, employers and the several departments of the government all necessary information relative to the need of workers in industries, and that it is advisable that there should exist more thorough cooperation and coordination between the Civil Service Commission and such a bureau. The Executive Council is instructed to cooperate with the presidents of affiliated organizations in working out such problems relative to the distribution of labor to be employed upon war materials as will arise, and confer with the government in connection with the development of the National Employment Bureau.

Labor Laws, Compulsory—(1918, pp. 82-279) Soon after war was declared a campaign was begun to create an impression that voluntary institutions and methods would not be effective in war work. A primary problem that has come up in relation to many different situations is the most efficient use of man power. This has taken the form of compulsory labor laws for the avowed purpose of preventing idleness and vagrancy during the period of the war, in West Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and North Dakota. The first measure of this character was enacted by the West Virginia Legislature May 19, 1917, in extraordinary session. The law applies to able-bodied male residents of the State between the ages of 16 and 60. Such residents, and any male persons found in the State shall be deemed a resident under this law, must be regularly and steadily engaged for at least thirty-six hours per week in some lawful and recognized business, profession, occupation or employment. Penalties for noncompliance with the act are fines, and also work upon public roads or streets or any public work not to exceed sixty days. Justices of the peace, mayors, and police judges within the State are given jurisdiction to try and punish offenders under the act. Legislation of like character is now pending in the Legislature of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts bill contains sections similar to those in the New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Maryland laws specifically providing that temporary unemployment resulting because of differences between employers and their employes shall not be deemed idleness under the legislation. While we do not consider it advisable to advocate legislation of this nature, yet when it is proposed and pending as war emergency measures with due guarantees for the protection of the rights of workers, we do not feel that we would be justified in opposing a measure primarily intended to increase the man power of the nation and to bring home to all citizens the necessity of doing their part in the war. The guarantees which such legislation must contain in order that it may not be diverted from desirable purposes and used to further undemocratic interests are specific provisions that the law shall apply to all able-bodied male citizens of all walks of life and that the act shall not apply to persons temporarily unemployed by reason of differences with employers. Although wage earners know full well that legislation of this character without these safeguards has in the past been used to defeat their efforts at self-betterment, as a war emergency they are not interposing obstruction if the proper guarantees are provided. Employers, we urge that you demonstrate your loyalty to the cause of this Republic by not attempting to abuse the spirit of patriotism and appreciation of the national need that has induced workers not to oppose the legislation. We urge that the workers of every State see to it that legislation of this character contains the proper guarantees and that the organized labor movement of West Virginia work for the amendment of the Compulsory Labor Law of that State in conformity with the suggestions presented here.

Labor's Neutrality—(1915, p. 461) We declare the best interest of all our fellow workers regardless of where located, and moreover and especially those of our trade-union movement, by maintaining strict neutrality in the present crisis in the history of the world's trade-union movement. After all, down deep in the minds and hearts of all real unionists lie that fraternal spirit and world-wide brotherly love, genuine sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow workers, regardless of place or nationality. This fraternal spirit must and shall be kept alive. Bitterness, hatred, passion and even brutality may temporarily divide us, because of the machinations of kings, potentates, big interests, financiers and the inhuman and brutally selfish; but ultimately common interest grounded upon self-preservation will bring about unity of purpose, will rekindle and keep alive the spirit of economic solidarity, fraternity and good will. This result will require patience, prudence and diplomacy. Because of its neutrality, environment, temperament and well-known determination to be right and to do likewise, America, the American trade union center, is qualified to exercise leadership in this undertaking which we owe to justice, liberty, humanity and advancing civilization. We urge that everything possible be done to make a permanent part of inter-

national relations and institutions the spirit and the purpose that shall be mindful of the supreme importance of human welfare and protection, and shall make provisions for institutions and agencies that shall make their ideals effective factors in the determining of world policies and the relations between nations as well as within nations.

Labor's War Agreements and Representation—(1917, pp. 82-313) Convention indorsed this report of Executive Council: Under the hegemony of the American Federation of Labor the workers of America have constantly pressed home upon governmental industrial agencies the right of the workers to be represented by the responsible spokesman of the toilers. While there is yet much to be attained, considerable progress has been made in putting labor's demand into practice in everyday living. In addition to representation on boards and commissions that are authorized to determine war plans and policies, there are other agencies that carry these problems and policies into effect. Another type of labor war problems is associated with the activities with these boards—problems growing out of employment. The most imperative war need that confronted the government after the declaration of war and the passage of the conscription act was the construction of cantonments for housing enlisted men during the period of training. The War Department had the gigantic task of constructing sixteen cantonments and sixteen camps to be ready for the soldiers when called into active service. The essence of success in achieving this gigantic construction feat was uninterrupted production by mutual moral obligation. Secretary of War Baker understood that continuous production could not be secured without the cooperation of the workingmen and he knew that that cooperation was contingent upon just wages and treatment. In order that there might be a proper understanding as a basis for cooperation, a memorandum of agreement was signed by Secretary of War Baker and President Gompers, which provided that the basic standards for employment in cantonment construction should be the union scale of wages, hours and conditions in force June 1, 1917, in the locality where the cantonment was situated. The full text of the agreement is as follows:

"For the adjustment and control of wages, hours and conditions of labor in the construction of cantonments, there shall be created an adjustment commission of three persons, appointed by the Secretary of War; one to represent the Army, one the public, and one labor; the last to be nominated by Samuel Gompers, member of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and President of the A. F. of L. As basic standards with reference to each cantonment, such commission shall use the union scale of wages, hours and conditions in force June 1, 1917, in the locality where such cantonment is situated. Consideration shall be given to special circumstances, if any, arising after said date, which may require particular advances in wages or changes in other standards. Adjustments of wages, hours or conditions, made by such boards are to be treated as binding by all parties."

July 27 an additional memorandum extended the application of the agreement to all other construction work which "is now or may from time to time during the war, be carried on by the War Department." August 10 the Secretary of the Navy approved the memorandum of June 19 and agreed to extend the operation of the Cantonment Adjustment Commission to all construction work on land which should be undertaken by the Navy Department. August 20 and September 4 the Secretary extended the memorandum to apply to repair work and to the construction of stores and warehouses. An undertaking essential to entering the war was the work of building ships which the government had delegated to the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Shipping Board. In launching so important and so large an enterprise the Shipping Board and the Fleet Corporation desired to avert interruptions of work due to efforts of workers to secure industrial justice. They therefore entered into an agreement with representatives of labor organizations concerned, whereby an agency was organized to deal with labor relations. The text of the agreement is as follows:

"When disputes arise concerning wages, hours, or conditions of labor, in the construction or repair of shipbuilding plants or of ships in shipyards under the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, or under said Shipping Board, or under contract with said corporation or with said board, adjustment of such disputes shall be subjected to an adjustment board of three persons, hereinafter called "the board," to be appointed by the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, one to represent the said corporation, one to represent the public, and to be nominated by the President of the United States, and one to represent labor, the last to be nominated by Samuel Gompers. Two persons shall be so nominated by Samuel Gompers—one from the metal trades to sit when the matter under consideration concerns construction of shipyards or steel ships and one from among the trades primarily concerned to sit when the matter under consideration has reference to wooden hulls. Where such matter concerns wages, hours or conditions applying to the production of both kinds of ships, only one of the two said nominees representing labor shall sit on said board, the question as to which of such nominees is to sit, to be determined between them, or in the event of their disagreement to be determined by Samuel Gompers. When matters concerning any plant or plants are before the board, it shall invite a person representing and designated by the owner or owners of such plant or plants, and also a person representing, or selected by the majority of the workers in the particular craft or crafts directly interested in the disputed matters, both of said representatives to sit with voting power as associate members of said board in connection with such matters. If a question coming under the jurisdiction of the board arises with reference to such construction in a private plant in which construction is also being carried on for the Navy Department,

the Secretary of the Navy or such person as he may designate shall sit with voting power as a member of the board. In the event of a tie vote, when the board is so constituted, the decision shall be referred to the chairman of the Council of National Defense or to such person as he may designate. This memorandum shall in no way serve as a precedent for procedure in government plants under the War or Navy Departments. The plants where such construction is being carried on shall be geographically districted by the board. In each district, the contractors in whose plants such construction is being carried on, and the representatives of such international labor organizations as have members engaged in such production or construction in such plants, and as are selected for the purpose by the labor member of the board, shall be called upon, under conditions to be laid down by it, to agree upon a person or persons who shall act under the direction of the board as examiner or examiners in such district. If the board does not succeed in having an examiner so selected, then the board shall by unanimous action select a person or persons for such position. The examiner shall be subject to removal by the board at any time by unanimous vote. It shall be the duty of the District Officer of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to report promptly to the board any dispute with reference to wages, hours or conditions of labor which he is unable to adjust satisfactorily to the principals concerned; but the board will take cognizance of such dispute when information concerning it comes from any source whatsoever. Before the district officer shall refer such dispute to the board, he shall confer with the local spokesmen or representatives of such crafts as are involved in such dispute, or with such authorized heads of any local labor organizations interested therein as may be designated by the labor member of the board, or on their request with the national head or heads of such organization or organizations or his or their duly authorized representative or representatives. When it appears to the board that such dispute can not be so adjusted, it will promptly send an examiner for said district to such plant to bring about mutually satisfactory adjustment, the terms of which shall, if they receive the approval of the examiner, be in a report submitted by him to the board for its ratification. If the examiner does not succeed in bringing about such adjustment, he shall in his report to the board recommend terms of adjustment. The board, after due consideration and such investigation as may seem necessary, shall decide the questions at issue. As basis standards with reference to each plant where such construction is being carried on, the board shall use such scales of wages and hours as were in force in such plant on July 15, 1917, and such conditions as obtained on said dates in such plants. Consideration shall be given by the board to any circumstances whatever arising after such wages, hours or conditions were established, and which may seem to call for changes in wages, hours or conditions. The board shall keep itself fully informed as to the relation between living costs in the several districts, and their comparison between progressive periods of time. The decisions of the board shall, under proper conditions, be retroactive, in which case accounting such as may be proper shall be made in accordance with the directions of the board. The decisions of the board will, in so far as this memorandum may be capable of achieving such result, be final and binding on all parties; but at any time after six months have elapsed following such ratified agreement or any such final decision by the board on any question as to wages, hours or conditions in any plant, such question may be reopened for adjustment upon the request of the majority of the craft or crafts at such plant affected by such agreement or decision."

The Shipping Board entered into an agreement which would enable it to secure the cooperation of the seamen of the country and to offer to these workers inducements to remain in their calling, and to bring back others who had left the calling, and to attract American citizens of worth to accept service on board ships. A sufficient supply of seamen is indispensable to the merchant vessels of our country, and the Shipping Board felt that the only basis upon which they could rightly expect such a supply was by assuring fair conditions of work and pay to the seamen. A memorandum of understanding had been reached in a conference between the shipowners and seamen's organizations on May 8, 1917. At a conference held in Washington on August 8, at which were present six representatives of the shipowners, six representatives of the seafaring employes, a representative each from the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, and the Shipping Board, the following memorandum was adopted:

"The representatives of the steamship lines and of the organized seamen agreed with the Shipping Board that some action ought to be taken looking to an increase in the number of seamen in order to furnish men for the vessels trading to England and France carrying supplies and to yet continue an uninterrupted coastwise trade. To attain this purpose the representatives of the shipping lines in cooperation with the Shipping Board and the organized seamen tentatively agreed to cooperate for the attainment of this end in the following manner: Substantially all the steamship lines will agree to pay the following wage: Sailors and firemen, $60 per month; coal passers, $50 per month; oilers and water tenders, $65 per month; boatswains, $70 per month; carpenters, $75 per month; overtime pay for cargo work 50 cents, for ship work 40 cents per hour. Bonus going to the war zone 50 per cent of the wages, wages and bonus to continue until crew arrive back in the United States; $100 compensation for loss of effects caused by war conditions. The scale of wages and bonus for cooks and stewards at present in force be maintained and continued during the continuance of this agreement. That a certain number of boys determined by the number of men carried are to be employed in addition to the usual crew.

that a number of ordinary seamen will be employed in proportion to the able seamen carried, taking as an instance a vessel now carrying eight men on deck will carry six able seamen, two ordinary seamen and two boys, such boys and ordinary seamen to have ample opportunity to learn the work usually demanded of able seamen. That the representatives of the organized seamen shall have access to and be permitted on docks and vessels during reasonable hours. The representatives of the seamen tentatively agree to join with the shipowners in an appeal to seamen now employed on shore to come back to the sea. That the bonus and other conditions arising from the war shall terminate with the war and that the wages set shall remain for one year to the end that wages be stabilized and that the men now on shore may be induced to return to the sea. That the seamen will use earnest efforts in cooperation with the officers to teach seamanship to the boys and ordinary seamen.''

The memorandum was afterwards ratified by the organizations represented in the conference. The Shipping Board also entered into the following agreement with the Longshoremen's International Association:

''For the adjustment and control of wages, hours and conditions of labor in the loading and unloading of vessels, there shall be created a National Adjustment Commission, located in Washington, D. C., comprised as follows: One member nominated by the Shipping board; one nominated by the Secretary of War; one nominated by the International Longshoremen's Association; one nominated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, to represent coastwise carriers and to act only in cases involving coastwise service; one nominated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, to represent carriers engaged in foreign trade, and to act only in cases involving foreign service. The National Adjustment Commission shall appoint in each important port a local adjustment commission, comprised as follows: One member to represent the Shipping Board and War Department; one to represent the International Longshoremen's Association, nominated by the International Longshoremen's Association; one to represent the carriers in foreign trade, nominated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, and to act only in cases involving foreign service; one nominated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, to represent carriers engaged in coastwise trade, and to act only in cases involving coastwise trade. The union scale of wages, hours and conditions in force August 1, 1917, in said port shall be adopted as the basic standard with reference to each such port. All differences which may arise in any particular port shall be adjusted by the local commission, if possible. In case either party is dissatisfied with the decision of the local commission, it may appeal to the National Commission for a review. In case of expiration of any agreement as to scale of wages, hours and conditions now in force, the National Commission shall adjust the new scale of wages, hours and conditions, provided an agreement can not be reached by the employers and the union. Consideration shall be given to special circumstances, if any, arising after said date of August 1, or after the acceptance of a new scale of wages, hours and conditions, which may require particular advances in wages or changes in other standards. In all cases work shall continue uninterruptedly pending the action of any local commission or the decision of the National Adjustment Commission. All adjustments of wages, hours and conditions made by the National Commission shall be binding on all parties. The commission shall adopt rules of procedure and shall construe the meaning of this agreement and any ruling made by it thereunder.''

For years the leather workers have been struggling to secure just terms and conditions on contract work for the government. The following agreement was entered into by the United States of America and employes and employers in the leather goods industries, September 26, 1917:

''1. There shall be created a national Harness and Saddlery Adjustment Commission hereinafter referred to as ''the commission,'' composed of four members of which two members shall be appointed by the Secretary of War to represent the public; one member by the manufacturers signatory hereto, and one member by the United Leather Workers' International Union. One of the members of this commission appointed by the Secretary of War shall be designated by him as chairman. Each member including the chairman shall be entitled to one vote, and a majority vote shall govern in all cases. 2. The commission shall adjust all differences now existing or that may hereafter arise between the contractors and employes engaged in the production of articles under agreement to which the United States is a party, including wages, hours and conditions of labor. The commission may adopt rules, regulations and methods of procedure in order to carry this agreement into effect and all decisions or adjustments made by it shall be binding upon and complied with by the contractors signatory hereto, who have contracts with the United States, and also by the operatives, members of the United Leather Workers, International Union represented in the execution of this agreement by their president. 3. This agreement shall be in full force and effect for theduration of the present war. 4. The parties hereto severally agree that during the war there shall be no interruption of work upon which they are engaged in the carrying out of contracts to which the United States is a party. 5. In the event that any changes in wage scales are made or approved by the commission in carrying out its functions under this agreement, compensatory adjustments shall be made by the United States in accordance with the recommendations of the commission. 6. The scale of wages for operatives for work done under contracts to which the United States and the contractors signatory hereto are parties, shall in no case be less than is now in effect. 7. The contractors signatory hereto agree that non-union labor employed in

carrying out work under a contract to which the United States is a party shall receive the same rates of compensation as the members of the United Leather Workers' International Union."

These various agreements constituted but a beginning of the necessary organization of relations between workers engaged upon war work and the government. There remains yet the broad field of the production of supplies and munitions. Agreements for the adjustment of labor relations upon this necessary work must be based upon the same principles embodied in the agreements already consummated accepting as basic standards union conditions of hours and work already established, together with provisions for meeting higher wages necessary to meet increasing costs of living. It is our hope that agreements covering this important general field will soon be entered into by the government and the organizations of the workers concerned. (p. 81.) In accord with the policy adopted by the Baltimore Convention that wage-earners should have representatives on all government boards, committees, and agencies dealing with matters which concern wage-earners an effort has been made by the organized labor movement to secure proper representation on agencies carrying on defense work. Representatives of wage-earners are upon many of the state and local committees cooperating with the national council. One of the first war measures which vitally concern wage-earners was the selective conscription act. To see that this law was administered without discrimination and prejudice was of vital concern to them. The President of the A. F. of L. presented to the War Department that representatives of wage-earners should be appointed on the District Exemption Boards which had appellate jurisdiction over all exemption cases and direct jurisdiction over industrial cases. These District Boards were to consist of 5 persons. President Gompers was asked to submit the name of one wage-earner for membership upon each board. Representative labor men in each state were asked to send names which were submitted to the War Department. Upon practically every District Exemption Board there is a representative of wage-earners. From time to time there have been constituted various boards and commissions to deal with different phases of war work. Whenever this work concerned wage-earners a request has been made for representation. There are now wage-earners on the most important agencies dealing with such work.

Naval Holiday—(1918, p. 363) Indorsed suggestion of British government that all powers cease naval construction for a specific period, thereby putting a check on mad rivalry in increasing national armament. Urged the labor movement of Germany and the German government for favorable consideration and action, also to urge the U. S. to use its influence to encourage the movement for international peace and disarmament.

(1914, pp. 48-471) As instructed, the president of the A. F. of L. wrote the president of the International Federation of Trade Unions advising him of the action on a "naval holiday" and requesting that it be forwarded to the various affiliated national centers for presentation to their governments. He replied that under the laws of Germany as a representative of a trade union he would not be allowed to forward such a document to the officers of the national trade union centers of the different countries. He stated that in Germany the difference between political and economic organizations was carefully distinguished, and that discussion of the A. F. of L. resolution would entail consequences limiting their activities. He also said it would be inexpedient to circulate the manifesto through the medium of the International Federation. However, the international office was helpful in having the manifesto translated into several different languages and forwarded to A. F. of L. headquarters. The translations were sent out from the A. F. of L. headquarters with the exhortation that the National Centers take action similar to the declaration of the Seattle Convention. Replies to the communication were received from France, Denmark, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Holland, South Africa, and Switzerland. The Federation of South Africa did not endorse the resolution. The national labor movements can promote the cause of international peace by two complementary lines of action: by creating and stimulating with their own nations a public sentiment that will not tolerate waste of life, and by establishing international relations, understanding and agencies that will constitute an insuperable barrier to policies of force and destruction. With humanization, education, cultivation, the establishment of the rule of reason, occasions for wars and wars themselves will cease. The working people, the masses of the world's population, can end wars if they but have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do.

Organize, Right To—(1918, p. 64) Labor organizations have furnished the machinery that has made it possible to mobilize the labor power of this country. Instead of finding it necessary to deal with an undisciplined mob of workers or with millions of individuals separately, the government has had the advantage of machinery that either directly or indirectly extends to workers of every trade and calling. The government has entered into contracts and agreements with labor organizations as the responsible representatives of workers and has in two important declarations recognized the right of workers to belong to the organization of their trade. The Director General of Railroads issued on February 21, 1918, Order No 8, which contained the following section: "No discrimination will be made in the employment, retention or condition of employment of employes because of membership or non-membership in labor organizations." This order has made it possible for the employes of the great transportation agencies of the country to unite for mutual benefit and for the better advancement of work.

Peace, International—(1887, p. 18) A member of the British Parliament addressed the convention, saying $4 out of every $5 paid in taxes in Great Britain were for war debts and urged the A. F. of L. to use its influence with Congress to frame an arbitration treaty between the two English

speaking nations. (p. 31) Declared for international arbitration.

(1897, pp. 34-47) Executive Council instructed to investigate efforts of Great Britain to secure an arbitration treaty providing for extradition of alleged offenders, "political and otherwise." (p. 60) Urged U. S. Senate to reject treaty of annexation with Hawaiian Islands because it would be tantamount to the admission of a slave state, the representative of which would work and vote for the enslavement of labor generally.

(1899, p. 16) International alliances are broken, treaties are often trampled under foot through sordid or ambitious motives; but if the workers of our country, as well as the workers of the civilized world, would organize in the trade unions and will it so, no power evolved out of the brain of the cunning or avaricious can involve us in bloody strife.

(1900, p. 113) We are much gratified to see so many evidences of the growth of international solidarity and oneness of purpose of the labor movement of the world, and feel assured that, with the growth of trade unionism in all countries and among all races, the workers will be less and less inclined to kill each other in the interest of their masters.

(1904, p. 27) True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade union movement, from its first inception, has been opposed to war. It recognizes that though others may fall, the brunt of war is borne by the working people; not only upon the battlefield itself, but the burdens thereafter which war entails. We can not be indifferent to, restrain our feeling of horror at, nor withhold our sympathies from, the slaughtered thousands of human beings, even in the far east, regardless of the country toward which our predilections lie. International wars have become so destructive of human life and property that the world is shocked from center to circumference at the holocausts now witnessed in battle. While it may not be a practical proposition to ask for immediate disarmament of all countries, the time and the intelligence of our peoples surely demand that the extraordinary increase in the armed naval and military forces be limited and restricted rather than expanded and extended. We welcomed the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. May we not entertain the hope that its benign influences may be extended and make for universal peace? We recognize that in the last analysis, and in order to prevent any reaction that may lead to greater and more repeated wars and bloodshed, the success for international peace by arbitration must come from higher intelligence and a better conception of the sacredness of human life. Out of these well-springs will flow that kindred and humane spirit that will recognize the best maintenance of our own rights by conserving the rights of others. In the broad domain of human activity there is no force so potent and which will be so powerful to establish and maintain international peace and human brotherhood as the fraternization of the workers of the world in the international labor movement. Every year witnesses more comprehensive understanding and agreement among the organized workers of the civilized world. International congresses of trade unions bring about a greater recognition of the identity of the interests of all. The last International Miners' Congress, the Seamen's Congress, and the Marine Workers' Congress, and others, have all tended to, and have already had, a beneficent influence. The financial aid of British workmen to our anthracite miners in their strike, the aid which our American glass workers gave their English fellow craftsmen, and that aid which is now being given by the Cigarmakers of our country to their striking fellow craftsmen in England, fully attest that the spirit of unity and solidarity has been cultivated for the potent good of all. It has been my aim to stimulate to the fullest the very best spirit and conception of brotherhood among the workers of the world. Representatives of our government have negotiated treaties with the representatives of several European governments, by the terms of which disputes, which can not be settled by diplomacy, may be determined by arbitration rather than the arbitrament of the sword. We hail with keen gratification this forward step of humanity, and we shall give to the movement every aid which the American Federation of Labor can exert and every influence it can wield. (p. 265) Reindorsed principle of arbitration between nations and referred proposed treaties with France, Germany, England, Mexico and other powers to the Executive Council for consideration and support if found satisfactory.

(1905, pp. 20-188) May we not look forward to the time, have we not the right to hope, that all other means failing, the wage-earners of the world will be so thoroughly organized, and will understand their interests and their rights so well, that they will refuse to permit themselves to be arrayed against their brother workmen of another country for the purpose of serving the machinations of tyrants, whether political or commercial? Organized labor stands for peace, industrial as well as international, carping critics to the contrary notwithstanding. We want international peace. All mankind yearns for it; humanity demands it.

(1906, pp. 38-178) The unemployed cotton operatives of Lancashire, during our civil war, protested against the British government's undertaking to raise our blockade of the southern ports; they preferred to suffer rather than to have the raw cotton brought to England to give them employment. Had the policy of the British government been carried out, it would have meant the power of that country being allied with the southern forces. Our Lancashire workmen's protest was effective to compel Britain's neutrality. They preferred to suffer rather than permit the dismemberment of our American union and the maintenance of human slavery. After the close of our civil war the unions of labor were the first to re-establish fraternal relations between the men of the North and South. The workmen of Great Britain compelled fair treatment to the valiant Boers. The American Federation of Labor secured the abolition of slavery and peonage in Hawaii, and urged American intervention to free Cuba. The toilers of France and Germany materially contributed to the prevention of the recently

threatened hostilities between the peoples of their rspective countries. The interchange of fraternal delegates between the organized labor movement of various countries, representing as they do the ambassadors from and to the parliaments of labor, the many other means employed to aid and encourage the wage-earners of the world, all have tended and are tending toward the better understanding so essential to international peace and human progress.

(1906, p. 208) A. F. of L. calls on all unions to inquire of their congressmen if they have joined the arbitration group in Congress and will do all in their power to secure the approval of our government of the recommendations of the Interparliamentary Union regarding the Second Hague Conference: A general arbitration treaty; immunity of private property at sea in time of war; proportional limitation of armaments; a stated World Assembly; impartial investigation and report to the world of causes of war between two nations before hostilities can be declared. Also that the President of the U. S. be respectfully requested to use his influence for the acceptance of the recommendations.

(1907, pp. 29-205) Thinking and liberty-loving and peace-loving men the world over have been keenly and painfully disappointed at the meager results of the conference at The Hague in the interests of international peace. Mankind had a right to expect something of a more tangible character tending toward the abolition of international slaughter. The toilers the world over are primarily interested in averting international conflict, for they form the mass of men who fall in battle or who bear the burdens which war entails. International peace is usually disturbed by those having a sordid purpose. The uplifting work of progress and civilization is interrupted and retarded when international peace is disturbed. Long periods elapse after a war before the constructive work in the interests of humanity and civilization can be resumed. Despite the failure of the congress to fulfill the expectations of the peace and humanity-loving men of the world, the duty devolves upon the organized labor movement of all civilized countries to carry on an educational propaganda that shall reach the conscience and the hearts of mankind. Labor will strive to persuade the governments of the world to establish universal, international peace, but lest these hopes be unrealized and efforts prove futile it must never be forgotten that in the last analysis the masses of the people of every country have it in their hands to exert their own giant will and power against international war, and that if otherwise thwarted they will not hesitate to exert it. We are firmly convinced that if a growing tendency toward international fraternity among the workers of all countries is manifested the more general recognition of the identity of interests of the toilers is established the world over; the more general mutual acceptance of each other's union traveling cards as a passport in the international trade unions of all countries is extended; the interchange of fraternal delegates, the ambassadors of good will at the conventions and congresses of organized labor is continued; that these practical methods will contribute more than all else to the enthronement of universal peace among the peoples of the nations of the earth.

(1908, pp. 14-217) The spirit of international amity and universal peace is an accomplishment toward which the hearts of humanitarians yearn. There are none who have so potent an interest and who are more assiduously devoting their efforts toward its achievement than are the men of labor of all countries. The constant exercise of our influence to avoid wars will avert them if the intelligent, earnest efforts of the toilers are concentrated the civilized world over. The interchange of fraternal delegates between the organized toilers of the world has led, and will still further lead, to a better understanding of the aspirations of all toward the common purpose of human brotherhood.

(1909, p. 328) Urged Executive Council to promote the use of arbitration in the adjustment of international disputes.

(1912, p. 253) True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade union movement from its inception has been opposed to war, and the A. F. of L. emphatically reaffirms its declarations for the settlement of all international difference by arbitration.

(1913, pp. 86-362) Perhaps nothing tends to remove dissensions more than do sympathetic understanding and community of interests. The workingmen of all countries understand the meaning of contest and stuggle. Whatever of progress they have made, whatever of advantage they have gained, whatever of individual freedom they have won—have all been the result of hard, persistent endeavor against wrong, oppression, and powerful interests. They know that the dead weight of the world's burdens both in industry and upon the battlefield have ever fallen upon the toilers, the burden-bearers of the world. They know that too often wars have been entered upon lightly for the aggrandizement of special interests rather than for justice and humanity. It is not lack of love of country which prompts the toilers to protest against international fratricide, they love their fatherland, home and justice, but they are unwilling to be exploited or killed for the promotion of private or selfish ends. Labor organizations have fostered the spirit of cooperation for mutual helpfulness by international gatherings and by sending fraternal delegates to national gatherings in foreign countries. This practice has been the means of establishing good will and harmony; it has taught the workers that they are everywhere confronted by similar problems, and has facilitated the execution of common purposes. The constantly growing system of the international acceptance and recognition of trade union cards is another influence that is quietly and surely creating a fraternal spirit among the workers of all lands. The convention of 1905 gave instructions to correspond with the international and national officers of this and other countries with regard to establishing the international exchange of union cards. As a result of this correspondence, a number of organizations have established this custom. The growth and extension of the practice will not only bring mutual economic benefits to the workingmen of all countries but will

promote cordial relations between the countries politically, and will give substance to the concept of fraternity. In accord with this conviction, labor organizations the world over have committed themselves to the policy of international peace—peace with honor and justice in international politics as well as in industry. With the progress of civilization, the concentration of industry and commerce about great national centers and the development of world markets and commerce, local arbitrary boundaries no longer determine the scope or the organization of economic interests. Political customs which develop out of and reflect economic conditions, have manifested the same tendency. All national, economic, and political issues are infected with world interest. It is especially fitting, then, that organized labor heartily endorse the efforts of the representatives of our country in endeavoring to secure world-wide co-operation in a movement for international peace. Such a movement marks an epochal development in the world's culture, a widening of men's thoughts and a quickening of their consciences and humanitarian instincts, with which the American Federation of Labor has ever been in most hearty accord and has done much to promote. This history of civilization and progress is the history of the substitution of law and orderly procedure for violence and war. Modern law is national in character. The State instituted regulations and machinery by which the rights of the people are secured and safeguarded. During this period of national development, the loyalty, the patriotism, and the love of the people were centered upon national institutions. When the national law and government had reached a point which insured peace and order within the State, the thoughts and ideals of men widened to larger aspects and nobler concepts —now humanity is placed above any nation. There has developed that which has been called the international mind, and standards of international morality are being evolved, a habit of mind for which the Chancellor of England has so aptly used the word Sittlichkeit. The history of the development of international institutions for securing justice and peace between nations will, like development of similar institutions within a nation, be the history of the substitution of law and orderly procedure for strife and war. How quickly and surely this evolutionary development will take place will depend upon the development of the spirit of humanity between nations and the ascendency of Sittlichkeit. As has been most truly said: The matters in dispute between nations are nothing, the spirit which deals with them is everything." The organized labor movement has been a mighty factor in creating and stimulating the spirit of human sympathy and understanding between nations, which is the basis for mutual good will, and is now ready to endorse and aid every movement for international justice and orderly adjustment of problems and difficulties The future seems to assure some world federation that shall realize our ideals and protect all humanity.

(1914, pp. 48-471) Declaration of convention: A stupendous conflict is shaking to its foundations the structure of world civilization. The normal relations of commerce and interchange have been disrupted. In Europe values placed upon the interests and purposes of human activity have been reversed. Before the war, the thought and effort of civilization were centered upon the development and the glorification of human life. One life was counted of infinite value. The end of progress, development, and work was that each individual might have life more abundantly. Indefatigable minds have forced understanding of the unknown that human life might be protected and conserved, and that all the forces and resources of the universe might be put under the control of the will of man. Hearts that were great with love and understanding of the yearnings and aspirations that lie in every life sought to bring beauty and joy into the common life of all. Over all the world was felt the stir of that great ideal—the fellowship of men. But since the cataclysm that brought war between nations, all the skill, the inventions, the knowledge of civilization have been perverted to purposes of destruction of human life and devastation of the products of human labor. Men are treated as only military pawns to obey implicitly the command of the general. They are targets for the most perfect guns and destructive ammunition human minds have invented. Things are valued for their life-destroying power. Guns are worth more than men. The value of military position is estimated in terms of human lives. The life and the property of the individual are ruthlessly sacrificed to ends of war. Yet this war with its terrific toll of human lives is the product of artificial conditions and policies and is repugnant to the thought and political progress of the age. The big things of life and civilization are international. But so far we have made little effort or progress in providing agencies for organizing international relations to maintain peace and justice. We realize intellectually that peace and justice should obtain among nations, but we have not yet instituted permanent means adequate to make that conviction a reality. For years peace societies and organizations have presented arguments for peace, have adopted peace resolutions, and have declared for various international sentiments, but they have made little effort to give these visions reality in the organization of society and the relations among nations. But the war has shown that war can not be stopped by paper resolutions and that war can not put an end to itself. Wars will cease only when society is convinced that human life is really sacred and when society establishes agencies, international as well as national, for protecting lives. We profess to believe that all men have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but we do not see to it that these rights are secured to each individual. Industry is conducted upon the supposition that human life is cheap. Profits are held to be the ultimate end of business. Therefore business managers must get profits and in furthering the getting sacrifice the workers in the process. Employers cold-bloodedly calculate in money terms the relative expensiveness of machinery and workers; of the eight-hour day and the twelve-hour day; of child labor and adult labor; of compensation for loss of life and limb and preventive measures. In coal

mines, steel works and in transportation, human life is risked and sacrificed with cynical disregard. We profess to believe in democratic freedom yet domination of power so ruthlessly prevails in industry. Consider the statistics of industrial accidents, injuries and deaths. In harmony with this waste of human life in industry is waste of human life in a crude effort to decide political issues on the battlefield. When we realize the wonderful possibilities in permitting each individual to develop his abilities and do his work with a sound mind and body, then shall we appreciate the sanctity of living and we shall not dare to hamper development in any way. When this ideal becomes a part of our daily thinking and doing and working then fellow-beings will not be robbed of that which no one has the power to restore—life. The establishment of this ideal of the sacredness of life is a problem of education. It must be drilled into people, made a part of their very being, and must saturate every mental fibre. It is not only that we are shocked at the waste of human life but that we have not yet adjusted ourselves to this particular kind of waste—waste in war. We must realize the awful responsibility for the loss of human life opportunity with clearness and with understanding of the meaning of that waste that nothing will prevent our putting an end to all preventable waste. When conviction is sufficiently compelling practical results will follow. Education and agitation are necessary to create that conviction. Those who wish to abolish war must lose no opportunity to implant the ethics of humanity, to make the sacredness of human life a part of the thought and action of the nations. The power to declare war must be put in the hands of the people or their chosen representatives. In addition to establishing a sentiment and a conviction for peace there must be agencies established for the maintenance of peaceful relations among nations and for dealing with international issues. Militarism and competitive armament must be abolished and tribunals for awarding justice and agencies for enforcing determinations must be instituted. International interests and issues exist. Political institutions should be established, corresponding to political developments. Those most interested should lead in the demands for world federation and the rule of reason between nations. The working people of all lands bear the brunt of war. They do the fighting, pay the war taxes, suffer most from the disorganization of industry and commerce which results from war.

(1917, pp. 62-451) Recommendations of Executive Council endorsed: It is an imperative duty from which there is no escape that wage-earners as well as all other citizens of this Republic support our government in its righteous effort to defend principles of humanity and to establish democracy in international relations. Because we desire permanent peace it is our duty to fight and sacrifice until these purposes can be achieved. When nations can send representatives to negotiate peace terms in accord with this concept, we maintain that the basic provisions of the peace treaty should be formulated with regard to the rights and welfare of the men, women, and children constituting the nations rather than the governments of the nations. The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives. This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government. We hold that the same principles should apply to relations between nations and that secret diplomacy should be replaced by diplomatic representatives responsible to the people of their own people and received by either the Parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people, responsible to them. We made recommendation in our report to the Baltimore Convention for the organization of international relations. Existing international anarchy has invited imperialism on the part of strong governments and has furnished opportunity and occasion for war. Militarism finds its justification in international anarchy and can be abolished only when international relations are organized. There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievement of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. Working people have never been properly represented in diplomatic affairs. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action. We urge the adoption of the following declarations as the basis upon which peace must be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.
3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.
5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."
6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.

2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

The war has swept away the ante-bellum world and has rendered antiquated and useless many institutions. Others have broken down under the difficulties and problems of war needs. We can benefit from our experiences by retaining that which has demonstrated its efficiency and rejecting that which has failed. Many of the problems of reconstruction can not be worked out during the war while feeling is so intense. With the coming of peace will come a different attitude of mind on the part of all. The situation and opportunities which peace will bring will be without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unembarrassed in helping to shape the principles and agencies for the future. We suggest therefore all prejudice and partisan spirit can best be eliminated by reconstructing international labor relations and thus bring to new problems and a new era, activity and co-operation unhampered and unperverted by former alliances or old feuds. The basis of reconstruction should be the trade union movements of the various countries. We recommend that an international labor conference of representatives of the trade union movements of all countries be held at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress that Labor may be in touch with plans under consideration and may have the benefit of information and counsel of those participating in the Congress.

The Convention added (p. 451) these declarations: In addition to the peace terms which the Executive Council recommended the following proposal should be incorporated: The governments of the various nations shall exchange labor representatives, according to them the same authority and honor that is given to any other diplomat. Governments have long been accustomed to exchange commercial, industrial and financial representatives, and we submit that this concept ought to be widened to include not only the above-named interests but also those who furnish the human labor energies essential to co-ordination for production. One of the paramount facts which clearly stands out, above all others, in this unprecedented world war is that labor is a basic force in producing the materials of civilization and is co-equal with all other essential elements in national life. It is not only fitting that labor should be given this merited recognition, but no other single policy would contribute more effectually to the democratization of relations between nations, thereby strengthening forces and conditions that make for permanent peace based upon essential human justice. If a labor conference is held prior to the war's close or prior to a time in which the belligerent nations are to participate in a peace conference, labor would be forced to declare specific terms presaging the conditions upon which peace should rest; this implies an inadvisable attitude not only for labor but, moreover, for our country as well. Neither American labor nor the American Government should now state the final binding terms of peace. Both, however, can be instrumental and exercise a potential force at the proper and opportune time. This is a world war in which seventeen nations are allied against the central powers. Our government did not start this war. We should not, in the light of present events, call a peace conference or arbitrarily name inflexible peace terms. Such a responsibility rests upon our government and is a prerogative and responsibility it should first assume and exercise. We concur in the action of the Executive Council in refusing to be led into a premature peace conference, whether emanating from Germany or originating with her sympathizers here or elsewhere, and congratulate it upon its sagacious judgment in refusing to participate or becoming involved in any schemes of this character. Conditions are changing from day to day and that which appeals to our judgment today as proper fundamental peace terms may be changed over night. Genuine democracy, the great issue now in war, had no lodgment in the minds and hearts of those who started this war; neither was it an appreciable issue until made so my our entrance into the war. Other sound principles may develop, which we should like later to make one of the basic principles upon which peace should be declared.

When a peace conference is held it should be at a time and place when and where the workers of the vanquished as well as those of the triumphant countries may participate upon an equality, in order that the best interests of labor and of the trade union movement may be fully promoted. When victory is achieved none will be quicker to extend the fraternal hand of trade union fellowship to the organized workers in all countries now at war, or will do so more heartily than will the American Federation of labor.

The San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor in adopting a part of the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, instructed the Executive Council to call a labor peace conference of all nations at the time and place the peace conference is held by the belligerent nations, and authorized the Executive Council to send two delegates, one of whom should be the President of the American Federation of Labor. This action was reaffirmed at the Baltimore Convention in 1916. This action was again reaffirmed with the addition that at least five delegates, one of whom shall be the President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to participate in this conference.

(1918, p. 53) Reaffirmed peace terms adopted in 1917. We are in accord with that program of world peace stated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918. The growth of political institutions is always attendant upon the development of closer and more complicated relations between groups of people. Simple, political institutions existing in simple, social organization have always grown into more adequate institutions, necessary to meet the internal needs and problems of a strong commercial people. A corresponding development had been taking place in relations between nations before

the outbreak of the war. The industrial and commercial lives of all nations had been closely bound together through world organization of markets, finances, systems of communications and exchange, and agencies for the stimulation and dissemination of information, the inadequacy of then existing international agencies for dealing with international affairs, was fully demonstrated. International anarchy creates the opportunity for aggression on the part of strong resourceful nations seeking an outlet for unemployed energy and excess of production. Where there are no established agencies or methods for dealing with such aggressors, militarism manifests itself and can be eliminated only when the field of international relations is justly organized. This work of organization will clearly devolve upon a league of nations. Although its work will be fraught with far-reaching consequences such a league can be trusted to institute necessary agencies and methods if it is democratic and humane in character and method. We hold that diplomatic relations between nations must be democratic. In a word, where the human side of life is fully recognized and represented. Diplomatic representatives of nations ought to be reesponsible to a representative agency in their government and should be received either by the parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people directly responsible to them. Under the opportunities created by a league of nations adequate agencies could be established for dealing with all justiciable questions. An administrative body composed of representatives of the principal groups constituting national interests should be established to deal with practical problems in a constructive way and thus avert situations that might otherwise result in injustice and war. We have already a more or less indefinite mass of customs known as international law. The present law does not furnish adequate standards to direct international relations. The law could be made more practical and more effective by conferences of representatives of the various peoples to revise, modify, and extend existing regulations. As the result of experience, particularly as events have been disclosed since the beginning of the war, there has been demonstrated a total lack of effective organization of the forces among the peoples of all the countries to make for the maintenance of international peace and at the same time secure international justice. As an outgrowth of the war, new understandings and conceptions have developed to the causes of war and particularly of the present war; new conceptions of right and of justice and an increased determination to secure and thereafter maintain the peace of the world founded upon a higher morale of the peoples of the world. There can be no question as to the final outcome of this world struggle. Autocracy, militarism, and its most dangerous supporting weapon, irresponsible diplomacy, must perish. Democracy, justice, freedom and absolute confidence between governments and peoples must be established and triumph. There is no doubt but out of the present war the morals and the conduct of the governments of the world must be upon a higher moral plane, and that this fact will make toward the establishment and maintenance of international relations which shall safeguard the peoples of the world in the enjoyment of a much desired permanent peace. (p. 334) Reaffirming and re-asserting former declarations of principles concerning terms of peace, we hold and again reiterate a former declaration, that the terms of peace and the calling of peace conferences primarily rests with our government, and that whatever we may say in this connection is purely an expression of our thoughts and our hopes, and of an advisory character. We can not refrain from asserting that it is our judgment and belief no just nor lasting peace can be obtained by negotiations until victory is achieved. The universe is horrified over the precipitation of a war that has set the whole world on fire, and there is no question in our minds as to who started the war, and the then hidden, but now public, purposes of the German imperialistic and militaristic government. There can be no real nor permanent peace, such as will safeguard, and protect freedom and justice, that is not predicated upon democracy and the rights of the people to self-government. We owe it to ourselves, to our country, and to our Allies, and to the peoples of all civilized countries, to insist upon a peace that shall be grounded upon the triumph of our cause, democracy and justice.

Porto Rico Labor in War—(1917, pp. 153-272) April 6, 1917, just a few days before Congress declared war the Free Federation of Workingmen published a manifesto as to its position in the war, and among other things said: "In war as in peace the government should recognize the organized labor movement by means of which the co-operation of the producers must make itself felt with the same rights and the same enthusiasm as any other class. With this concept of industrial justice in mind which ought to be the right living in essentials which concern our island; with these principles to which our obligations are associated and which popular sentiment must consider the most intelligent as well as the most sincere form of defenses against the enemies of the Republic. We hold that if the workers are to be stimulated in times of national peril in order to offer their service, this obligation of guaranty must be simultaneously accompanied with the necessary representation and authority to guard against such as would dare take advantage of this crisis to make large pecuniary profits for themselves perhaps acquired only at the cost of the peoples' blood. Warfare must not serve as an argument to increase inhuman exploitation and to give to the commercial classes opportunity to get rich at the expense of the poor and the difficulties which war is bound to bring about. The workers have already suffered considerable injustice in this country even in times of peace, and it goes without saying that they know their sufferings will be much greater under war conditions if the privileges are to continue with exclusive power." Porto Rico, despite the fact that it is neither an organized territory nor a state of the American Union has contributed more than 12,000 men with which to carry on this war. The people of this island can not refuse or dis-

claim any responsibility or show cause why this law imposing military service on every citizen of the nation should not be carried out. The fundamental purpose of this law is to establish the inviolate rights of human kind. The A. F. of L. in Porto Rico pursuant to the recent Military Compulsory Service has adopted measures tending to cause the authorities to include some of the workers on all military exemption boards in order that the rich and influential citizens may contribute their just share of the responsibilities of the hour, and to see that the laws are strictly complied with by the rich and poor alike. The national labor petition is as follows: Compulsory and personal military service of the rich and the poor in the same armies, but at the same time the forceful service of accumulated wealth and gains extracted from labor for the immediate, complete and permanent protection of all the families and all the men affected by this compulsory service and who are also a component part of the armies of the nation.

Profiteers, Taxes On—(1918, p. 229) Indorsed policy of President Wilson to restrict loans and to levy taxes on war profits, swollen incomes and on land values to an extent that during the war will provide by taxation at least 50 per cent of the expenditures of the government in any one year.

Reconstruction Proposals—(1917, pp. 136-312) This report of the Executive Council was endorsed: This nation is at war. War needs of the nation are paramount. Its material resources and man power are being mobilized on a stupendous scale for service to the Republic. Individual interests must give way to the common need. Industrial establishments and transportation agencies are in the process of reorganization for service, not for private profit but for a common cause. Any enterprise which fails to contribute or maintain the national life or give impetus to the momentum of this great machine is either slowing down or being abandoned. The public mind, commerce and industry, are crowded out of their normal avenues and transformed to fit the new order. The railroads, markets, food supplies, financial resources, the necessaries of civil and military life have been put under national administrative control and co-ordinated for world-wide cooperation. A new conception of human relationships and community of interest in the nation's wealth is being born in this world cataclysm. Much that has been evolved because of dire necessity conforms to higher ideals and purposes than that which is replaced. Mobilization of men for the battlefields and the mobilization of men and women to do their part in the great industrial scheme of preparing and maintaining the nation's fighting machine is completely transforming the arts of peace into those of war. In the basic industries, the necessity for greatly increased production is concentrating vast bodies of men and women to work in the expanding industrial plants engaged in war production. Every energy of government is being employed in not only adjusting and correlating all elements which contribute to the production of necessary material to be employed in the prosecution of its purposes, but all elements of society are perforce compelled to accommodate themselves to conditions unfamiliar to the majority of citizens of our country. War is a tragedy, even though the object sought by this means is meritorious. It means the loss of lives of untold thousands of our people; it turbulently disarranges home life and activities. When the war closes there will confront our government and our people problems, the magnitude of which can not as yet be even approximated, but they will be coextensive with the magnitude of preparation, prosecution, and maintenance of the country on a war footing. The American Federation of Labor, to which has been entrusted by common consent the welfare of the men and women of labor of our country, deems it a duty at this time to present some comprehensive and constructive suggestions in order that we may lead in solving the problems which will develop when peace shall have been declared and demobilization of the armies and the reconstruction of industry begin in order to meet the demands of peace. No question ever presented to the American labor movement imposed upon it such great responsibilities or assumed such tremendous proportion. By the light which has been given us in the past we have achieved success, and by that same token we meet this problem, immense though it is, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by still greater success than that achieved in the past. The already changed relationship between workers and employers, as well as between the toilers and our government, even though we have just entered the conflict, betokens still further changes when this war shall have been concluded. The people of this nation welded together by the sacrifices of war, will emerge from it purged of many of its weaknesses and with a new concept of human rights and aspirations. Our organized labor movement, with its constructive program can, if given the hearty support of all men and women of labor, make its influence the most potent factor in the coming reconstruction. The broad road of opportunity lies open before us, and, if we continue in the employment of the proven justified policies of our movement, the entire body of the workers will travel that road which leads to a field of still greater opportunities. The problems of this hour require our earnest consideration and attention, but the problems which will soon confront us in providing against a veritable cataclysm which will, unless wisely averted, occur in the transition from a war to a peace footing; it will require our every energy and ability if we hope to render the service to society which we desire, and permanently to advance and secure for the men and women of labor greater opportunities for a higher and a better life. In considering the problems of the future it is of material assistance to consider proposals that have been made in Great Britain. These plans forcefully demonstrate the effect war conditions and problems have had upon the minds of those who have been in the war practically from the beginning. Almost by tacit agreement they have based proposals for the future along much broader lines than existed in pre-war times. Their thinking has been unhampered by institutions and principles existing before the war and shows the flexibility and freedom that are the inevitable

result of experience in meeting exigencies and problems in totally new conditions. The gigantic scale upon which the war is organized and the stupendous issues and problems of war have instituted a corresponding increased depth and grasp in the thoughts of those directing affairs. The underlying principle upon which all the war organization has been based is service to the whole nation. This broader ideal can not be easily cast aside in the reconstruction period and will consciously or unconsciously permeate plans for every relation of life. Fraternity and mutual co-operation growing out of the world struggle for democracy in which the thoughts of men are concentrated upon the effort to destroy political dynasties and to establish government for the people and by the people are inevitably carried over into all relations of life. Corresponding to these political changes there has been a parallel development making for democracy in economic reations. There has been a recognition of the principle that those associated in the work of production ought to have a voice in management of those things concerning their interests and welfare. There has been recognition for the thought that industrial disfranchisement is as unjust as political disfranchisement. In both Great Britain and in the United States the war for world democracy has resulted in more complete recognition of the rights of men and women and the paramount importance of human welfare. Some time ago the government of Great Britain was disturbed by evidences of industrial unrest, and appointed a commission known as the Whitley Commission to inquire into causes and to make a report with recommendations. The commission consisted of statesmen, economists, labor representatives, and technicians. The final report which they made is concerned with problems of establishing permanently improved relations between employed and employers. In the report the committee say that it is vital that the co-operation of all classes established during the war should continue after the war, especially that co-operation concerned in relations between employers and employed. They recommend to this end the establishment for each industry of an organization, representative of employers and workers to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and the well-being of the trade from the point of view of those engaged in it, so far as that is consistent with the general interest of the community. With a view to providing means for carrying out the policy outlined above, they recommend that the government should propose without delay to the various associations of employers and employed the formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in the several industries, where they do not already exist, composed of representatives of employers and employed, regard being given to the various sections of the industry and the various classes of labor engaged. The committee suggested the methods for the appointment of a chairman or chairmen of the General Industrial Council in each trade.

(1) A chairman for each side of the council.

(2) A chairman and vice-chairman selected from the members of the council (one from each side of the council).

(3) A chairman chosen by the council from independent persons outside the industry; or

(4) A chairman nominated by such person or authority as the council may determine or, failing agreement, by the government.

The following proposals are to be considered by the National Industrial Councils:

(a) That district councils, representative of the trade unions and of the employers' association in the industry, should be created, or developed out of the existing machinery for negotiation in the various trades.

(b) That works committees, representative of the management and of the workers employed, should be instituted in particular works to act in close co-operation with the district and national machinery.

The principle upon which the committee proposes to secure co-operation is by granting to workpeople a greater share in consideration of matters affecting their industry. The functions which are suggested for National Councils are enumerated as follows:

(1) The better utilization of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople.

(2) Means for securing to the workpeople a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their work is carried on.

(3) The settlement of the general principles governing the conditions of employment, including the methods of fixing, paying, and readjusting wages, having regard to the need for securing to the workpeople a share in the increased prosperity of the industry.

(4) The establishment of regular methods of negotiation for issues arising between employers and workpeople, with a view both to the prevention of differences and to their better adjustment when they appear.

(5) Means of ensuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings and employment, without undue restriction upon change of occupation or employer.

(6) Methods of fixing and adjusting earnings, piecework prices, etc., and of dealing with the many difficulties which arise with regard to the method and amount of payment apart from the fixing of general standard rates, which are already covered by paragraph (3).

(7) Technical education and training.

(8) Industrial research and the full utilization of its results.

(9) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilization of inventions and improvement designed by workpeople, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.

(10) Improvements of processes, machinery and organization and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments, with special reference to co-operation in

carrying new ideas into effect and full consideration of the workpeople's point of view in relation to them.

(11) Proposed legislation affecting the industry.

The report closes with the following: "It may be desirable to state here our considered opinion that an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed is that there should be adequate organization on the part of both employers and workpeople. The proposals outlined for joint co-operation throughout the several industries depend for their ultimate success upon there being such organization on both sides; and such organization is necessary also to provide means whereby the arrangements and agreements made for the industry may be effectively carried out. We have thought it well to refrain from making suggestions or offering opinions with regard to such matters as profit-sharing, co-partnership, or particular systems of wages, etc. It would be impracticable for us to make any useful general recommendations on such matters, having regard to the varying conditions in different trades. We are convinced, moreover, that a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed must be founded upon something other than a cash basis. What is wanted is that the workpeople should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected. The schemes recommended in this report are intended not merely for the treatment of industrial problems when they have become acute, but also, and more especially, to prevent their becoming acute. We believe that regular meetings to discuss industrial questions, apart from and prior to any differences with regard to them that may have begun to cause friction, will materially reduce the number of occasions on which, in the view of either employers or employed, it is necessary to contemplate recourse to a stoppage of work."

Of so great importance did the British labor movement consider this report of the Whitley Commission that they set aside one day of the Trade Union Congress to consider the report. After thorough discussion the Congress referred the matter to the Parliamentary Committee with authority to call a special meeting of the British Trade Union Congress, if they deemed that course advantageous. Since the Whitley Commission, another proposal has been made which bears the signature of more than forty well-known business men and university professors and of a still larger number of officers of trade associations. Those who outlined the scheme state that it is put forward as the practical outcome of all the authoritative suggestions that have been made during the last three years, for the reconstruction period of industries and the development of trade and commerce. Concerning the need of industrial reconstruction the signatories say that to meet the urgent needs of the times it will be necessary to increase considerably the efforts to develop industries on the following lines:

(1) The mobilization of each industry for common action.

(2) A greater degree of co-operation between manufacturer.

(3) Co-operation between labor and capital and the avoidance of industrial strife.

(4) A more complete association between scientific institutions and traders.

(5) Education better adapted to our commercial needs.

(6) Each industry to be studied as a whole and freed from unnecessary internal competition.

(7) Every trade to present a united front to foreign competition.

(8) Output regarded as a duty by both capital and labor.

(9) Encouragement by the Government of the activities of traders, with a minimum of interference.

It is contended that the matter can not be left to chance, and that some national scheme is necessary which shall ensure the securing of these objects. It is therefore suggested:

(a) That a national organization, on lines such as those suggested by the Whitley report, should be established, which will retain all the sterling qualities of our present individualistic system and add to them the necessary ordered force to ensure greater activity.

(b) That such an organization will need to provide for the representation of all classes of persons engaged in a given industry.

(c) That industry should, therefore, be enfranchised, and every man and woman, employer and employed, given a vocational or trade vote by means of which the representation would be effectively realized.

(d) That every citizen should have the right to register with some approved trade association or trade union, and thus an industrial or vocational register properly classified would be produced.

(e) That trade councils should be elected in each industry from the trade associations and the trade unions. Such councils, elected upon a truly representative basis, would be able to speak in the names of the whole of their respective industries.

(f) That all questions as between the Government and a given trade should be delegated to the council of that trade who would have powers to deal with them.

(g) That questions of output, education, trade schools, scientific research, export, wages, profits, markets, tariffs, etc., should be settled in each trade by the council of that trade, and national funds spent upon these matters dispensed through the trade councils.

Finally, the manifesto puts forward under six headings a scheme for industrial reconstruction. It is suggested that the basis of the scheme should be a vocational franchise, which would make possible the organization of each trade separately under a trade council composed of capital and labor, and the decentralization of a large proportion of national work now attempted by Government departments. The Government, it is proposed, should establish a department to promote or encourage trade, and the first

function of this department should be to create representative trade councils in every trade. It should be assisted by an advisory council, consisting of the chairmen of all the trade councils, and should comprise special departments for export and tariffs, industrial and scientific research, commercial education, statistics and finance, welfare, and exhibitions and advertising.

Generally the scheme involves the establishment of a complete new system of trade government comparable to our existing system of local government, with a ministry at the head with powers similar to those of the Local Government Board, controlling numerous trade councils, with powers comparable to those of existing county councils. It recognizes the essential principles that industrial interests should be grouped by trades and not by localities.

In our own country, as well as in Great Britain, employment problems, which are a vital part of production in war supplies, have been acute and difficult. At the beginning of the war Great Britain had what is known as Labor Exchanges. These, although inadequate, helped in the work of redistribution of workers so as to provide the necessary number of workers when and where they were needed. In October, 1916, the name of these Labor Exchanges was changed to Employment Agencies in recognition of the changed scope of their work. Recently other changes have been made by the Ministry of Labor. The changes were described in a memorandum issued by that department. The memorandum states that under conditions of modern industry an efficient system of employment exchanges are an essential part of state machinery not only for dealing with ordinary problems of employment in times of peace but even more for organizing the man power of the nation during war. The ministry has introduced into the official machinery of the exchanges a form of local organization. Local advisory committees have been organized composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and workpeople respectively nominated as a rule by associations in the various localities. There are in addition a small number of members nominated by the minister, these not to exceed a third of the total membership. There will be at least one woman member on each committee

The committees, in addition to taking care of the regular demands for workers in industry, will take care of all soldiers and sailors discharged from the army and navy. The regular functions of the employment exchanges will be supplemented to provide for the problems of demobilization. In addition to discharged sailors and soldiers, they plan to take care of the transition period of industry when munition workers must find new employment. A woman subcommittee will deal with special problems arising out of employment of women and will have prepared lists of suitable lodgings for women workers. The committees will make provision for the transportation of workers from one place to another.

The local advisory commissions provided in this reform are in response to recognition of the fundamental necessity of securing close cooperation of both employers and employes. These local committees will become a permanent part of the machinery of the employment exchanges.

In our own country there is evident in every kind of war work the necessity for some national agencies for better adjusting the supply of workers. We are entering a period where there must be greater economy in the use of the man power of our country. We can not evade the task of intelligent planning for the proper adjustment of workers to opportunities for reemployment. This maladjustment has resulted in a frequently repeated complaint of scarcity of workers. This claim has been reiterated so frequently that it has been commonly accepted as a fact even though those in closest touch with the situation declare that no such scarcity exists. In some places there is an apparent scarcity due to maladjustment and to the fact that with other opportunities for employment workers refuse to accept low wages and poor conditions of work. A central, efficient employment agency with its branches are plainly necessary in performing the gigantic task that is now before the Emergency Fleet Corporation and in the necessary work of production of war supplies. With the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men for military purposes there is necessity for readjustment in the industrial field. Effective employment agencies, under the control of the Department of Labor, cooperating with local agencies and associations, would be an invaluable adjunct to our war machinery. Such gencies will also be keenly needed in the transition period that will follow the declaration of peace and the work of demobilization. We urge the immediate necessity of providing for some adequate form of employment agencies in this country, under Federal control, and coordinating all local efforts along this line. We further recommend that some action be taken by this convention insisting that our government make such plans for demobilization that men will remain in the employ of the government until they can be provided with remunerative employment through government employment agencies, unless they have employment opportunities already open to them.

Red Cross—(1918, p. 229) As American Red Cross is dependent entirely on voluntary contributions, the A. F. of L. recommends that liberal contributions be made by all trade unionists and that the moneys thus realized be turned over as labor's offering in the cause of humanity.

Seamen, War Insurance for—(1917, pp. 115-386) This amendment was secured to the act authorizing the establishment of the war risk insurance in the Treasury Department: "That whenever it shall appear to the Secretary of the Treasury that the effecting of such insurance is desirable in the national interest in the case of vessels engaged in any trade, the owner of every American merchant vessel engaged in such trade shall insure the master, officers, and crew of such vessel against loss of life or personal injury from war risks, as well as for compensation during detention by an enemy of the United States following capture." The main provisions provided are that in case of death, permanent disability,

which prevents the person injured from performing any and every kind of duty pertaining to his occupation, or the loss of both hands, both arms, both feet, both legs, or both eyes, or any two thereof, for the payment of an amount equivalent to one year's earnings or to twelve times the monthly earnings of the injured as fixed in the articles for the voyage, but in no case shall such an amount be more than $5,000 or less than $1,500. (Public, No. 20, 65th Cong.) Executive Council instructed to urge Congress to enact a similar general compensation law covering all seamen at all times.

Shipping Board, Navy and Labor—(1918, p. 56) The Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation and the War Department had to meet the first big war problems quickly and effectively. These two divisions of the government entered into the first agreements with labor organizations. Shortly after the Buffalo Convention, a conference was held in Washington between the representatives of the labor organizations concerned in shipbuilding and representatives of the Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Navy Department. As a result of that conference the following revision of the then existing agreement was adopted:

"When disputes arise concerning wages, hours and conditions of labor in the construction or repair of shipbuilding plants, or of ships in shipyards, under the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, or under said Shipping Board, or under contract with said corporation, or with said board, or if questions coming under the jurisdiction of the board arise with reference to such construction in a private plant in which construction is also being carried on for the Navy Department, and attempts at mediation or conciliation between employers and employes have failed, the adjustment of such disputes shall be referred to an adjustment board of three persons, hereinafter called the "board," one to be appointed jointly by the said corporation and the Navy Department, one to represent the public and to be appointed by the President of the United States, and one to represent labor, to be appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. It is understood, however, that this memorandum shall in nowise serve as a precedent for procedure in government plants under the War or Navy Departments, except as may be authorized by such departments. The plant where such construction is being carried on shall be geographically districted by the board. In each district, the contractors in whose plants such construction is being carried on, and the representatives of such international labor organizations as have members engaged in such production or construction in such plants, and as are selected for the purpose, by the labor member of the board, shall be called upon, under conditions to be laid down by it, to agree upon a person or persons who shall act under the direction of the board as examiner or examiners in such district. If the board deems it advisable itself to name an examiner or examiners, or if the representatives of the contractors and of the labor organization do not agree, then the board shall by unanimous action select a person or persons for such position. The examiner shall be subject to removal by the board at any time by a majority vote. It shall be the duty of the district officer of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to report promptly to the board, and to the examiner of the district, if such examiner shall have been appointed, any dispute with reference to wages, hours or conditions of labor which he is unable to adjust satisfactorily to the principals concerned. As basic standards where such construction is being carried on, the board shall use the wage rate prevailing in the district in which such plant or plants are located, provided such wage rates have been established through agreements between employer and employes and are admitted to be equitable. Consideration shall be given by the board to any circumstances arising after such wages, hours or conditions were established, and which may seem to call for changes in wages, hours or conditions. Where no such agreement exists, and where as in the case of new industrial districts a proper basis of wages and conditions is difficult to determine, the board shall have the right to put into effect the rates which were awarded after due investigation and determination in other districts in which living conditions and cost of living are substantially the same. The board shall keep itself fully informed as to the relation between living costs in the several districts and their comparison between progressive periods of time. The decisions of the board shall, under proper conditions, be retroactive, and it shall be the duty of the board to make the decision effective. At any time after six months have elapsed following such ratified agreement or any such final decision by the Adjustment Board on any question as to wages, hours or conditions in any plant or district, such questions may be reopened by the Adjustment Board for adjustment upon request of the majority of the craft or crafts at such plant affected by such agreement or decision, provided it can be shown that there has been a general and material increase in the cost of living. The decisions of the board will, in so far as this memorandum may be capable of achieving such result, be final and binding on all parties. Provided, however, that either the employers or employes in any district may have the right to appeal from the decision rendered by the Adjustment Board to a Board of Review and Appeal to be made up as follows: Three members to be named jointly by the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation and the United States Navy Department, and three to be named by the President of the A. F. of L. It is hereby stipulated and agreed that this memorandum shall supersede and stand in place of the 'Memorandum for the Adjustment of Wages, Hours and Conditions of Labor in Shipbuilding Plants,' signed August 20, 1917, and that it shall become effective this 8th day of December, 1917."

Shipyard Employes, Transportation of—(1918, p. 106) Amendment to the emergency

shipping fund provisions in the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act of June 15, 1917, empowers the Shipping Board to take possession of, lease or assume control of any street or interurban railroad or part thereof for the transfer and transportation of shipyard employes to and from work.

Social Development After War—(1918, pp. 83-329) In looking toward the future, both the immediate and after the war, we feel keenly that the nature of social development will depend largely upon the principles which workers shall demand as the basis for relationships. We are each day building Labor's house of tomorrow. If that structure is to endure the tests it must be founded upon bed rock principles of equity and democracy in relations between men. The present war is an extraordinary opportunity to determine those principles. This life and death struggle between the nations of the world is a laboratory which is disclosing the strength or weakness of every social relationship and institution. War is forcing us back to the essentials of life. War is fundamentally cooperative action of organic society. The present war is on such a gigantic scale that every part of national life is involved. The whole nation is in the war. The spirit of war activity and organization is essentially social—the national organism is at stake. As a war necessity we are seeking the principles which will assure most efficient cooperation. This co-operation must come from the two primary forces of society—the possessors of creative labor power and controllers of capital. As the authorized representatives of one of these forces necessary to co-operation, we feel it our duty to formulate certain fundamental principles that ought to underlie relations between controllers of capital and possessors of labor power. It is fundamental that labor power be considered as inseparable from the human being exercising it. Labor is a human attribute; it is the outward manifestation of the informing consciousness within that coordinates the sources of physical power. The commodity theory of labor was officially repudiated by our nation when Congress enacted the following declaration which was approved by President Wilson October 15, 1914: "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." It follows that since labor is not a commodity, workers are human beings contributing to production certain personal abilities and skill, and therefore have the right to participate in control of industry. The management provides materials, plans, equipment, and assembles the necessary workers. Workers furnish the human ability necessary to secure desired products. Since workers perform a function even more indispensable than that of employers, they have at least an equal right to representation and equal voice on all agencies determining matters affecting their interests and welfare, whether in private or government employment.

The necessity for equal representation is incontrovertibly demonstrated by experience with war boards, committees and commissions. Such agencies as pass upon questions concerning labor should be composed equally of representatives of employes and employers. This method is part of the larger problem of labor administration. In war production the government clearly occupies the relationship of employer and hence does not constitute a "third party" in interest. This principle was followed in establishing the National War Labor Board, the Railroad Board of Adjustment to settle all provisions of wage schedule or agreements not otherwise promptly adjusted, and in the Appeal Board provided under the shipbuilding agreement between the men in the shipbuilding trades and the Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation. In some boards dealing with matters of fundamental consequence to labor the workers have been given no representation or else representation numerically totally out of keeping with their interest involved. This situation is due to failure to grasp the meaning of democratic principles, as well as failure to see that the interests of labor represented the interests of human beings, their lives, welfare and the future of the race. With the present war (despite the human sacrifice) there has come a new appreciation of the importance of man power and the value of human life. This new concept requires adequate representation of workers in the control of their destinies. The demand of labor for equal representation in determining that part of production which concerns them is fundamental. One of the constructive results of dealing with war problems has been to disclose the importance of labor management. Man power has become a pivotal element. We can not afford to waste man power through maladjustment or through failure to elicit the full ability of any individual. Man power has hitherto been treated as one of the least valuable elements contributing to production and hence labor management is practically a new thought. Commercial and industrial companies have sought high-powered men to place in charge of all departments dealing with the material side—materials, equipment. Sales have a bearing on profits. But even the most practical efficient managers have failed until recently to see that a high turnover means unnecessarily high production costs. Long time experience of workers has a money value to industry as well as a social value. Those things which prevent frequent changes in employes must determine the principles of labor administration. That principle can be determined only through intelligent and sympathetic understanding of the needs of workers and of what constitutes fair dealing. There is always a best way of doing everything—the best way of administering labor problems of production can be determined only through the information and experience of employers and employes. Since workers know a phase of production which is usually totally outside the experience of employers, the principles of labor administration must be formulated after considering the supplementary information of representatives of both parties. Labor administration must be co-operative in method and in principle. There ought to be in charge of all labor problems of production, a high-powered trained labor man. Just as the chief engineer is responsible for determining and removing the cause when generated power fails, so the labor manager should seek the cause and remedy when labor power fails. The most satisfying custom would give opportunity to wage-earners of ability to qualify for such administrative positions—thus giving the workingman a

chance for a career without depriving production of those of greatest ability. There has been some progress toward this end since the war began through the efforts of the Shipping Board and the Ordnance Department. This indicates what must become an accepted custom in all production. The following fundamentals must be the basis for all just labor policies: Those contributing to production should have a part in its control. A low turnover which is advantageous to industry has an equal if not greater value to workers—to them it means continuous employment, a stable income. Every worker has a right to be freed from all avoidable uncertainties of employment—both from those arising through poor labor administration and from mismanagement in production and the effects of speculation in raw materials or finished products. The American Federation of Labor has consistently stood for justice to all workers, skilled or so-called unskilled. We have maintained that there are no workers wholly unskilled and the distinction between wage-earners is one of degree ony. The so-called unskilled or common laborers are the backbone of industry. Low economic standards can not prevail among these workers without injury to all. We maintain, therefore, increased efforts must be made to organize these and all workers in order that there may be established machinery for self-betterment and that the workers may take their rightful place in determining questions of life and work. Every worker has a full right to a just portion of the wealth which he helps to create, a full right to earn out of his toil an opportunity for his children equal with that of any citizen, a full right that every just safeguard shall be afforded him for his physical safety, for his health and comfort while at work. Every worker has the right to compensation for physical injury or disease occasioned in the course of production. Every worker who has been injured or disabled in industry has the additional right to opportunities for rehabilitation in order that he may receive the necessary assistance or training to enable him to be self-sustaining. Betterment for wage-earners under all circumstances depends upon the control they exercise through economic organization. Control brings with it responsibility. The right of workers to a share in the results of increasing production which makes possible their advancement and reproduction under proper conditions, means greater interest in increasing output. We believe that in all large permanent shops, a regular arrangement should be provided whereby: First, a committee of the workers would regularly meet with the shop management to confer over matters of production; and whereby: Second, such committee could carry, beyond the foreman and the superintendent to the general manager or to the president, any important grievance which the workers may have with references to wages, hours and conditions. It is fundamental for efficiency in production that the essentials of team work be understood and followed by all. There must be opportunity for intercourse and exchange of viewpoints between workers and managers. It is this machinery for solving industrial problems that is fundamental. The constructive demands outlined above are predicated upon the basic principle of the right and opportunity of workers to organize and make collective agreements. There is no other way to bring about co-operation for production except by organization of workers. Organization is the orderly system for dealing with questions which concern Labor in order that decisions and adjustments may be reached that further the best interests of all concerned. Employers and workers must talk over matters of mutual interests and reach understandings. In present large scale industry this can be done only by use of the representative system or what is commonly called collective bargaining which is the foundation of all effective, just labor administration.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation—(1917, p. 79) One of the most conspicuous services rendered by the Committee on Labor is the Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation Legislation. In the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor, compensation to be paid to soldiers and sailors and the problem of taking care of their families were discussed. Later, through Mr. Gompers, the matter was presented to the Council of National Defense with the suggestion that the Committee on Labor be authorized to take up the whole subject-matter and to draft appropriate legislation. The suggestion was approved by the Council of National Defense. Mr. Gompers appointed Judge Julian W. Mack as chairman of the committee to draft the legislation. This committee reported to the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor the most comprehensive legislation of this character ever drafted. Judge Mack and his committee afterwards cooperated with the committee appointed by the Treasury Department to investigate the matter of insurance for soldiers and sailors and to make report to that department. As a result of conference the bill, as drawn by Judge Mack, was adopted as the report of the Treasury Committee and in this form was approved by the Council of National Defense and the President of the United States. The bill thus became an administration measure. The military and naval compensation and insurance bill extends the work of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, which was established at the beginning of the war, first, to provide insurance for ships and then for merchant seamen. It is a great step forward in giving to the men in the service not charity but justice, in telling them in advance just what they will get, and thus freeing them and their families from that worst of all fears, the fear that they and their loved ones may become objects of charity. It provides for a generous contribution by the government to the wife and the children of all enlisted men during the period that the husband and father is fighting for his country, but it does not absolve him from his primary duty of contributing in proportion to his pay to their support. Every man with wife or child must give at least $15 a month; if his pay exceeds $30 a month, he must give more than that, up to one-half his pay, provided the government itself contributes more than that. The government adds monthly from $5 for a single orphan child, up to $50 for a wife and five children. While a man does not have to give anything to other dependents, he may give a small amount monthly to dependent father, mother, brother, sister or grand-

child, and in that event the government will help along. The highest amount, however, that the government adds is $50 a month. If a man becomes disabled or dies in the line of duty, he and his family are no longer given a gratuitous pension, but they are given compensation, in analogy to the compensation given to working men in the civil employment of the government. But this disability compensation differs from that provided in any other law. It takes the family as the unit that is serving the country, not the individual man. It bases the compensation upon the size of the family from time to time. While a totally disabled bachelor will get $30 a month, the man with a wife and four children will get $75 a month. Twenty dollars is added if a nurse or attendant is required; $10 more if a man has a dependent widowed mother; but if he loses both feet, both hands, both eyes, or becomes totally blind, or helplessly bedridden, he gets $100 a month regardless of whether he is married or not. In case of his death resulting from injuries or disease received in the line of duty, the widow and children and widowed mother get sums ranging from $20 to $75 a month, according to the size of the family. And no distinction is made between a private and the highest officer. But the great new feature of this bill, the feature that marks it as the most progressive social legislation of any country in the war, is the insurance article. Men who go into the war can not protect themselves by insurance because private companies necessarily charge a prohibitive rate. Under this law the entire people bear the war risk. The government is selling insurance to the men at peace time rates; but more than this, it is not even charging what private companies charge in peace times; it cuts off all that they add for expenses. And this is done because the government, in the first place, has only the expense of administration and none of the other expenses that private companies have, and, in the second place, because it was believed right and just that the entire people should bear the cost of administering this branch of the service. And as the only sensible kind of insurance for a man to take when, as in these cases, he is about to go into an extra-hazardous employment for a short time, is the cheapest possible insurance, the government is offering only that—a yearly renewable term insurance that costs a man of 29 about $8 per thousand annually. But as that kind of insurance costs more each year and would be a terrible burden if the man reached old age, the law compels him to change it into one of the ordinary forms, costing somewhat more but much better as a permanent thing, within five years after the war. This permanent insurance, however, will also be issued at net rates without any charge for expenses. Men must make up their minds promptly whether they want the insurance or not. They are given four months' time, and any man, private or officer, can take from $1,000 to $10,000 worth of it. The insurance is wisely guarded. It can not be assigned; it can not be taken by creditors either of the insured or of the beneficiary; it is payable only to certain relatives — wife, child, grandchild, parent, brother or sister; and when it falls due it will not be paid out in a lump sum, but in monthly installments over a period of 20 years, with 3½ per cent interest on the unpaid installments. That means that on a $10,000 insurance policy, the family will get $57.50 a month for 20 years. And for good measure the government has thrown in this additional provision, that if a man becomes totally and permanently disabled these monthly payments will begin and they will continue during his entire life, even though he lives more than 20 years.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Rehabilitation—(1918, p. 236) Executive Council instructed to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to thoroughly investigate the problem of rehabilitation and to take such steps and introduce such measures in Congress as will result in the creation of a commission which shall have charge of the preparation for the re-entry into industry of the soldiers and sailors now defending the country's liberties, and the relocation and protection of the civilians now engaged in war industries, whose present occupation will be terminated with the cessation of the war. A bill introduced in the Senate provides for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military service of the U. S. and for other purposes. A companion bill was presented in the House. This measure is a corollary of the war risk insurance measure and rounds out a beneficent and humanitarian policy to be adopted by this country In former wars there has been left in their train a vast multitude of men who, because of their injuries, have been incapacitated to follow their former vocations, or have become dependents upon society. Under the spur of modern thought and action, the welfare of humanity has become the chief activity of our interest and the measures referred to are calculated to rehabilitate, reeducate, refit and return to industry in whatever capacity science and physical ability may suggest for the disabled victim of the war. In fact, with the rehabilitation measure enacted into law, coupled with the war risk insurance law, our country will have taken an advanced step in the welfare of its citizens. With the passage of this measure there will rest a Herculean task on the Federal Board for Vocational Education to perform, for these bills provide that the administration of the reeducation, refitting and returning to industry shall be in charge of the board mentioned. It is interesting to recall that the American Federation of Labor for a number of years stood sponsor for activity and urged the adoption by Congress of a Federal vocational educational law, and its efforts were finlly crowned with success. This board during its infancy (for it has only been in existence approximately a year) has extended the work of aiding the State in establishing systems of vocational training. As it is now equipped with data and an experienced personnel, it is capable to administer the provisions of the rehabilitation and reeducation bills if they are enacted into law. The A. F. of L. is particularly interested in the reeducation and the reentry of disabled soldiers and sailors into industry. The members of our organizations will have an opportunity to perform an invaluable service to society in cooperating with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in carrying on its work.

In all of the countries actively engaged in the present war, work of a similar character is being performed, and in those countries the organizations of labor are giving their hearty support and cooperation. It is perhaps unnecessary to bespeak the cooperation of the American labor movement in this great humanitarian work, for it can be confidently expected that in every locality of our country where our organizations are located, there the members of these unions will give material assistance to the carrying out of this great national humanitarian work. Representatives of the A. F. of L. assisted in the framing of the bill, and the membership will without doubt assist in the execution of the law when it is placed upon the statute books. That there may be a close cooperation, the Executive Council is authorized to cooperate with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in assisting in administering the law when it shall have been passed. The duty of the hour requires that all classes of citizens, whether they be employers or employes, give a full measure of support and active cooperation in administering a law which has for its purpose the making of disabled soldiers and sailors productive members of society.

Soldiers' Civil Rights Bill—(1917, p. 118) This bill is designed to protect the rights of conscripted men. It will protect the equities of conscripted men in mortgaged property, stay the statute of limitations, and otherwise protect the interest of conscripts. The introduction was the result of many inquiries relative to the protection to be afforded to conscripted workmen who had homes partly paid for or other interests, such as life insurance premiums, which necessitated regular payments. (1918, p. 110) Bill became a law. Its salient provisions require an affidavit to be filed in any action commenced in any court, specifically stating whether the defendant is in the military service or not. The court is further empowered to stay the execution of any judgment or order, vacate or stay any attachment or garnishment of property, money or debts in the hands of another, whether before or after judgment, during the period of military service or within sixty days thereafter. No eviction or distress shall be made during the period of military service in respect of any premises for which the agreed rent does not exceed $50 per month, occupied chiefly for dwelling purposes by the wife, children or other dependents of a person in military service, except upon leave of court granted upon application therefor or granted in an action or proceeding affecting the right of possession and providing a penalty against any person who shall knowingly take part in any eviction or distress of imprisonment not to exceed one year, or fine not to exceed $1,000, or both. The Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be, is empowered to order an allotment of the pay of a person in military service in reasonable proportion to discharge the rent of premises occupied for dwelling purposes by the wife, children, or other dependents of such person. No person who has received a deposit or instalment of the purchase price under any contract for the purchase of real or personal property from any one who has entered the military service shall exercise any right of option under such contract to rescind or terminate the contract or resume possession of the property for non-payment of any instalment falling due during the period of such military service, except by action in a court of competent jurisdiction.

Soldiers, Status of—(1917, p. 457) Secretary of A. F. of L. was instructed to secure from each directly affiliated union a list of all members enrolled in the military service of the United States, enter such names in a bound roll of honor book and upon their return they shall be admitted to any directly affiliated union without initiation fee. No dues shall be charged against these members while they are in the army or navy.

Strikes in War, Illegal—(1918, p. 108) When the injury to war material bill came up for action in the House, this amendment was adopted: "Whoever with intent to injure, interfere with, or obstruct the United States or any associate nation in preparing for or carrying on the war, shall conspire to prevent the erection or production of such war premises, war material, or war utilities." While the original draft of the bill was unobjectionable, the amendment changed its character, as it could not be interpreted otherwise than to prevent peaceful strikes. This amendment was then presented and adopted: "That nothing herein shall be construed as making it unlawful for employes to agree together to stop work or not to enter thereon with the bona fide purpose of securing better wages or conditions of employment." When the bill went to conference, the A. F. of L. insisted that both amendments should remain in the bill or both be eliminated, which would be satisfactory to the Federation. Finally both amendments were stricken from the bill, and it passed and was approved by the President.

Trade Union Activity in War—(1916, pp. 64-389) We note with satisfaction that the exchange of fraternal delegates with Great Britain has been resumed after a period of three years and trust that this exchange may continue without interruption in the future. We believe that the workers of all countries ought to learn from the experiences of the wage earners of those countries now engaged in war, to the end that they may be in a position to protect and maintain human rights and interests. We approve the suggestion that studies of trade union activity under war conditions ought to be made for all countries concerned. We earnestly hope that the workers of all European countries will be able to maintain their labor organizations, even under stress of war difficulties, and that when peace shall have been restored they will be in a position to carry forward their activities in behalf of human rights and human liberties and a fuller democracy.

(1918, p. 276) The British fraternal delegates had not received their passports, and the President of the American Federation of Labor addressed a letter to the Secretary of State. He related the history of the interchange of delegates between the A. F. of L and the British Trade Union Congress since and including 1895 and asked that a cablegram be sent to the American Embassy asking that passports be given. A few days later a cablegram was received stating it

was too late for the fraternal delegates to leave for the United States and protesting against the action of the American Government.

Victims of War Should be Aided—(1916, p. 393) The European war is daily growing in extent and horrors, and the nations unfortunately involved in it are at present powerless to check the fury of mutual destruction and wholesale bloodshed. Many nations in Europe are held in political subjugation by the direct powers, are deprived of the right of self-government, hampered in their free, national and cultural development, oppressed, maltreated and persecuted, and the existence of such oppressed nationalities and their natural and legitimate struggles to liberate themselves constitute a fruitful source of international strife and war. Some of the warring nations of Europe still withhold from the Jewish and other oppressed peoples the political, national and civil rights enjoyed by other citizens or subjects of those countries, although the Jews are making untold sacrifices in goods and blood for the countries of their birth or adoption. We declare that the international movement of organized labor, having justice for its aim, must give its best efforts to the abolition of all forms of oppression and discrimination, national, racial as well as political and industrial. We urge that the orgnized workers of the United States render moral and material assistance to the full extent of their means to their suffering fellow-workers, the victims of the war and of political, religious, racial and industrial injustice.

Wage Commission, Railroad—(1918, pp. 65-327) On January 18, 1918, pursuant to the authority vested in the Director General of Railroads by the President of the United States in his proclamation of December 26, 1917, a Railroad Wage Commission was appointed. The commission was appointed for the purpose of making a general investigation of the compensation of persons in the railroad service; the relation of railroad wages to wages in other industries; the conditions respecting wages in the different parts of the country, and the special emergency respecting wages which exists owing to the war relation between different classes of railroad labor. The commission commenced a series of hearings in the Interior Building, in Washington, D. C., on January 28, 1918, with representatives of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers as the initial part of the proceedings. All classes of railroad labor were eventually heard, and the hearings occupied a period of more than two months. The commission made a report to the Director General of Railroads on April 30, 1918, and on May 25, 1918, Director General McAdoo issued General Order, No. 27, fixing the wages of railroad employes. The order applies to the employes of 164 railroads named in the order, and, in addition, to such roads, "all terminal, union station, and switching companies, all or a majority of whose stock is owned by railroads named." The order states further that such other railroads as may be retained in Federal control on July 1, 1918, will be added to the list, and that the Pullman Co., whose status is now being considered, will also be added if decision shall be reached to retain the Pullman Co. under Federal control. The additional articles which deal with general principles of policy and administration are: Rules Governing Conditions of Employment—Basic Eight-Hour Day—The principle of the basic eight-hour day is hereby recognized. Where employes are paid upon a daily or monthly basis, the new compensation herein established will apply to the number of hours which have heretofore constituted the actual day's work. For example, where an actual day's work has been 10 hours, the new compensation will cover the 8 basic hours and 2 hours overtime. Additional overtime will be paid pro rata. Pay for Overtime—This order shall not affect any existing agreements or practices for the payment of higher rates of pay for time worked in excess of any standard day. Time worked in excess of the basic eight-hour day hereby established will, when there is no existing agreement or practice more favorable to the employe, be paid on a pro rata basis, as indicated in section (a) of this article. No Reduction in Total Increase—Pending consideration by the Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions hereinafter provided for, no reduction in the actual hours constituting a day's work shall operate to deprive any employe, paid by the day or month, of the total increase in pay granted him by this order.

Payments for Back Time—Each railroad will, in payments made to employes on and after June 1, 1918, include these increases therein. As promptly as possible, the amount due in back pay from January 1, 1918, in accordance with the provision of this order, will be computed and payment made to employes separately from the regular monthly payments, so that employes will know the exact amount of these back payments. Recognizing the clerical work necessary to make these computations for back pay and the probable delay before the entire period can be covered, each month, beginning with January, shall be computed as soon as practicable and, as soon as completed, payment shall be made.

Employment of Women—When women are employed, their working conditions must be healthful and fitted to their needs. The laws enacted for the government of their employment must be observed and their pay, when they do the same class of work as men, shall be the same as that of men.

Colored Firemen, Trainmen and Switchmen—Effective June 1, 1918, colored men employed as firemen, trainmen and switchmen shall be paid the same rates of wages as are paid white men in the same capacities. Back pay for period January 1, 1918, to May 31, 1918, will be based only upon the increases provided in Article II of this order for such positions. Back payments will not apply to the further increased rate made effective by this article. Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions—There is hereby created a Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions which shall at once establish an office at Washington, D. C., and meet for organization and elect a chairman and vice chairman, one of whom shall preside at meetings of the board. It shall be the duty of the board to hear and investigate matters presented by railroad employes or their representatives affecting:

Inequalities as to wages and working conditions whether as to individual employes or classes of employes; conditions arising from competition with employes in other industries; rules and working conditions for the several classes of employes, either for the country as a whole or for different parts of the country. The board shall also hear and investigate other matters affecting wages and conditions of employment referred to it by the Director General. It shall be solely an advisory body and shall submit its recommendations to the Director General for his determination.

Interpretations of This Order—Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1 is authorized by Article 9 of General Order No. 13 to perform the following duty: "Wages and hours, when fixed by the Director General, shall be incorporated into existing agreements on the several railroads, and should differences arise between the management and the employes of any of the railroads as to such incorporation, such questions of difference shall be decided by the Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1, when properly presented, subject always to review by the Director General." In addition to the foregoing, other questions arising as to the intent or application of this order in respect to the classes of employes within the scope of Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1, shall be submitted to such board, which board shall investigate and report its recommendations to the Director General. Similar authority may be conferred on any additional Railway Board of Adjustment hereafter created. Decisions shall not be rendered by such boards until after approval by the Director General. Prior to the creation of additional Railway Boards of Adjustment to deal with questions as to the intent or application of this order as it affects any other class of employes, such questions, with respect to such employes, shall be presented to the Director of the Division of Labor, United States Railroad Administration, Washington, D. C.

One of the most important and far-reaching orders issued by the Director General of Railroads is Order No. 8, dated February 21, 1918. Section 5 of that order reads as follows: "No discrimination will be made in the employment, retention, or conditions of employment of employes because of membership or nonmembership in labor organizations. The government now being in control of the railroads, the officers and employes of the various companies no longer serve a private interest. All now serve the government and the public interest only. I want the officers and employes to get the spirit of this new era. Supreme devotion to country, an invincible determination to perform the imperative duties of the hour while the life of the nation is imperilled by war, must obliterate old enmities and make friends and comrades of us all. There must be cooperation, not antagonism; confidence, not suspicion; mutual helpfulness, not grudging performance; just consideration, not arbitrary disregard of each other's rights and feelings; a fine discipline based on mutual respect and sympathy; and an earnest desire to serve the great public faithfully and efficiently. This is the new spirit and purpose that must pervade every part and branch of the national railroad service. America's safety, America's ideals, America's rights are at stake. Democracy and liberty throughout the world depend upon America's valor, America's strength, America's fighting power. We can win and save the world from despotism and bondage only if we pull together. We can not pull apart without ditching the train. Let us go forward with unshakable purpose to do our part superlatively. Then we shall save America, restore peace to a distracted world, and gain for ourselves the coveted distinction and just reward of patriotic service nobly done."

Boards of Adjustment—For the purpose of adjusting disputes between employes and railroads not directly connected with wage rates and hours of service, Boards of Adjustment are being formed and an agreement was reached between the regional directors, representing the railroads in their respective regions, and the chief executives of the railroad brotherhoods, and this will be known as Board of Adjustment No. 1. Adjustment Board No. 2 is now in process of formation, and it is expected that this board will adjust matters concerning the railroad shop trades, including electrical workers. Adjustment Board No. 3 is in the process of formation, and this board will have representatives from the Telegraphers, Clerks, Maintenance of Way Employes, Switchmen, and Signal Maintainers. The three boards of adjustment will cover all the regular labor organizations connected with the railroad service. The Railroad Wage Commission, mentioned in the foregoing, after filing its report with the Director General had completed its labor.

War and Its Causes—(1916, p. 384) We reaffirm the expressions and declarations of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the questions of war and its causes as follows: Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism and back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances and in the second instance we have no words of condemnation, and that your committee feels the A. F. of L. through this convention can serve the best interests of all our fellow-workers regardless of where located and, moreover, those of our trade union movement by maintaining strict neutrality under existing circumstances. We again repeat and express that fraternal spirit and world-wide sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow-workers regardless of where located or of nationality. While words can not express the horror we feel over the terrible conflict now devastating Europe and by which so many human souls are being dropped into the vortex of eternity, we express the judgment that unless a larger measure of human liberty, justice and democracy shall come to the toiling masses, the frightful sacrifice has been and will be in vain. Let us here express the hope that, while regretting the existence of the world war, since it has been inaugurated, its end will usher in an era which shall witness the establishment of a better understanding of labor's viewpoint and better economic, social and political conditions for all the workers, and finally that from

the ashes of destruction and the carnage of conflict there shall be merged a new spirit, a new courage and the determination upon the part of labor to obtain and hold a fuller democracy which shall safeguard, protect and advance the liberties and material interests of the masses. While civilization has wandered far from the ideals of humanity and a brutalizing madness is temporarily enthroned in this war, we are neither pessimists nor necessarily pacifists. We express the judgment that first the war cannot and will not crush the hopes and aspirations and activities of organized labor, and that secondly the trade union movement will be a potential force in establishing and maintaining more permanent peace upon a foundation which will maintain greater justice and human liberty and finally stand as a bulwark of strength against wars of conquest waged in the interest of commercialism, kings, potentates and an oligarchy of arrogant autocracy grounded upon finance and commercialism.

War and Labor—First Things First— (1918, pp. 124-332) Executive Council reported: "With the declaration of war by Congress on April 6, 1917, the legislative duties of the American Federation of Labor have been enormously increased. A great mass of legislation has been introduced, most of which required careful scrutiny in order that the interests of labor might be adequately protected from the passage of any legislation which would adversely affect the organizations of labor. We are living in stress and storm. Times are abnormal. The character of considerable legislation introduced, if enacted into law, would seriously invade the normal and natural rights of the working people of the country. To perform this service has required constant attention and incessant endeavor to protect the rights and interests of the workers. The observations are here made with a view to suggesting that while this country is engaged in the present conflict our efforts should be directed more particularly to great and fundamental issues. While we appreciate that there are many needed legislative reforms, yet it is more essential that the Federation direct its attention and activities to fundamentals. Therefore, with that in mind, it is confident in its hope that the delegates to this convention will appreciate the situation and give material assistance in carrying the suggestions into effect."

Convention declared: "Officials of affiliated unions should keep in mind the necessity of giving first attention and consideration to the fundamentals involved in the successful prosecution of the war and give such assistance as is possible to the Executive Council in its efforts to adequately protect the interests of labor, even if this should involve the temporary setting aside of minor matters which would ordinarily receive their attention."

War Finance Corporation—(1918, pp. 109 331) Executive Council instructed to study the war finance corporation law, which provides for credits for enterprises in the United States necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war and for other purposes. The capital stock is $500,000,000, all of which is subscribed by the United States. The corporation is empowered and authorized to make advances upon stipulated terms as may be prescribed, for periods not exceeding five years from the respective dates of such advances, to any bank, banker, or trust company in the United States which shall have made after April 6, 1917, and which shall have outstanding any loan or loans to any person, firm, corporation, or association, conducting an established and going musiness in the United States, whose operations shall be necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war, and evidenced by a note or notes, but no such advance shall exceed 75 per centum of the face value of such loan or loans. Money is also to be advanced to corporations on their bond holdings and other obligations. All advances made are to be covered by promissory note or notes and secured by notes, bonds or other obligations. The rate of interest charged on any advance is to be not less than 1 per centum per annum in excess of the rate of discount for ninety-day commercial paper prevailing at the time of such advance at the federal reserve bank of the district in which the borrowing institution is located; but such rate of interest shall in no case be greater than the average rate receivable by the borrowing institution on its loans and investments made during the six months prior to the date of advance, except that where the average rate so receivable by the borrowing institution is less than such rate of discount for ninety-day commercial paper. The rate of interest on such advance shall be equal to such rate of discount, while the War Finance Corporation always retains the power to secure additional security at any time. In addition to the powers already stated, the law provides for the creation of a "Capital Issues Committee," consisting of seven members to be appointed by the President, whose prescribed duties are to investigate, pass upon and determine whether it is compatible with the national interest that there should be sold or offered for sale or for subscription any issue, or any part of any issue, of securities hereafter issued by any person, firm, corporation or association, the total or aggregate par or face value of which issue and any other securities issued by the same person, firm, corporation, or association since the passage of this act is in excess of $100,000. In other words, this law is a governmental financing plan designed to place in the hands of the government the control of the financial operations of the country. This has been deemed essential for the reason that in the prosecution of the war vast sums of money must be raised to meet the tremendous expenditure made necessary in carrying out the war activities of the nation.

War Labor Board—(1918, p. 57) The establishment of agencies and policies for the general field of production of munitions and war supplies has been considered as a whole. The thought was that there ought to be a national war labor policy, and the agency charged with the administration of that policy ought to be in close cooperation with the persons or agencies responsible for production. The outstanding problems with which the national labor policy would have to deal were housing, distribution and allocation of workers, standards of work and agencies for adjusting industrial disputes.

After many conferences the matter was taken up with the Advisory Commission and with the Council of National Defense, which body made recommendations to the President of the United States. This program was approved by the President, who requested the Secretary of Labor to undertake its administration and to provide for this purpose the following agencies:

1. A means of furnishing an adequate and stable supply of labor to war industries. This will include:

(a) A satisfactory system of labor exchanges.

(b) A satisfactory method and administration of training of workers.

(c) An agency for determining priorities of labor demand.

(d) Agencies for dilution of skilled labor as and when needed.

2. Machinery which will provide for the immediate and equitable adjustment of disputes in accordance with principles to be agreed upon between labor and capital and without stoppage of work. Such machinery would deal with demands concerning wages, hours, shop conditions, etc.

3. Machinery for safeguarding conditions of labor in the production of war essentials. This is to include industrial hygiene, safety, women and child labor, etc.

4. Machinery for safeguarding conditions of living, including housing, transportation, etc.

5. Fact-gathering body to assemble and present data, collected through various existing governmental agencies or by independent research, to furnish the information necessary for effective executive action.

6. Information and Education Division which has the functions of developing sound public sentiment, securing an exchange of information between departments of labor administration and promotion in industrial plants of local machinery helpful in carrying out the national labor program.

Secretary Wilson then appointed an Advisory Commission to assist him to plan the machinery that would make the program effective. After this commission made its report to Secretary Wilson, he submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury estimates of funds necessary to carry out the work with which the Labor Department had been charged. The necessary appropriation requested was about three and one-half millions. Although the need for a central labor policy and proper administrative agencies was imperative, Congress has been very slow in appreciating the need for appropriating the necessary money. In order to formulate economic principles as the basis of relations between employers and employes a National War Labor Conference Board was created. This board consisted of five members chosen by the A. F. of L. and five by the National Industrial Conference Board (employers' associations). Each of these groups selected a representative of the public, who also served as chairman on alternate days. This board, after several weeks' conference, made this report: The joint commission of employers and employes appointed to aid in suggesting a national labor program during the year submits the following:

(a) That there be created, for the period of the war, a National War Labor Board of the same number and to be selected in the same manner and by the same agencies as the commission making this recommendation.

(b) That the functions and powers of the National Board shall be as follows:

1. To bring about a settlement, by mediation and conciliation of every controversy arising between employers and workers in the field of production necessary for the effective conduct of the war.

2. To do the same thing in similar controversies in other fields of national activity, delays and obstructions in which may, in the opinion of the National Board, affect detrimentally such production.

3. To provide such machinery by direct appointment or otherwise, for selection of committees or boards to sit in various parts of the country where controversies arise, to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

4. To summon the parties to the controversy for hearing and action by the National Board in case of failure to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

(c) If the sincere and determined effort of the National Board shall fail to bring about a voluntary settlement, and the members of the board shall be unable unanimously to agree upon a decision, then and in that case and only as a last resort, an umpire appointed in the manner provided in the next paragraph shall hear and finally decide the controversy under simple rules of procedure prescribed by the National Board.

(d) The members of the National Board shall choose the umpire by unanimous vote. Failing such choice, the name of the umpire shall be drawn by lot from a list of ten suitable and disinterested persons to be nominated for the purpose by the President of the United States.

(e) The National Board shall hold its regular meetings in the city of Washington, with power to meet at any other place convenient for the board and the occasion.

(f) The National Board may alter its methods and practice in settlement of controversies hereunder from time to time as experience may suggest.

(g) The National Board shall refuse to take cognizance of a controversy between employer and workers in any field of industrial or other activity where there is by agreement or federal law a means of settlement which has not been invoked.

(h) The place of each member of the National Board unavoidably detained from attending one or more of its sessions may be filled by a substitute to be named by such member as his regular substitute. The substitute shall have the same representative character as his principal.

(i) The National Board shall have power to appoint a Secretary, and to cre-

ate such other clerical organization under it as may be in its judgment necessary for the discharge of its duties.

(j) The National Board may apply to the Secretary of Labor for authority to use the machinery of the department in its work of conciliation and mediation.

(k) The action of the National Board may be invoked in respect to controversies within its jurisdiction, by the Secretary of Labor or by either side in a controversy or its duly authorized representative. The board, after summary consideration, may refuse further hearing if the case is not of such character or importance to justify it.

(l) In the appointment of committees of its own members to act for the board in general or local matters, and in the creation of local committees, the employers and the workers shall be equally represented.

(m) The representatives of the public in the board shall preside alternately at successive sessions of the board or as agreed upon.

(n) The board in its mediating and conciliatory action, and the umpire in his consideration of a controversy, shall be governed by the following principles:

Right to Organize—1. The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever. 2. The right of employers to organize in associations of groups and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever. 3. Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities. 4. The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations, nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

Existing Conditions—1. In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor and other conditions of employment shall be maintained. 2. In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together, and the employer meets only with employes or representatives engagd in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right, or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions, or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the last paragraph, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging, or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions, as shall be found desirable from time to time. 3. Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

Women in Industry—If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

Hours of Labor—The basic eight-hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health and proper comfort of the workers.

Maximum Production—The maximum production of all war industries should be maintained and methods of work and operation on the part of employers or workers which operate to delay or limit production, or which have a tendency to artificially increase the cost thereof, should be discouraged.

Mobilization of Labor—For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the number of skilled and other workers available in different parts of the nation shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished: 1. By the trade unions. 2. By state employment bureaus and federal agencies of like character. 3. By the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country. These agencies should be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor, as necessity demands.

Custom of Localities—In fixing wages, hours and conditions of labor regard should always be had to the labor standards, wage scales, and other conditions prevailing in the localities affected.

The Living Wage—1. The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared. 2. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

This report was submitted to the President of the United States with the suggestion that the President make it effective through executive proclamation. In the meanwhile the Secretary of Labor communicated with the American Federation of Labor and the National Industrial Conference Board as to the personnel of the National War Labor Board. It was agreed that those constituting the Conference Board should become the permanent board. On April 8 the President issued the following proclamation:

"Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby approve and affirm the said appointments and make due proclamation thereof and of the following for the information and guidance of all concerned: The powers, functions, and duties of the National War Labor Board shall be: To settle by mediation and conciliation controversies arising between employers and workers in fields of production necessary for the effective conduct of the war, or in other fields of national activity, delays and obstructions in which might, in the opinion of the National Board, affect detrimentally such production; to provide, by direct appointment, or otherwise, for committees or boards to sit in various

parts of the country where controversies arise and secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation; and to summon the parties to controversies for hearing and action by the National Board in event of failure to secure settlement by mediation and conciliation. The principles to be observed and the methods to be followed by the National Board in exercising such powers and functions and performing such duties shall be those specified in the said report of the War Labor Conference Board dated March 29, 1918, a complete copy of which is hereunto appended. The National Board shall refuse to take cognizance of a controversy between employer and workers in any field of industrial or other activity where there is by agreement or federal law a means of settlement which has not been invoked. And I do hereby urge upon all employers and employes within the United States the necessity of utilizing the means and methods thus provided for the adjustment of all industrial disputes, and request that during the pendency of mediation or arbitration through the said means and methods, there shall be no discontinuance of industrial operations which would result in curtailment of the production of war necessities."

War, Responsibility for—(1914, p. 473) Rejected: "We hold the present awful struggle to be too fundamental to be blamed on any particular government or people and too great for prejudice and anger." Also: "That we warn our fellow-toilers against any international police force."

War Work, Avoid Interruption of—(1918, pp. 85-330) A crisis in world affairs has been reached. The battle lines of our allies in France are menaced by the forces that represent autocratic government. Each day and hour of the coming months will hold in a fateful balance the destiny of the governments and the peoples representing the ideals which bring into being and maintain governments directed by the peoples themselves. America was drawn into this world war by the challenge of those autocratic forces which enthrone might as their chief aim. With the growth of achievements of our Republic, this nation has stood as a beacon light to all the oppressed peoples of the earth. Our institutions have radiated to the remotest parts of the globe concepts of a government guided and maintained by the will of its people. It is a staggering thought to contemplate world dominion of autocracy and the destruction of opportunities we now enjoy and for which we have so valiantly contended. As a people imbued with the highest ideals of justice, the fact that the allied armies have their backs to the wall fighting the minions of autocracy, makes the present moment assume a ragged and dangerous front and moves us to the solemn duty of self-examination, to determine whether we are doing our full part. That grievous industrial wrongs still exist no one can deny. The agency that has fought wrong, that has lifted men and women up to higher planes of life and work, that has stood between the oppressed and the oppressors, is the organized labor movement. It has accomplished this constructive remedial work through organized economic power. Use of our economic power has been tempered with such warmth of idealism that we have won the respect and confidence of those in places of responsibility and authority The present administration, under the leadership of President Wilson, who has interpreted by word and act the spirit of democracy and humanity in a way that has made him the spokesman for world democracy, has recognized that only through labor has it been possible to fight this world war. The government has entered into contracts with organized labor and has provided agencies for dealing with problems that arise in production in which the government and workers are partners. Continuous, full-power production depends upon the morale of the workers; that, in turn, is dependent upon a sense of justice. The workers in war production are practically a part of the fighting forces, the Army and Navy. They can not stop work without interfering with the whole program. The whole campaign from production to where munitions are used in the field must be so precise, so well articulated, that nothing shall interfere with any forward movement if we are to check and defeat the best organized war machine the world has ever seen. No action should be taken in the shops or on the field not in harmony with the purposes of the war. Organized labor, susceptible to every impulse and stimulus of right, must recognize in its impartial and exacting judgment that the hour has struck for it to emphasize and declare its purpose and attitude anew and to help meet the overpowering force of circumstances and necessities which confront our nation. Organized labor, true to its traditions, has proffered its full and comprehensive support to the Commander-in-Chief, and it will not now be paralyzed by infirmity of purpose or action. The pressing need at this moment of imminent peril is that ships be provided whereby American soldiers, food, and munitions can be transported to reenforce the American Army already fighting with the soldiers of France and England. In order that this may be accomplished there must be full cooperation and earnestness of the people of our country. We advise the organized labor movement that in this crisis it must prove its loyalty to our Republic and to our fellow-men, and demonstrate its capacity to deal with big problems and big needs in a constructive manner. Deeply impressed by the events upon the western battle fronts, we are constrained to place before our fellow-workmen a definite course of action. Yielding to no one in our determination to maintain for the working people of this country the right to work or not, to work for a reason or for no reason, yet at a time when the destiny of the democratic institutions of the world are trembling in the balance (and still holding sacred the principles of the rights enunciated) we can well afford to waive their exercise in a patriotic desire that the issues of this war may result in a successful termination. In several departments charged with war production, agencies have already been established to adjust labor difficulties as they arise. These agencies have been supplemented by a larger program, national in scope, which has just been made effective by executive order. In accord with this plan, agencies will be established in all war production which will maintain the rights

of workers and at the same time make possible continuous production. Workers, reserving the right to strike, should submit all differences to these agencies and in every way seek to adjust difficulties without cessation of work. No strike should be inaugurated which can not be justified to the man risking his life on the firing line in France. An equal responsibility and duty devolves on employers to do everything within their power to maintain continuous production. As the best surety for this purpose we urge all employers to endeavor to adjust all grievances of employes, to establish and maintain equitable, humanitarian conditions of work. The workers of America wish to cooperate in winning this war. They can do so with unreserved ability and spirit if they go to their work with the sense of justice and rights respected. Employers, inaugurate no industry policy which can not be justified to the man risking his life on the firing line. The American soldiers on the battle line must pay in large numbers the supreme sacrifice, which must exercise a dominating and inspiring influence upon the people of this nation. Let it not be said that the organized American workmen engaged in the production of the necessary accoutrements of war shall be found unwilling to make the sacrifice demanded of them in this hour. Conscious that unfair and unjust criticism has been leveled at our movement, we can not escape the thought that unless we do our full duty and make a sacrifice commensurate with the exigencies of the situation, these criticisms may be pregnant with a lesson of deepest import. We must either voluntarily meet this great world need and crisis with a full appreciation of the far-reaching consequences of every industrial decision and action, or else we shall be deemed unworthy of the opportunities of free men, and a strong force will interpose to compel us to render the necessary service. If we voluntarily waive our rights to strike in this hour of dire necessity, there will be no opportunity to stigmatize our movement as unresponsive in the hour of need, and our appeal for justice will take on redoubled force when the terrific conflict shall have been brought to a close. Unsparing industry and attention, unswerving and unselfish fidelity is the talisman for an immense capacity for ceaseless progress, and we are sure that in acting upon the suggestions herein offered, the American labor movement will embody a prudence and discernment that will meet the approbation of the people of our own country, as well as the profound gratitude of the workmen of other countries engaged in this terrific struggle. We urge that our movement respond to the call (conscious that the future is involved in profound uncertainty), so that when the history of this great contest is written, the service performed by the workmen of America will comprise its most conspicuous feature.

War's Effect on Workers—(1915, pp. 48-459) Convention indorsed this report of Executive Council: When the Executive Council made its report to the Philadelphia Convention, the European war had been in progress for several months. The horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery seemed so horrible as to be well-nigh impossible. But the months that have passed have revealed the tenacity of purpose involved in the war, the grim determination to fight the struggle to some definite decision, yet every day and every month of the war have demanded their toll of human blood and human life and the suffering of those left at home. The purpose and the method of war are a direct reversal of the purpose and the ideals of peace. Human beings are merely the agencies for carrying on war—they are the centers about which activities for peace revolve and for whom all of cizilization and all of progress exist. With the beginning of hostilities, civilized life has been completely revolutionized and the affairs of life have been put upon a war basis. Those things which do not help in the destruction of the enemy or for their own protection and defense are, for the time being, neglected by the warring nations. All of science, literature, music, and art that do not have some direct bearing upon the war or conduct of war seem to have disappeared completely from the thoughts of those who are intent upon destroying the armies of the enemy. Out of all this grim and deadly hostility there have grown an intensity of feeling, racial prejudice and bitterness that make all efforts at peace impractical and futile for the present. America has maintained a policy of isolation from entangling alliances and has kept free from the diplomatic jugglery that has involved so many European countries in wars. Our situation and physiography have aided this purpose. It has been our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation. Through such a policy we hope to be in a position to use our national power and influence to take advantage of any opportunity to secure peace and to establish conditions of equity and justice between nations. However, the economic ties that bind together the nations of modern civilizatieon are so strong, so numerous and so interwoven, that the life and the affairs of any one country necessarily affect all other countries, and it is impossible for any nation to maintain isolation. The countries of the world have intimate international relations. Finances have international centers. There are common storehouses and common factories in all the nations. These ties can not be severed wholly or partially without bringing well-nigh incredible suffering upon the peoples of the countries concerned. The outbreak of the war interfered with many of the industries and occupations of Europe. These peoples became increasingly dependent upon the stores and resources of the United States and other countries. As a result, our foreign commerce was completely changed in character. The products that we sent abroad had to be adjusted to meet new demands and new needs. This necessitated change and readjustment in the industries of the United States. We found that we were unable to obtain many things for which we had depended upon European countries.

This period of readjustment in the winter of 1914 meant to the wage earners of the United States unemployment for many and all of the evil consequences of unemployment. But with the readjustment there came to many industries great opportunities for the sale of their products abroad, opportunities to produce the things that were necessary to supply the needs of the warring nations. As our country had maintained a policy of political neutrality it was necessary also to maintain a policy of commercial neutrality, and the products of our factories and our fields were open to purchase by the buyers of any nation. The fortunes of war made commercial intercourse with our country easier for some nations than for others. The nature, the extent and the direction of our commerce have almost completely changed during the months that the war has been in progress. It was necessary for the protection of American citizens to continue our foreign commerce. There has developed in this country and in some other countries a conscience that is extremely sensitive to the effects of our foreign commerce. According to this concept, commerce that supplies nations with certain products becomes, in some degree at least, responsible for the war itself and for the loss of life. Those who have this conviction feel that an embargo should be put upon such products, and that all trade should be forbidden in these things which enable Europe to continue the struggle. But these persons do not consider fully the disastrous effect upon the workers of our country as well as upon all of the citizens that would come from such a restriction and discrimination of trade which would result in closing so many industries and would quickly reduce thousands of men, women and children of our country to starvation. There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. Cotton, automobile trucks, horses, mules, are normal and necessary agencies for the cultivation of peace—they are also necessary agencies in carrying on war. Should we make any attempt to differentiate we would be involved in an interminable dispute over the possible purpose to which materials can be put. All nations are now turning to America as the great producer of food, clothing, and the necessities of existence. Although it is recognized that these supplies from America do in a sense enable the foreign countries to carry on the war, yet it is also recognized that we have no right as a nation to interfere with the right of any other nation to determine in what manner it shall uphold its demands for justice. So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans, we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free, they can not be forced or coerced by other nations, even in the matter of peace. There are evils and horrors which result from war, but there are also evils and horrors that result from a despotism that denies people and nations freedom to work out their own best welfare according to their own highest ideals. We respect neither an individual nor a nation who forgets his or its rights merely for the sake of maintaining peace. Individuals or nations who consciously permit a right to be denied establish a precedent of injustice that affects all others. We do not condemn individuals or nations that have fought nobly for ideals and for rights. On the contrary, we glory in their courage and in their convictions and in the noble fight they have made. Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist. So now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for America's citizens as well as our desire to restore peace. Peace can not be restored until the European nations are willing. There have been in the last year sentiments and movements for peace that have been powerful to the ultimate realization of that purpose. Some of these movements have been genuine, others have been created by individuals and interests that were really unneutral. These movements have taken various forms; some have tried to influence the policies of the state and governmental authorities of our country; others have tried to work upon public opinion and still others have sought to use the good name of our labor movement to further the interests of some foreign country. But all of these efforts have thus far been futile. The citizens of our country, including all of the workingmen, are too genuinely patriotic, liberty-loving and humane to permit themselves to be used by any such agency. The efforts to use the workingmen of our country have been of two kinds: one to get through them the endorsement of the foreign policy to place an embargo upon so-called "munitions of war"; the other has been to stir up industrial contentions and disputes and thus interfere with the actual process of production so that products to be sent abroad may be stopped. Foreign agencies have been trying to reach corruptly some of the organizations of the workers, but they have not succeeded. There is nothing touching the industrial and commercial life of America that is not of interest to the warring nations. They have sought all angles of control but everywhere they have found a spirit of faithfulness in America, a spirit of unity and solidarity among the workers that impelled them indignantly and decisively to reject such offers after their real nature was made clear.

Welfare Division, Labor—(1918, p. 68) The President of the American Federation of Labor, as Chairman of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, has continued the development of the work of that committee. Notably among the achievements were the drafting of the amendment to the War Risk Insurance Act, providing various compensations for soldiers and sailors and their dependents where war production is being carried on, which indicated the need of houses for the workers in such places; the visit of the British labor delegates to America, and the adoption of a declaration to the effect that economic and legislative standards should not be lowered unless the Council of National Defense should indicate that such

a departure is essential for the effective pursuit of the national defense, and then only temporarily to meet any great emergency. In January, of this year, the Council of National Defense authorized the Committee on Labor to promote its advisory work directly through the United States Department of Labor, securing its authorization for new activities from the Secretary, who is also a member of the Council of National Defense. The Secretary by reason of the fact of lack of means and the recognition that the various committees of the Committee on Labor have to a large degree perfected their organizations, advised that these various committees continue to function until the department is prepared to take them over. Co-operation with the Food Administration has been one of the large endeavors of the Committee on Labor.

National Committee on Welfare Work: The directing motive of the Committee on Welfare Work has been that indispensable service under war conditions must be organized in furtherance of two purposes. conservation of the humans and productivity. The work of the committee has been so divided as to take into account the needs of the workers during and after working hours. It has taken into consideration the fact that to secure the best service in peace or in war, there must be insured the existence of good will and initiative on the part of the workers and that good will can exist only under equitable conditions. This committee planned to safeguard the health of workers chiefly through a campaign of education and in co-operation with existing agencies, the means to be employed being illustrated lectures, moving pictures, illustrated literature for employers, workers, lecturers, and preachers. and the agencies to be used being trade unions, fraternity lodges, churches, chambers of commerce, employers' associations, miscellaneous conventions, etc. The committee proposed to undertake to bring home to employers in the most forceful way the necessity of establishing correct standards to the end that the government shall receive from the industries engaged in the production of war materials the best possible results and at the same time conserve the health and efficiency of the most important machine which the government has at its disposal—the human machine. The definition of welfare work adopted by the Committee on Labor is: Maintaining and improving working and living conditions of employes; especially applicable to mines, railroads, factories, stores, and public institutions. The types of employes considered are: (a) Industrial; (b) Public; (c) Soldiers and Sailors and their dependents; (d) Field Mechanics in active service. The most notable efforts of the Committee on Welfare Work and the most beneficial to the government in relation to the successful prosecution of the war, are the Sections on Compensation for Enlisted Men and their Dependents, and on Housing, and on Industrial Training for the War Emergency. The achievements of all three, to date, have clearly demonstrated the invaluable services which the Committee on Labor may render to the government with regard to national defense. The principles upon which these features of Welfare Work, in the committee's assigned task are based, are the health, welfare, and efficiency of the workers in the vital industries upon which all else depends. Only these matters that relate to the successful prosecution of the war have been included in the program of work On the theory that the industrial army which will supply the fighting forces of the country with arms, clothing and food, is second in importance only to the military establishment of the government, the committee has been working industriously on plans for the conservation and welfare of the workers throughout the nation. Industrial, scientific and health experts at great personal sacrifice have been working for months on special reports. Three have been issued which should aid employers in conserving the health of the workers in their plants. They form a part of the Welfare Work series and are: Industrial fatigue (which indicates how to reduce industrial fatigue); manufacture and loading of high explosives (providing, among other things, standards for adequate sanitary devices), and code of lighting (which will be especially useful in undertaking to secure state legislation). Other important reports have been submitted by committees upon "Ventilation," "Abnormal Atmospheric Pressures," "Diagnostic Clinics," "Medical Supervision," and "Village and Public Sanitation," which it is hoped may be published by the government, since those which have been issued, by the use of voluntary funds, have been proven of value. The Divisional Committee on Industrial Fatigue has conducted investigations in factories manufacturing war supplies for the purpose of determining whether unnecessary fatigue is present and discovering the safe conditions under which a maximum continuous output may be obtained. Its preliminary report is intended chiefly for manufacturers. It deals not only with the means of detecting fatigue but the introduction of rest periods, providing adjustable seats, omitting unnecessary motions, proper ventilation of workrooms, adjusting the hours of work, avoiding overtime, omitting Sunday work and sanitary conditions outside of factories. The Divisional Committee on Industrial Diseases, Poisons, and Explosives, in its report on the manufacture and loading of high explosives, covers 30 topics, among the most important being washing and eating facilities with reference to the prevention of poisoning. The Chairman of the Section on Sanitation, under which this committee operates, inaugurated conferences with employers in the industry before the adoption of the report. The manufacturers' representatives agreed without exception to adopt the rules and regulations in the report as the practice for their establishments and they have circulated large numbers of copies in their plants to that end. These reports were submitted to the employers after they had been approvel by the Chairman. The Chairman of the Committee on Labor appointed upon the Divisional Committee on Lighting in each state a member of the Illuminating Engineering Society, nominated by its president. The "Code of Lighting" has been sent to the head of each state bureau of labor who will be consulted by that state member of the Lighting Committee

with reference to the best means of enlisting the interest of employers voluntarily to adopt this means of protection for the workers. All three reports have been sought by manufacturers, educators and officials of labor organizations. Powder companies are asking for them in large quantities. The Sheffield Scientific School at Yale was provided with a supply adequate for the senior mechanical engineers, and the Division of Education at Harvard University was furnished with a similar quantity to use in its war emergency course for employment managers, now in session.

The Section on Housing: It was apparent that neither ships nor supplies for our boys in Europe could be adequately forthcoming without shelter for the workers and that there must be government financial aid in many instances as local capital had practically been exhausted in providing operating expenses where enormous contracts had been placed by the government. Much has been said about slackers among the workers but very little about the exposure of those workers during rigorous weather which made it almost impossible for continuous labor. Little has been said about the long trips with inadequate transportation, to and from the workplaces. The revelations of conditions through the committee on Labor ultimately developed legislation under which the Shipping Board was authorized to use $50,000,000 of its appropriations for housing its employes, and the President of the United States to use $60,000,000; $10,000,000 for housing government employes in the District of Columbia, and $50,000,000 for housing munition workers. In each instance the plant outlined by the Committee on Labor were incorporated in the legislation.

Section on Industrial Training for the War Emergency: This section of the Welfare Division of the Committee on Labor is composed of one-third labor, one-third employers and one-third practical educators. State committees similarly organized have been developed where war products are being made. Vestibule schools, so-called because the workers are introduced to the shop through them, have been organized in aeroplane plants and essential war trades. Great care has been taken to advocate that unemployed men be adapted and trained in new trades for the period of the war and that unskilled men be trained wherever possible before resorting to dilution or the employment of women. In spite of this persistent effort, it appears the women have been taken largely into various trades and their adaptability and readiness in taking training has developed a problem, the solution of which will require much earnest consideration. Every vestibule school, because of the thorough training given, has yielded approximately 25 per cent increase in production, both for men and women. The labor turnover has been reduced materially by the training thus given. Among the investigations made by the section on Industrial Training, because of the enormous demand for skilled machinists and toolmakers, there was one in the state of Massachusetts where the unemployed numbered 10,866 men had in that number only 227 machinists. In this world war of machines, it is clear, the report continues, that training must be directed toward those special trades to a large degree and the effort is to train skilled men from dull trades to war production. Unskilled and inexperienced workers are being trained to become efficient operators on machine tools, either in regular machine work or tool work by subdividing the processes and training the recruits upon the work under exact shop conditions. This makes operators in one or more processes capable of getting production but not skilled tradesmen and they will not therefore flood the trade after the war. One interesting result of training resident unemployed is the practical elimination of the housing problem in certain instances. The chairman has addressed the leading metal, machine, tool and other employers' associations in the endeavor to induce them to adopt the methods of training recommended by this section of the Committee on Labor. It should be added that a labor man is one of the three members of its executive committee closely in touch with all its activities. The interests of labor are being guarded in every possible way in this connection.

Accident Prevention: Special effort has been made by the Division on Industrial Accident Prevention to have included standard safety devices in the equipment of all machinery at the time of its manufacture or before its installation, by appeal to the Supply and Machinery Manufacturers of the country to take suitable action in connection with specifications for all contracts for machinery.

Home Nursing: The Division on Home Nursing of the Committee on Welfare Work, organized to furnish information concerning industrial nursing service and to make it available, has issued a circular which has been sent by the Chairman of the Committee on Labor to trade unions, urging them to request the employment of nurses in industrial plants and that the members of their families make greater use of public health nurses in their communities; also that the trade union influence be exerted for the extension of nursing service in rural districts. The purpose of this appeal is to guard the physical condition of our men and women in industry and their families in their homes as a national obligation to safeguard our body of citizens at this crucial time.

Section on Recreation: This section, which is in process of organization, will confine its efforts to shipbuilding, aeroplane making and munition making centers. It has made preliminary surveys of conditions indicating the necessity of providing requisite recreation outside munition making plants to give complete change and relief from the tension under which many are working. State welfare committees are in process of appointment, to co-operate with state, health and labor boards and to make the national Committee on Welfare Work more readily accessible in the various sections of the country. These state committees are to consist of five members, two to be named by employers, two as representatives of labor already nominated by State Federations of Labor, and one other who is recognized from his standing in the community as acceptable both to employers and labor, preferably to be selected by these four. These state welfare committees are

to be understood as operating in the jurisdiction of the State Councils of Defense.

Wilson's Address at Buffalo, President—(1917, p. 2) Mr. President, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, Ladies and Gentlemen: I esteem it a great privilege and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public councils. When your Executive Committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation because it seems to me that this above all other times in our history is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the nation. I thought that it was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow-citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel, the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind. I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom.

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other nation who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had "a place in the sun."

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the government has not laid its hands, to direct it and when necessity arose control it; and you have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the government of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves, they could get a subsidy from the government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in a large measure by the German government itself.

But that did not satisfy the German government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the future a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany is thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace talks about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine. Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not talking about the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan states, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad—the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided, for I feel bound to put this

proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German government continue to control it. I believe that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

You know how many intimations came to us from one of the Central Powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief Central Power, and you know that it means that the people in that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands they will in effect themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill-informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America or anywhere else that supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists but their stupidity. My heart is with them but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Colonel House, to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I didn't send him on a peace mission yet. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom of our own or anybody else's, we will see that the power of this country and the productivity of this country is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way I do not mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the government, but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be—the greatest hope and energy of the world—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished.

While we are fighting for freedom, we must see among other things that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your President, Mr. Gompers; and if I may be permitted to do so. I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy, if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted. And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same; and I believe that I am speaking from my own experience not only, but from the experience of others, when I say that you are reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists. I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I haven't had a chance, but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because them the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of a past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a little bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was not present. One of his friends said, "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you know So and So." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't h-h-hate a m-m-man I know." There is a great deal of human nature, of very pleasant human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate a man you know. I may admit, parentheti-

cally, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics I would love to be with them.

So it is all along the line, in serious matters and things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow-citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands, and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purpose as much as any man, but I respect the ancient processes of justice, and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are.

So I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause. Why, gentlemen, look what it means. We claim to be the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means first of all that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to cooperate in any formation or development of law and institutions, and some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare it with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations in this manifestation of the unwillingness to co-operate, and that the fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must not only take common counsel, but that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all of the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on ought not to go on. There are various processes of the dilution of labor and the unnecessary substitution of labor and the bidding in distant markets and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor which ought not to go on; I mean now on the part of employers, and we must interject into this some instrumentality of co-operation by which the fair thing will be done all 'round. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have and upon every occasion where it is necessary, have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

So, my fellow-citizens, the reason I came away from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. There are so many people in Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about. I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real thing, and say to them, "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being with me is not to think about me personally at all but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

Wilson, Woodrow—(1917, p. 462) We, the delegates to this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, herewith and hereby convey to the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, our profound appreciation of his presence upon the opening day of the convention and for the direct frankness with which he addressed us. That there is particular gratification in the fact that the first President of the United States to honor and inspire by his presence a convention of the American Federation of Labor should be so staunch a defender and so able an interpreter of the fundamental principles of practical democracy. That after sober, serious-minded consideration of the industrial problems arising as the result of our country's participation in the war for human rights and the perpetuation of democratic institutions, we pledge to him our undivided support in carrying the war to a successful conclusion, in supporting him in his efforts to apply the principles of democracy to the solution of the problems which arise in industry, and in conducting the war so that it shall be a war of the people, continued in defense of the fundamental institutions for human liberty transmitted to us by the forefathers of our country.

Women In Industry—(1918, pp. 71-315) The Committee on Women in Industry of the National Council of Defense was appointed to advise on women's employment in such ways as to bring about the maximum effectiveness of the woman power of the country. To save wastage of woman strength is even more essential than to avoid waste materials. Wage earning women must be assured such hours and remuneration and such conditions of work as will promote their fullest working capacity. Only by preserving health and general welfare can this be attained. Woman's labor must reach its highest efficiency. By her service in the second line of defense the war must be won. The committee has a membership of 84 women, 35 of whom are representatives of labor. The remainder are experts on labor problems and representatives of the employers and the general public. The official status of the Committee makes it necessary to secure representation of all the interests of the com-

munity. The work of its State Committee in 23 states is supervised by the National Committee. It co-operates with them by drawing attention to problems of national importance which may arise in their various territories. It co-ordinates the work of its State Committees by keeping an oversight of the entire field and serves as a channel of communication in reporting to the government. An important part of the state work is to secure enforcement of labor laws. This means close co-operation with state factory inspectors, a concerted effort to stimulate their activities and, where necessary, to create public sentiment that demands efficient work on the part of the inspectors. A most important economic change confronting the country is the employment of women on work customarily done by men. Wherever this change is contemplated or is taking place in any industry or occupation, the committee believes that inquiries should be made immediately. The health of the women should be especially considered, whether the work is suitable to them. Wherever, for instance, it requires them to carry heavy loads, to work on heavy machines or to stand for long periods it will be necessary to modify the processes. The committee's attitude is that:

"Women are entitled to be paid the same rates as men receive for identical work. If the processes are not identical, wages must be adjusted according to the skill and output of the worker. There is a real danger that war needs will be used as a pretext for cutting down wages. Every effort must be made to combat this tendency and the consequent lowering of the standard of living."

The work of the Committee on Women in Industry has been carried on through three channels: Through its executive committee directly; Through its standing committees; Through its state representatives. The most important activity of the executive committee has been securing information concerning the employment of women in the United States arsenals and Quartermasters' depots. Detailed reports of the conditions of work in these places and recommendations for changes have been made to the departments concerned. The reports were received with appreciation and made the basis of action by the departments. One of the early studies was made of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The report resulted in many recommendations being put into effect. Other studies and reports were made on women workers at the Frankford arsenal at Frankford, Pennsylvania; at the Picatinny arsenal at Dover, New Jersey; at the Schuylkill arsenal in Philadelphia; on the work given out from the Quartermaster's depot at Jeffersonville and the substations of that depot, where more than 21,000 women receive work to be done in their homes; on work at the Navy Yard in Philadelphia and in the factories at the Charleston Navy Yard. The committee has been helpful in making suggestions and protecting women engaged in war work on railroads. It suggested to the Director General the appointment of a board of experts, including a physician, a safety expert, and an expert in industrial fatigue, to study all occupations on which women are engaged and to determine proper conditions of employment. The committee adopted standards for the employment of women on work for war supplies. These standards deal with tenement house work, child labor, protection of mothers, wages, hours of work, seats, extra heavy and hazardous occupations, dangerous trades, lifting and exposure to heat and cold. The various subcommittees of the Committee on Women in Industry report the following:

"The Committee on Foreign-Born Women in addition to a general oversight of the problems which are peculiar to the non-English speaking women in war industries has rendered a valuable service in issuing to the foreign and labor press a series of bulletins in foreign languages. Subjects dealt with in these bulletins are accident, fatigue, industrial standards, sweat-shop work, and working mothers of small children. The Committee on Colored Women has a trained colored worker in the field and a program for dealing with the special difficulties which colored women at work have to face. The Committee on Living Conditions has held conferences with government officials and other agencies with regard to housing and general living conditions in the new industrial war centers."

In addition to the interest which must necessarily be aroused in recounting what has been done and attempted to be done by conserving the lives and the health of the workers, the men and women of industry during the war, the further fact is of additional interest—that when the war shall have come to a victorious end, the standards adopted and the committees formed, having functioned to bring about a better condition of life and work will not abandon that course for the old laissez faire policy that it was not the concern of society to protect its people against the exploitation of employers whose only concern has been profit. Governmental and voluntary civil activities supplementing and aiding the work of the organized labor movement will make for greater safety and conservation of human life, body and health.

ENCYCLOPEDIA

NEARLY 800 subjects considered by the American Federation of Labor in the thirty-eight years of its existence have been condensed and are herewith printed. Every principle maintained and methods followed are set forth in the original language. Many educational features are included, as the book is intended as a guide for all new members and for those who seek knowledge of our movement. The year in which each subject was discussed and the page where it can be found in the official proceedings also are given:

Acetylene Welder—(1916, p. 278) Declared "acetylene welding" a process and "acetylene welder" a tool which can no more come under the exclusive jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than the hammer and saw.

Adair Blacklist Case—(1910, p. 22) The United States Supreme Court said on January 27, 1908, in its decision on the Adair case (sometimes popularly referred to as the "Blacklist" case): "In every case that comes before this court where the protection of the Federal Constitution is sought, the question necessarily arises, is this a fair, reasonable, and appropriate exercise of the police power of the State, or is it an unreasonable, unnecessary and arbitrary interference with the right of the individual to his personal liberty, or to enter into those contracts in relation to labor which may seem to him appropriate or necessary for the support of himself and his family? Of course, the liberty of contract relating to labor includes both parties to it; the one has as much right to purchase as the other to sell labor." Again the court said: "The right of a person to sell his labor upon such terms as he deems proper is, in its essence, the same as the right of the purchaser of labor to prescribe the condition upon which he will accept such labor from a person offering to sell it. So the right of the employe to quit the service of the employer, for whatever reason, is the same as the right of the employer, for whatever reason, to dispense with the services of such employe." We quote again from the same case: "It was the legal right of the defendant Adair * * * however unwise such a course on his part might have been, to quit the service in which he was engaged because the defendant employed some persons who were not members of a labor organization." After this ruling, the court emphasized its position by saying: "In all such particulars the employer and the employe have equality of right, and any legislation that disturbs that equality is an arbitrary interference with the liberty of contract which no government can legally justify in a free land." The court in its final judgment on this case said: "This decision is therefore restricted to the question of the validity of the particular provision in the act of Congress making it a crime against the United States for an agent or officer of an interstate carrier to discharge an employe from its service because of his being a member of a labor organization." And the court added that the particular provision in the act of Congress was unconstitutional. The court decided that an employer had the right to discharge a man because he was a member of a labor organization. The court decided that the right of that employe to quit the service of an employer for whatever reason is the same as the right of the employer for whatever reason to dispense with the services of such employe. In short, for the courts to permit to employers the free play of discharge must carry with it the corresponding free action of employes to work or not to work, for any cause or for no cause, as they see fit. This inherent right can not be successfully abridged, either by a legislature or by the Congress. And yet within a period of one month judges of three courts in three separate States—Goff, in New York, against the Garment Workers, August 27, 1910; Richardson in Massachusetts, against the Photo-Engravers, July 29, 1910, and Houghton, in Indiana, against the Machinists, August 27, 1910—issued injunctions and decided that if men leave their employment for reasons justifiable to their judgment it will be acting illegally. This, too, in the face of the highest judicial authority in our land, the Supreme Court of the United States.

Affiliations, Can Not Compel—(1900, p. 269) In re compelling local unions to join central bodies: "Compulsion in a voluntary association of voluntary associations is a very dangerous trend of affairs. A domineering policy in this direction would mean destruction in the end. Moral suasion means progress from the bottom. Along these lines we have been working; along these lines we have formed machinery, we have formed the city central bodies, the state federations and the departments. We have them all ready for the individual action of union men, and if individual action is brought into play in these organizations we know the city central bodies and the state federations will be built up from the bottom and will endure forever." (1912, p. 397) Preferred to urge national and international unions to influence their local unions to join central bodies in preference to attempting to force the action by law.

A. F. of L. a Living Thing—(1915, p. 165) The trade union movement—the American Federation of Labor—is a living thing. It can not finish and finally decide upon anything; in its work and aspirations there is no finality—no stopping point; it must plan and do for today in order to create greater opportunities for the morrow.

Everything is in a state of development, of progress, and the great thing is to keep open the way to opportunity and to retain freedom to do those things which shall enable us to reach out after and achieve the better and larger ideals of a truer justice, a fuller freedom, a broader humanity.

A. F. of L. and Religion—(1913, p. 313) Nothing would be more injurious to the welfare of our movement than the injection of questions relative to religion. The American trades-union movement, from its inception, has excluded all questions of a sectarian nature from its conventions, and this rigidly applied policy has made it possible to build up a united movement, which otherwise would be impossible to either secure or maintain. American trade unions, as is their right, have insisted upon complete autonomy over the policies of the labor movement upon this continent. In the assertion of this right we must recognize the equal right of the trade union movements of other countries to govern themselves and regulate their policies in such manner as their judgment dictates.

A. F. of L., Aspirations of—(1902, pp. 9-143) This session of the American Federation of Labor marks an episode in the progress of enlightment unparalleled in the world's history. We meet in solid phalanx, regardless of creed, regardless of dogma. With national pride, but without international prejudice. The world is our field of action, and man is our brother. We not only proclaim, under the unsullied and untarnished banner of trade unionism, but live the principles of liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice. Ours is an affiliation of men of like interests, and of a kindred spirit. It is the natural growth of a sentiment for unity that binds and seals the compact for harmony, fidelity, and fellowship. Our cause demands that there is no worker so deep down in the abyss of misery and despair that we dare refuse to extend a helping hand in his uplifting; that there is no high pinnacle of grandeur to which the toiling masses should not aspire to attain. The trade unions are of, by, and for the wage-workers primarily, but there is no effort which we in our movement can make but what will have its beneficent, salutary influence upon all our people. The misery of the past, the struggles of the present, and the duty for the future, demand that no effort be left untried, that all energy be exercised, and opportunity taken advantage of, to organize the toilers of our country upon the broad platform of the trade union, in full affiliation with the A. F. of L. The dim, dismal past, with all its pain and travail, must give way to the better and brighter fututre for which the workers have borne the burdens, and made the sacrifices that the people of our time, and for all time, may be truly free.

A. F. of L., Authority of—(1912, p. 325) American Federation of Labor has no authority to investigate or interfere with the administration of an affiliated international union, unless it is alleged the rights and interests of another affiliated union are being encroached upon; but where two international unions agree to amalgamate and the A. F. of L. is a party to the agreement, it can investigate if its terms have been violated.

A. F. of L., Authority of—(1912, p. 121) Executive Council submitted this proposition: "Somewhere in the labor movement of America, there must be lodged some degree of authority, or expression of judgment. To this authority, interested parties should defer for investigation, discussion, final judgment and ultimate determination, all disputed matters affecting the internal relations of the organized labor movement coming properly before the American Federation of Labor. This authority to adjudge as to which disputant is held to be right and which to be wrong, and should endeavor, with all the influence which can be brought to bear through our movement, to adjust such disputes, conflicts and claims so that the unity and solidarity of the labor movement may be maintained. If this position be right, the question arises as to where that authority shall be vested. If the A. F. of L. in its conventions, or between conventions, the Executive Council, is not the constituted authority, where, pray, shall such authority be lodged? In any one central body? If that be justified, then why not a single local union? And if that be proper, then each individual member of a union may be constituted a law unto himself. Then, how can any general policy or purpose be outlined or a coherent practical course be pursued in the interests of the general welfare of the toilers of our continent? The laws, the policies, and the decision of the A. F. of L. are based upon the combined judgment of the toilers of America. There is no power lodged anywhere in our movement by which the laws, policies, and decisions thereof can be made effective, unless it be the general concensus of opinion and judgment of the organized wage earners, and the respect and confidence which they have in the movement and the men they have chosen to represent them. It depends for success upon the devotion of the rank and file of organized labor to the cause of unionism for furtherance of their own interests and the common welfare. In the absence of any power to enforce laws, policies and decisions (and our movement aims at the avoidance of such force and power), there must come to our fellow-workers the understanding that some degree of discipline must be maintained, but that only through discipline which is self-imposed and maintained for the progressive and orderly conduct of the labor movement of our time, can the integrity and entity of our movement be safeguarded; so that it may be of the greatest value and influence in securing for the toiling masses of our country, the opportunity and the means for the attainment of the highest and best possible conditions." (p. 343) The convention declared: "We hold it to be the duty of all organizations and members thereof to accept in good faith the decisions of the conventions of the A. F. of L. in all matters that have been committed to them for decision. If each organization is to reserve to itself the right to refuse acquiescence in the laws of the A. F. of L. and to disregard its authority in matters which it has a constitutional right to decide, or which are by contending forces submitted to its arbitrament, then there can be no harmony, no concert of action, no unity of purpose and no final determination of any question in controversy."

A. F. of L. a Voluntary Organization—(1894, p. 38) The American Federation of Labor is a voluntary organization. The political resolutions or platform adopted by it at conventions are expressive of the sentiments and demands of the majority of the organized workers affiliated with it. The resolutions or platforms adopted can not be imposed upon any affiliated organization against its wishes, but the resolutions and platforms adopted are presumed to be observed by all organizations.

A. F. of L. Axiom—(1915, p. 114) "What is worth having is worth struggling for."

A. F. of L., Benefit of—(1888, p. 8) "The benefit the American Federation of Labor has been in the period of its existence to the toiling masses of our country is more, probably, than will be told before generations to come. There is scarcely a division of thought upon the question that the workers, being the producers of all the wealth of the world should at least enjoy more of the results of their toil. On every hand we see fortunes amassing, elegant mansions and immense business houses rearing, we see the intricate machinery in its rotary motions, the genius of man, all applied to the production of the wealth of the world; and yet in the face of this thousands of our poor, helpless brothers and sisters, strong, able-bodied, willing to work, unable to find it! Hungry and emaciated without sufficient to properly nourish the body or to maintain the mental balance. On the other hand others bent by their long continued drudgery and unrequited toil. While these wrongs have been upon the body politic from ages gone by we can yet trace the improvements in the condition of the people by reason of our various organizations. Wherever the working people have manifested their desire for improvement by organization there as with a magic wand improvement has taken place. Wherever the working people are the poorest, most degraded and miserable there can we find the greatest lack of organization; and in the same degree as the basis of organization is improved there can we see the greater improvement in the material moral and social condition of the people."

A. F. of L. Building—The Executive Council was instructed in 1903 (p. 187) to investigate the feasibility of purchasing and erecting an office building for the American Federation of Labor. In 1904 (p. 87) it reported that after giving the subject every consideration the best course for the A .F. of L. was to lease a building for a term of ten years.

(1908, pp. 104-236) Executive Council reported that the directly affiliated local unions had voted in favor of loaning the A. F. of L. $50,000 from their defense fund to be used in the erection of an office building and purchase of the land. The convention endorsed the plan and also directed $30,000 more be obtained for the purpose.

(1909, p. 73) Executive Council reported many difficulties in securing a proper site for the new headquarters.

(1910, p. 126) Executive Council reported amount authorized to erect an office building was insufficient.

(1911, pp. 131-298) Executive Council authorized to carry into effect and plan for the erection of an office building within the limits of the instructions of previous conventions.

(1912, pp. 157-347) Executive Council empowered to issue an appeal and inaugurate such project or projects which may result in obtaining the necessary funds with which to erect a Labor Temple, an office building for the A. F. of L, its departments, and such other affiliated organizations whose headquarters are located in the Capital of the nation.

(1913, pp. 111-353) Executive Council directed to secure data covering these questions: The size of building deemed necessary to meet the requirements of the Federation for the present and immediate future. Cost and size of lot at the disposal of the Federation in the most accessible and satisfactory location in Washington. Cost of the erection of a building in conformity to the requirements as provided for above. Manner in which the finances for the completion of the work are to be raised, and the provisions, if any, as to the means of refunding such obligations as may be found necessary. Approximate cost of maintenance, up-keep, interest and principal per annum. Approximate income from all sources as result of rentals for offices of the Federation, the various departments, etc., per annum. Difference in the cost between the present quarters and the building proposed in the foregoing.

(1914, pp. 160-311) Convention authorizes and directs the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to cause to be constructed, or to purchase, a building for an office building for the A. F. of L. and its departments, and such other unions for which such structure may be suitable; to use such funds as are authorized in the furtherance of the object herein stated, and be further authorized to raise such other funds as might be necessary to carry out the instructions herein set forth.

(1915, pp. 118-325) Executive Council reported a lot had been purchased at a cost of $40,000, at Ninth street and Massachusetts avenue. The lot contains 5,133 square feet. The Massachusetts Avenue front is 60.83 feet, and the frontage on Ninth Street is 138 feet deep. The lot runs back at an angle which makes the width on the end of the lot 37.74 feet. That part of the lot which is 37.74 feet wide is 68.10 feet long. A guarantee was obtained from the Real Estate Title Insurance Company and the Columbia Title Insurnce Company of the District of Columbia for safeguarding the title to the property, or, in other words, to afford insurance against any claim arising under the title. The trustees named by the A. F. of L. agreed to a contract price of $90,450 for the erection of the building, to be completed April 7, 1916. On the site when purchased was a finely built old mansion with a slave pen in the rear, of which photographs were made before razing. On the site where slave owners and slaves dwelt the temple of Labor will be erected. The convention made these recommendations: "First—That all international unions which form the foundation of the A. F. of L. be invited to subscribe for a marble slab to be appropriately set in the building, it to bear the proper insignia of the or-

ganization making the appropriation. Second—That for the purpose of awakening a genuine interest in this work and in the furtherance of the general purpose and permanency of our movement the trustees shall be empowered to issue such prospectus, emblematic designs, etc., to be furnished to the membership and friends at a price that will be within the reach of all and at the same time be a financial advantage to the trustees in the work assigned to them. Third—The trustees to be authorized to accept such general help, financially or otherwise, as may be tendered by members and friends of the labor movement, it being understood that the title to the property shall always remain intact as the home of the American labor movement and under the arrangements that have been so ably laid out by the Executive Council. (pp. 327-444) In order to meet the cost of the building as soon as possible the per capita tax was increased to three-fourths of a cent.

(1916, p. 49) The cornerstone of the A. F. of L. Building was laid January 8, 1916, and the dedication ceremony held July 4. The President of the United States delivered the chief address and was followed by the Secretary of Labor and the President of the A. F. of L. Members of the Executive Council, the Vice President of the U. S., members of the Cabinet and Congress were present. The inscription on the cornerstone is:

American Federation of Labor
Founded 1881
This edifice erected for service
in the cause of
Labor—Justice—Freedom—Humanity
1915-1916

Of special interest and significance in the A. F. of L. office building is a panel sculptured in marble with oak mounting, presented by the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. The panel symbolizes the Triumph of Labor and is described by Secretary Bowerman, of the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, as follows: "The central figure is symbolic of the Triumph, and is standing upon an octopus with tentacles lopped and dying, slain by the noble aims and objects achieved by Labor. Behind this figure is a great procession without beginning or end. On one side are the earliest types of workers, husbandmen and tillers of the earth, and on the other the modern workers. Agriculture, mining, and various other trades are represented. In the background, ships, cranes, et cet. The work will be executed in marble and enclosed in a frame of English oak, with a gilt-bronze band of laurel surrounding. Size of the marble, 6 feet by 3 feet. Total over all size wood frame, 9 feet, 6 inches." The presentation and acceptance of this panel is another and a beautiful instance of the tie that binds together the working men and women of America with their fellow wage-earners of other lands. (p. 274) Full approval was given those charged with the responsibility of the work of construction and to the Executive Council for the very practicable and businesslike manner in which it had handled the many details in connection therewith.

(1917, pp. 57-433) It is extremely fortunate that the A. F. of L. has its own office building at the present time. Since war was declared Washington has become the center of national life and activity of every nature and as a consequence not only have rents increased but it is difficult to secure office accommodations of a suitable character so great are the imperative needs of the government, which, of course, has prior consideration in all cases. (p. 434) Refused to request all affiliated unions to donate 5 cents per member to liquidate the debt owed on the building.

(1918, pp. 47-279) Total cost of the lot and building, $189,317.68. Total amount borrowed, $189,240. Total amount of indebtedness on the building April 30, 1918, $122,500.

A. F. of L., Centralization of Power in—(1888, p. 20) Declared this principle: "In the labors of this convention let us avoid all centralization of power and confine our movements strictly to the well defined lines already so well known and so successfully maintained by the American Federation of Labor.

A. F. of L., Continuity of—(1889, p. 26) Declared continuity of the American Federation of Labor be recognized and dated from 1881 in all future documents issued.

A. F. of L. Could Not Interfere—(1901, p. 251) Two local unions affiliated with different internationals were having a dispute over jurisdiction. Convention deemed it unwise to interfere in the matter, as under the usual custom it should have been referred to the officers of the internationals affected by the dispute.

A. F. of L., Evolution of—(1914, pp 15-360) The labor movement, as such, is not a creature of impulse, nor has it attained its present position and standing by the operation of any process of magic or hocus-pocus. Firmly founded on demonstrated fundamentals, its growth has been slow, and therefore sound, and it is not likely at this time to be swept away from its foundations by the presentation of any plan, however attractive, that proposes to accomplish all that labor hopes for by revolutionary methods. Evolution is the law of nature, immutable and unchanging, operating with exactitude and inexorable certainty. All that ever was, or is, or ever shall be, is subject to the operation of this law; so, therefore, the American labor movement is subject to the operations of the law of evolution, and its progress is necessarily the result of the changes brought about by the application of those slow but certain mutations that make for permanent and lasting achievement.

A. F. of L. Exhibits—World's Fair at Chicago, 1893—(1889. p. 34) Indorsed appointment of President of American Federation of Labor on World's Fair Committee of New York by the mayor and in 1890 (p. 31) authorized executive council to secure World's Fair for Chicago. (p. 40) Favored keeping fair open Sunday, as it was the only day in which the workers could attend. The board of directors had promised if Congress permitted Sunday opening no employe would be allowed to work more than six days a week.

Paris Exposition, 1900—(1899. p. 9) Invitation to participate in an exhibition at the Paris Exposition of the economic and social progress made in the several countries had been accepted. (1900, p. 22) Presi-

dent reported the international jury of the exposition had awarded a grand prize of honor to the A. F. of L. for its exhibit.

World's Fair, St. Louis, 1903—(1903, p 23) Arranged for an exhaustive exhibit for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. (1904, pp. 33-171) Grand prize was awarded the A. F. of L.

Jamestown Exposition, 1907—(1905, p. 104) Notice that the Jamestown Fair management had decided to employ only union labor caused hearty support to the exposition being voted as long as "these mutually satisfactory conditions continue to exist." (1908, p. 105) A. F. of L. exhibit was of an economic and sociological character, as well as of the finest union label products. It aroused deepest interest and was an object lesson of the scope of our work and achievements. The authorities granted the gold medal and diploma.

Panama Canal Exposition (1912, p. 56) Arranged for an exhibit at the San Francisco Exposition. (1916, p. 113) A certificate of merit and excellence and a bronze medal were awarded the A. F. of L. for its exhibit, which has been installed in the A. F. of L. Building where it may be examined by any visitor.

A. F. of L., Honors—(1882, p. 16) Flag raised over the Cleveland City Hall in honor of the American Federation of Labor Convention being held in that building.

A. F. of L. Jurisdiction—(1906, p. 133) The question was asked some years ago why we call our trade unions international, and whether they take in European countries. We have answered no, not at any rate, for the present. The title "international" when applied to our trade unions, includes the North American continent, which, though politically not one and identical, yet commercially and practically is practically one. There is little hesitancy on the part of employers to move their establishments from one American country to another, while we hope that there will be at some day not too far distant that parliament of labor of the world and the establishment of the fraternity of man, still for the present we propose to have the parliament of labor of the North American continent. We are allied with each other the same as though we were in different cities or different states or provinces in either of the countries. It is not a United States labor movement, it is not a Porto Rican labor movement, it is not a Hawaiian labor movement, it is not a Canadian labor movement, it is the labor movement of the North American continent, and apart from any sentimentality, the practical necessity for the protection and the promotion of our material interests compels us to so conduct our movement.

A. F. of L. Library—(1916, p. 112) The completion of the American Federation of Labor Building makes it possible to plan for a library on an adequate scale in keeping with the importance of the organized labor movement. A library room has been provided on the fifth floor of the building. It is planned that the library shall contain all official documents and records issued by all labor organizations; copies of all labor papers and all official journals published by all organizations; the reports and publications of all departments of labor of our federal and state governments, as well as reports issued by foreign countries. It is our purpose to have files of the official publications of the labor movements of other countries. In order to establish a library upon a proper basis, a trained librarian is to be in charge. In addition to literature presenting the history, the progress and the ideals of the labor movement, we hope to have in connection with the library, a Labor Museum which shall be the repository for all documents and objects of historical importance to the cause of Labor. Old charters, circulars, scrap books, banners and emblems, have an interest and a value to students and historians. There is no more fitting place for their assemblage than the Labor Temple of the American labor movement. Labor poetry, labor songs, literature and artistic productions such as pictures, statuary, bas reliefs, prints, etc., interpreting some phase of labor, are of interest in considering the many sides of the labor movement. Now that we have come into possession of our new building, we have opportunity to gather together such a collection as would be representative. We urge upon all affiliated organizations, the workers, and all interested friends to assist in carrying out this purpose.

A. F. of L. Not a Financial Organization—(1909, p. 213) The American Federation of Labor is not now, never has been, and until its fundamental laws are changed will not be a financial organization; the financing of the labor movement of the country is in the treasuries and the laws of the unions affiliated to the A. F. of L., and to create a fund in the A. F. of L., changing its relationship to its affiliated bodies, by practically through that means making it the financiering method of the American labor movement, will stop care among the unions in trying to conserve funds for their self-preservation. In the event of any of the large unions, or even some of the smaller ones, getting into trouble, it would not be long before the fund would be exhausted. Then, if another organization should get into trouble six weeks later, there would be no funds to help it, and it would feel it was not being treated fairly. The idea is that, in so far as handling the funds for conflicts such as referred to is concerned, the matter should be left in the hands of the national and international unions, and when they need assistance the plan we already have of asking the others to assist can be followed.

A. F. of L., Opportunities of—(1887, p. 10) The opportunities of the American Federation of Labor are that it may become a grand and powerful organization, fulfilling its great mission to bring the working people into the various organizations of the trades, to assist in the amelioration of their conditions, to raise mankind to a higher level, aspiring to a nobler civilization. It is noticeable that a great reaction and a steady disintegration is going on in most all organizations of labor not formed on the basis that the experience of past failures teaches, namely, the benevolent as well as the protective features of the unions. There are times when the labor organizations are

in a position to take a decisive stand in defense of the toilers, and apart from any considerations of humanity, the fact that the benevolent features of organization keep the members within the union is all important to the permanency of the unions and the consequent protection in all times that organization affords.

A. F. of L., Power of—(1906, p. 63) During the past sixteen years marked changes have taken place in our organization. Then we were struggling to maintain our existence. Now the Federation is as strong as the everlasting hills. Then the advice and help of the Federation was sought for by but few of our unions. Now none of our International Unions make any great trade movements without the approval and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor. At that time the decisions of our Conventions were lightly considered by many labor men and many unions, and while the time has not yet arrived where all unions acquiesce in decisions rendered, yet during the sixteen years marked progress has been made in this direction, and the findings and policies as now declared by the Federation have a weight and influence in the affairs of America that hardly the most sanguine could have anticipated sixteen years ago. Sixteen years ago our income was twenty-four thousand for the year; now it is about three hundred thousand, with a corresponding increase in membership. The cigarmakers have secured for their members an average advance in wages of at least 20 per cent. If all our unions have done as well, who can estimate or even dream of the benefits that have accrued to the working people through the efforts of the trade union movement as embodied in the A. F. of L.. What has it brought in the way of better homes, better food, a less number of children of our members in the factory, mill, or shop? A wider, better, more enjoyable and comfortable life. Who will or can measure the work of the trade union, either in the world of industry in our social surroundings, or in moral growth? To have seen a part of this work and accomplishments should nerve us to still greater efforts in the future.

A. F. of L., Plot to Destroy—(1907, pp. 238-249) In a long statement corroborated by witnesses the President of the American Federation of Labor recounted his experince with a man who said he represented the National Association of Manufacturers, as follows: About a month ago, September 28, when I was leaving the Victoria Hotel, 27th Street and Broadway, 27th Street exit, New York, A man accosted me: "Hello, Mr. Gompers." I said, "Hello." We shook hands. He said: "You remember me; I was a newspaper man and met you on the platform at the immigration conference last year. My name is Brandenburg." I told him I was sure I had seen him somewhere but could not locate him, and was pleased to see him again. He said: "Mr. Gompers, I am now in the employ of the National Association of Manufacturers in their campaign against labor, and I am against you, but I have known you and known you favorably and like you, and I think you ought to get together with Mr. Van Cleave and come to a better understanding as to your contentions, and I am in a position to help." I answered that our position toward the National Association of Manufacturers was defensive; that I did not aim to attack the organization as such or Mr. Van Cleave as its president, but I was not going to permit him to make all sorts of attacks upon the labor movement without resenting them; that after all what our movement aimed to achieve was a better understanding with employers whether as individuals or associations, and, therefore I was favorable to a conciliatory policy. He said he thought an interview between Mr. Van Cleave and myself could be arranged some time. He said, however, that it would necessarily have to be between Mr. Van Cleave and myself alone. I said that we could discuss that matter some other time. About seven o'clock that same evening I returned to the hotel to get some baggage when the porter in charge of the coatroom handed me a note with the remark that the gentleman said he should hand it to me as soon as I got in and that he was waiting for me in his room. Opening the note I found it to be an unsigned request that he desired to see me upon a matter of importance and immediately in his room. I had already made other important engagements and consequently could not go to see him. On September 30 I received another unsigned note from Mr. Brandenburg from New York, in which he referred to the uncompleted conversation with me, that he was passing through Washington, and requested me to go to Edgefield, S. C., where he, Brandenburg, would go and expect my arrival within the next ten days, adding that there was nothing I could possibly do which "could have a more satisfactory result for all concerned." On the same day I wrote him a letter saying that I would not hesitate to go to Edgefield but my duties would not permit. I asked him whether it would not be possible for him to come here on his return trip to New York. On Monday, October 14, I received a telegram dated October 12, from Salisbury, N. C., from Mr. Brandenburg saying that he would arrive in Washington Sunday morning and leave on the Pennsylcania road, Pullman car Caliph. Inasmuch as the telegram reached me too late, I was unable to meet him. On Tuesday, October 15, I wrote him stating these facts. I also wrote him that I would be at the Victoria Hotel, New York, October 26, and that we might have an interview some time during that day or evening. He wrote me a note dated October 17, received October 19, expressing his regret that he missed me as "matters are most critical," urging me to see him "this Saturday" (October 19) instead of October 26. I replied to him that it was impossible as I had a number of conferences to attend in Chicago, that I would leave there on the 25th, reaching New York on the 26th. On arrival at the Victoria Hotel, October 26, I was handed a note from Mr. Brandenburg in which he said he had been to the hotel and left a note requesting me to call him up by telephone at his home, 71 Irving Place. telephone 1978 Grammercy. Together with Mr James Duncan and Mr. Wm. D. Huber, Vice-Presidents of the A. F. of L., I had an engagement to meet in conference with the representatives of the Structural Building Trades Alliance, Messrs. Kirby,

Hannahan and Spencer, on the morning of the 26th. In preliminary conference with Mr. Duncan and Mr. Huber I called their attention to all of the foregoing in detail and asked their advice before I proceeded farther. They urged me to have a conference with Mr. Brandenburg, expressing the judgment that Mr. Brandenburg intended to give a piece of important news regarding the operations of the National Association of Manufacturers. Adjourning for lunch, I determined to postpone telephoning to Mr. Brandenburg at the address he gave, until the conference which primarily brought my colleagues and myself to New York was concluded. Between that time, however, another note was left in the office of the Victoria Hotel for me saying that he, Brandenburg, would phone again at either 5, 6 or 7 o'clock. About 5:30, while the following gentlemen were in the room, Messrs. Duncan, Huber, Kirby, Spencer and Hannahan, the telephone in the room rang and Mr. Kirby, who went to the phone told me that a gentleman named Brandenburg desired to speak to me. I told Mr. Kirby that inasmuch as we were so busily engaged and I had said I did not want to be interrupted by the telephone he would better advise Mr. Brandenburg that I was expected to be free to talk in about half an hour. About half an hour later he did call me up over the phone and I spoke to him. We arranged for him to meet me at the hotel in the lobby at 6:30 that evening. His persistent repetition that he wanted to see me alone rather aroused my suspicions, so I at least made up my mind that others, if possible, should see him when he called and note his coming, his going and his manner. So I waited in the lobby of the hotel. With me were Mr. Duncan and Mr. Huber. The time passed for his arrival and I called him up by telephone. I was informed by a lady who said she was Mrs. Brandenburg that he was on his way and would be at the hotel to see me in a few minutes. I returned to the group of gentlemen I have named in the lobby with me, and stood with my back turned to the clerk's desk so that anybody who would come in to accost me would have to do so with my back turned toward him, and in full view of those with whom I was conversing. While in that position Mr. Brandenburg tapped me on the shoulder. We greeted each other and he excused himself for a few minutes because he said he wanted to telephone about a matter. He returned in about ten minutes and I introduced him to Mr. Duncan, Mr. Huber, and several others. When I introduced him to Mr. Duncan he turned to him and said: "Are you James Duncan?" Mr. Duncan answered in the affirmative. I excused myself to the gentlemen, and Mr. Brandenburg and I went to my room, Number 310. I asked him to take a seat. He said that he preferred to talk to me while he was walking the room, and asked me to be seated. He began to talk with the most pained expression upon his face. His features were drawn. I repeat as near as I can recollect his remarks and what few words I uttered during the interview. You will bear in mind that this was dictated two days after the transaction; it was not done today. I am sure, however, that a mere recital of it can convey but little of the full purport of his statement. However, it is as nearly accurate as my memory favors me. He said:

"The purpose of my coming to see you is of the utmost importance to us. I am in charge of a certain bureau of a department organized for the National Manufacturers' Association. The purpose of it is to expose the immorality and the dishonesty of the loaders in the labor movement and to make it public. We have gone into the records of every prominent man in the A. F. of L., and we have affidavits of a number of men, executive officers of national unions who implicate you and others, showing the immoral lives you and they have lived. All this is gathered and most of it is sworn statements. The time that you were ill at Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1895, the nature of your illness is known, and it was reported to us that you had, expecting to die, made a statement, being a sort of a confession. My object in coming to you is to say that I want to save you. I want you to make a statement, something that would appear as if you had written it at that time, which would in no way cast any blame upon yourself, but would show a spirit of broad kindness to others whom you desired to save, a sort of a 'Thanatopsis.'"

He handed me a paper that he had prepared. I read it twice, and realizing that he endeavored to impress upon my mind his knowledge of my supposed guilt, it was with the greatest mental concentration that I was able to contain myself. However, for the purpose of disarming any suspicion on his part that I resented his statement and for the purpose of having him go on further, I said, "Well, I no not pretend to have been an angel." I made this statement for its literal truth, he evidently accepting it as a part acquiescence in his insinuations. He then proceeded:

"As I say, I want to save you and while I do not want to express in specific financial terms what the National Association of Manufacturers is willing to do, yet I can guarantee that you will be financially safe for the balance of your life. All that you need to do is to give us the information which we want of the other men, and to give us the workings of the inner circle of your Council and the general labor movement. We do not want you to get out of the presidency of the Federation at the forthcoming convention, for the Manufacturers' Association does not like Duncan any more than they do you. They realize that if you were to get out now it would mean that he would be your successor; but in a month or two after your re-election at Norfolk, you can get out, and the publication of all of these matters in regard to the active men in the labor movement would destroy them, and they would have to get some nobody to be president, and then there would be little Federation left."

The fact that there was really no inner circle, and that I had no information of any immoral or dishonest act on the part of the labor men of the labor movement, had nothing to do with my frame of mind; but I take it that my state of feelings and frame of mind can be better imagined than I can attempt to describe it. At about this time Mr. Duncan, who was in the lobby of the hotel with the other gentlemen named, became impatient, and inasmuch as neither of

us had partaken of any food since early in the day, he called me up over the 'phone from the lobby to my room and asked me whether I was coming down because he and the other friends wanted to go to supper. I told him I would be down in five minutes. During these five minutes there was little said further than the desire I expressed that I might be permitted to keep the typewritten document so that I could look it over; that I wanted to think the matter over and perhaps it would be better to have another interview. This was arranged to take place at 10:30 Sunday morning, October 27, in my room at the Victoria Hotel. When I met Mr. Duncan and Mr. Huber and one or two others in the lobby of the hotel, they expressed their surprise of how near I appeared to a nervous collapse. I took out the typewritten document which Brandenburg had given me and without showing its face to him, I asked Mr. Duncan to put his initials on it with the date as a means of identification. He did so. I handed him my key and asked him to go at once to my room and gather up all of the papers that were on the dressing case and take them to his room. I was apprehensive. Mr. Duncan did so. We then went to a nearby restaurant where they had dinner, but I could not eat with them. We took a walk up Broadway and returned to the hotel, when Mr. Duncan and Mr. Huber returned with me to my room so that I could recount to them what had transpired at the interview. The drawer of the table in my room was open. Mr. Duncan with an exclamation, said: "Sam, somebody has been in your room since I took those papers away. I went through that drawer thinking there might be some papers you had forgotten in there, but I closed it. Of that I am positive." It was then agreed that I should pursue the same course in the next interview with Brandenburg, and to endeavor to find out the absolute accuracy as to whether he was authorized to act by Mr. Van Cleave, of the National Association of Manufacturers. The following morning, Mr. Huber asked one of the chambermaids doing duty in the hotel whether anybody had been into the room after we left. She answered in the affirmative, saying that the man in the brown suit of clothes and wearing glasses had been in my room. On the following morning, Sunday, October 27, Mr. Brandenburg met me in the lobby of the hotel. We went to my room. The promise of immunity from exposure and a guarantee of my financial future were repeated. Mr. Brandenburg stated that if I did not care to comply and sign the typewritten document he had prepared, that I might write something on a sheet of paper which would show age as having been written by me some twelve years ago in Little Rock that would be practically a nothing, that he was sent to Little Rock to obtain a paper which was supposed to be in existence, but that in his investigation he found simply a memorandum in the papers of a lawyer who had since died which were meaningless and having no connection with me; that this was of no use, and that he wanted this statement purporting to have been written by me at the time which he could show to Mr. Van Cleave and others, that there was no foundation for the statement, and that this was in line of his policy to safeguard me. I evaded the subject for a time with the statement that I realized the importance of the matter he had presented to me, but that I did not feel like giving a a definite answer there and then; that after all, I had only a passing acquaintance with him, Brandenburg, and that while I had no doubt that he had authority to act, yet I would want to have more direct assurance. He answered: "Do you mean that you want to see Mr. Van Cleave personally and get the assurance from him?" I answered that I thought that was about the only way that I would feel warranted to act. He answered that Mr. Van Cleave might suspect that this was a trap. For the purpose of allaying that suspicion, I answered: "So might I regard your proposition to me." He said: "You know that I want to help you. The opposition is against you particularly and against all others active in the labor movement, but I am desirous of saving you and having your service for us." I quietly but firmly insisted upon an interview with Mr. Van Cleave as the only thing upon which I might give the matter further consideration. That I did not protest against his insinuations and propositions, he seemed to have accepted as my acquiesecence and which evidently allayed his suspicions. He said he thought Mr. Van Cleave was in New York City; that it was Sunday and it was difficult to get into communication with men who could let him know where to locate him, Mr. Van Cleave, but that he would advise me later; that if I could stay over in New York until Monday such an interview might be brought about, but he would let me know later in the day. We then parted. I immediately repeated the conversation with Mr. Brandenburg to Mr. Duncan and Mr. Huber. About two hours later Mr. Brandenburg called upon me at the hotel, and because there were others, Mr. Duncan and Mr. Huber, in another room, adjacent to mine, he asked me over the 'phone from the lobby in the hotel to my room that I meet him in Room 318, on the same floor with my room. I was apprehensive for a moment, but concluded to go. However, I told Messrs. Duncan and Huber that I was going to that room. I went to Room 318 and found Mr. Brandenburg there, and he told me that it was difficult to get the men over the phone, but that there were editors of some newspapers and magazines in New York, the New York Times, the New York Sun, McClure's and Everybody's and presidents of banks whose names he gave, but which I can not now recall, whom I could meet on the following day. I declined any and all of them unless I could meet Mr. Van Cleace himself, to verify his (Brandenburg's) statement, I should not consider the matter further. He said: "Well, I will arrange that Mr. Van Cleave will meet you in Washington." In his effort to convince me that he was an authorized agent and representative of the National Association of Manufacturers he showed me vouchers and warrants and receipts for money paid to him as its agent. The warrants and vouchers and receipts were in printed forms of the Century Syndicate, No. 1 W. 34th Street, New York City, also printed thereon that it was a bureau or department of the National Association of

Manufacturers. Mr. Brandenburg was very insistent that I should let him have a written statement, as I have already stated. He said that unless he had it by the following day, Monday, it would be of no use to him. I told him that I could not then make him a promise to do so, but if I made up my mind to do so I would call him up over the phone at his home, 71 Irving Place, telephone 1978 Grammercy, and tell him. I did not call him up; I did not write it. I immediately went to my room and there related to Mr. Duncan and Mr. Huber every detail of the statements made in the conference with Mr. Brandenburg. Suspecting that Brandenburg might have given me a false address, one of our friends to whom I told the results of the interview of Brandenburg with me suggested that when he (Brandenburg) left the hotel he ought to be watched as to where he went. I asked two friends, George Murray and Thomas Guerin, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who were calling upon Mr. Huber, President of that organization, to follow Brandenburg wherever he might go. Mr. Guerin is a delegate to this Convention. They did so. He pursued a zigzag course and was seen to enter 71 Irving Place. I had an investigation made and found that Brandenburg did not register for election as having lived at 71 Irving Place. The publication of the scurrilous and malicious attack in the National Association of Manufacturers' organ, the American Industries, followed a few days later, and it made it quite clearly apparent to me that the purpose Brandenburg had to secure from me some written statement was for its publication as a sort of recantation or confession in connection therewith. It is quite evident that it was for that reason that he stated that unless he had that letter from me by Monday morning it would be of no use to him. The paper Brandenburg asked me to sign has never left my possession. It is as follows:

"So by devious ways I have come in view of the end of the period. Not far away is the final cessation of something mortal, that I know, but that mystery of the suspension of other things immortal must yet be made clear. Soon I shall stand where I shall see with unblinded eyes, and to that point must come every one no matter by what path, and the realization of that fact palliates the bitterness with which I could contemplate my own course were it not true. For I have struggled with the humblest on a plane of equality, and I have walked and talked with the mighty ones of the earth and have lent them my power. The poor cigarmaker's apprentice has lived to become the master of a million minds, and lived a little longer to be what he is today, not even a master of himself. There is nothing of the whine in this. Emptied, broken as I am, I have nothing to ask. Nothing I might achieve would matter in a little while, and this what I write is after all nothing more than my retrospective thoughts expressed through the accustomed medium of my pen. Wisdom is cumulative and out of my abundance I might endow posterity. Vengeance by the law of compensation overreaches the grave, and I might undo more men a score of times than will regret my passing. Justice is exquisitely elusive and I might with a truth here and there palliate many a grave miscarriage. But why? Why should I, having driven on to my own aims leave my now disabled chariot to retrace the hippodrome? Each man in his way, be it great or small, exists in an attitude toward the world at large, in a second attitude toward his immediate associates, and in a third and almost invariably different, very different, attitude before his own inner consciousness. Stripped of the sophistry that served as a mental lubricant when in activity, I stand at halt contemplating my own ego. I see lust of power that has triumphed again and again."

And there it abruptly stopped. You will observe on the margin of the original typewritten document Brandenburg wanted me to sign, the initials of James Duncan and the date, each written by his own hand, and which I asked him to do immediately after the interview at which Mr. Brandenburg asked me to sign the paper when completed. I have these documents here for the inspection of any delegate who wishes to see them. I have, and herewith submit to you for your examination, the notes, letters, card, scrap of paper which Brandenburg wrote or sent me, with the registered mark of the Victoria Hotel, showing the time of their receipt there; also the letters and the envelope sent by mail with the postoffice mark giving hour and date; also the telegram sent me by Brandenburg. There is in my possession further information of the ramifications and machinations of the National Association of Manufacturers, their detective agencies, their auxiliary companies, and the reptile hirelings who are employed to assassinate the character of the men of labor and thereby hope to weaken or destroy the labor movement of our country. All that I now desire to add is that there is not a scintilla of truth in anything published or which can be published by the National Association of Manufacturers or their hirelings which in any way can reflect upon the integrity, the morality or the honesty of myself, and I have an abiling faith they can not do so of any one member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. I defy our enemies to do their worst.

At the conclusion of the statement the entire Convention arose and applauded President Gompers. A handsome basket of roses and chrysanthemums was then presented to President Gompers on behalf of the delegation from the United Hatters of North America.

Vice-President Duncan—I want to remind President Gompers of one thing he has omitted to recount. This mysterious man, in addition to his information about the purpose of collecting alleged data about the characters of the men connected with the labor movement, added that if it could not be found he proposed to manufacture it. I say this because of its importance, and because in their papers they will continue to publish stuff purporting to be a record of the private lives of the men. This statement is important, because it was given to President Gompers with considerable emphasis.

President Gompers—It is true that statement was made. There is not a word in the statement I have made this afternoon that is not a conservative statement of the facts.

It was made conservative in order that I might be absolutely within the truth. Realizing the importance of making the statement, I had a consultation with Vice-Presidents Duncan and Huber, and they asked me to write it down as soon as possible after I returned to Washington. In spite of that this very important statement was overlooked. Mr. Brandenburg said: "They are determined to destroy the men at the head of the labor movement, and particularly yourself, unless we can get you. We have men who have made affidavits, men you have trusted in the labor movement, who have been national officers and who have had your confidence. If the information we have or can find is insufficient, we have got the bureau that can and will manufacture it." I could stand before you another hour and tell of these things. I could tell you of men whose names have been given who are in the employ of the labor organizations as business agents and officers who are also in the pay of the Farleys, the Farrells, and this Century Syndicate, all of them either agents of the National Manufacturers' Association, or auxiliaries and companies formed by it for the purpose of destroying the men in the labor movement. In all the history of the labor movement in any country on the face of the globe, in all the world, I do not believe that any coterie of the worst representatives of the capitalistic class have been so cruel, so brutal, so malignant and conscienceless as these Van Cleve hirelings have shown themselves to be.

Delegate Berger—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: For some years past it has been my lot to come here and vote against the unanimous election of President Gompers. This year I promise to move to make his election unanimous. (Applause.) I move a vote of confidence in President Gompers and the entire Executive Council. I move that everybody stand up. The motion was seconded and carried by a unanimous rising vote, accompanied by three cheers for President Gompers. (p. 267) These resolutions were adopted unanimously:

RESOLVED, By the 27th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the delegates herein assembled express their fullest confidence in the integrity, honesty and unfaltering courage of President Gompers. We herein give our unqualified endorsement to everything he has done and said, by pen, word and effort in advancing the cause of labor, by combating this un-American organization of manufacturers for which Mr. Van Cleave presumes to speak. Be it further

RESOLVED, That the course of the National Association of Manufacturers, under the administration of President Van Cleave, makes our duty clear. We have no quarrel with any organization of employers whose aim and purpose is to promote the industries of our country, and who seek amicable relations with labor. With such we are pleased to co-operate, but with the aforesaid Association, whose enmity is so apparent, we accept any challenge they may send. We will continue to organize and educate the American wage earners, fully protecting their rights and securing for them economic conditions, long denied by the type of manufacturers and employers represented by Mr. Van Cleave.

A. F. of L. Power Over Unions—(1913, p. 290) Convention refused to endorse plan for Executive Council to take full charge of national and international unions, when threatened with secessions. Decided no one could take charge of a union who is not a member of it and without its consent.

A. F. of L. Solidarity—(1906, pp. 11-176) The growth of this Federation is not merely numerical. It has an inheritance of good deeds done, a present of active ability, a future of potential possibilities. What we will we can. To transform inertia into determination, ignorance into intelligence, disunion into a cohesive associated effort, is the legitimate and practical propaganda of this Federation, and it has most assuredly justified its mission. The wage-earners of America are better educated economically, broader-minded fraternally, and more independent in the exercise of their powers as citizens because of the existence of the Federation and its affiliated national, state, central and local bodies. The federative principle is a powerful force in promoting the solidarity of labor. Back of all organization is the individual with his personal bias, prejudice and temperament. In our annual conventions the labor representatives of the continent get knowledge of each other's ideas and personalities. The curse of labor has been the division and misunderstanding existing among men of different races and creeds, in removing this misunderstanding what other influence has accomplished so much as the association of men carrying the union card? We desire to emphasize the value of our central bodies. They do for each locality an even greater work in this direction than a national body can accomplish.

A. F. of L. Suppresses Nothing—(1910, p. 350) Every report, resolution, recommendation or suggestion coming before the convention received the earnest consideration of the delegates. There are many gatherings of men and women in which things that are thought inconvenient or unacceptable are suppressed by reference to a committee, where they are killed and buried. The American Federation of Labor has this record, that, no matter what opinion may be held by a delegate, if he expresses it in the form of a resolution it is given consideration by the convention. We realize the thought and the principle that that country is best, that organization is best where the greatest freedom obtains and where the rights of the minority are guaranteed. It must be a source of great gratification to all to know that after two weeks' sessions, to which the delegates have given assiduous and earnest attention, we are prepared to close this convention without one thought suppressed or without one suggestion which has not been given due consideration.

A. F. of L. Threatened—(1901, p. 256) The convention gave this answer to a threat by delegates from an international union to withdraw from the American Federation of Labor if certain things were not done: We deplore the fact that an affiliated national body in submitting a grievance should depart from the principles of trades unionism and

violate the spirit in which the organized wage-earner desires that all disputes, whether between employers and employes or between the wage-earners themselves, should be taken up. This grievance has been presented for our consideration coupled with a threat and we believe that we would be careless of our duty should we allow such a matter to be introduced, believing that at all times we should stand firmly by the spirit of conciliation and arbitration.

"Agreement Day"—1907, p. 333) Resolutions favoring local unions in various cities and centers of industry arranging a specific day for all wage agreements to expire and new ones made were defeated, the convention fearing that even an indorsement of the plan might bring about a conflict and unnecessary troubles for organizations having joint agreements. Since then unions for their own reasons have contended for an agreement day that will benefit their particular needs. May 1 has gradually disappeared as a day for the expiration of agreements and in recent years there are no great May Day disputes. (1913, p. 317) Convention endorsed policy of having local agreements in allied industries terminate upon the same date, enabling all unions employed in an industry to act upon their wage scales and other terms of employment at the same time. Resolution to same effect defeated in 1915 (p. 308), the convention giving this reason: "Many trades find certain periods of the year more favorable for making agreements with employers."

Agreements, Trade—(1907, p. 204) We condemn as unwise and injurious to the wage workers the agitation that has recently been inaugurated against the trade agreement. As long as the condition of employer and employe exists there will necessarily have to be agreements actual or implied. They may be either written or oral, for a specific period or terminable at will; they may be entered into individually or collectively, but the moment any person accepts employment that moment a contract begins. The interests of the worker as well as the basic philosophy of the trade union movement require that wherever possible contracts for wages and conditions of employment should be made collectively. While it is not the province of this committee or of the American Federation of Labor to direct the various trade unions in the manner or form of their contracts we desire to point out the fact that as employers of labor can not in the very nature of things guarantee continuous employment to all of our members neither can we, nor should we in our wage contracts, guarantee to them that we will furnish them all the workers they desire.

Alaskan Railways—(1914, p. 364) Report made that bill urged by Seattle convention for railways in Alaska had become a law and contained these labor regulations: Eight-hour day for underground workers, complete freedom of purchase, payment of wages at least twice monthly, proper rules to secure just weight of coal mined and such other regulations as are necessary for the protection of the United States against monopoly and for safeguarding the public welfare.

Alcohol, Farm Denatured—(1914, p. 330.) Endorsed bill for an industrial alcoholic commission and an appropriation by congress to demonstrate the practicability of farm denatured alcohol distilling. (1906, p. 28) Law enacted with provision denaturing should be done in distilleries specified by internal revenue officers.

Amalgamation of Unions—(1912, p. 102) Resolutions providing for an amendment to the constitution giving national and international unions the right to amalgamate after indorsement of both memberships by two-thirds votes caused a protest. Convention expressed surprise that any trade unionist could be found who did not know the A. F. of L. was continuously working for the complete organization of the workers.

American Federationist—As early as 1885 (p. 14) the American Federation of Labor decided it was necessary to have an official journal although the financial arrangements at that time would be difficult. In 1887 (p. 22) the constitution was amended providing that the president should print a "small monthly circular." In 1888 (p. 34) the president was instructed to secure estimates for a four-page monthly circular, pamphlet size, to submit to the Executive Council for consideration. The convention in 1889 (p. 33) rejected a plan to resume publication of the "Union Advocate." In 1893 (p. 39) the president of the A. F. of L., with the advice of the Executive Council, was authorized to issue a monthly magazine for the discussion of labor and its interests in all phases. This action resulted in the launching of the American Federationist (1894, p. 16), an open forum for all schools of economic thought, reserving the editorial utterances to a strict advocacy of such principles and policies on which trade unionists are agreed.

(1896, p. 24) In its editorial department the editor ever kept in view the purposes for which the magazine was authorized, viz., to further the interests of the workers; to advocate and defend the trade-union movement; to instill hope and courage into the workers, that they have it in their hands, in their power to bring about whatever change in our economic, social, and political life whenever they are so determined to register their will. If our fellow-unionists who are organized will but perform their duty in the premises, there is no reason why the American Federationist should not become the leading magazine on the economics and be the foremost literary publication of the American wage-workers.

(1899, p. 17) It is noted with some degree of pride that no statement appearing in the columns of the American Federationist ever has been successfully refuted. It is regarded by the workers and students of our movement, and of economic and social progress, as a safe adviser and practical exponent of trade unionism, the cause of labor; and by our organizers, both general and district, it has been commended for the valuable assistance it has rendered them in their work. (p. 149) Executive Council instructed to enlarge and extend circulation of the American Federationist, as its value is appreciated.

(1900, p. 30) The American Federationist is an earnest, faithful advocate of union

labor; a defender of the rights of the workers; a fearless critic of shams and pretenders; the champion of all that is true, right and just; and with all to chronicle the facts connected with the splendid, even though sometimes rough, struggle for right. The detailed reports of the officers and organizers, both of the active men in their trades and in their localities, have been published regularly, and in great detail, thus presenting a true reflex, obtained from the most direct and authentic sources, of the activity and progress of our movement and of our cause. A monthly chart of unemployment and fac similes of union labels, are among the many features of the magazine.

(1901, p. 188) Enthusiastic approval given of the conduct of the American Federationist, which had become a power of assistance in organizing and keeping posted the great army of labor.

(1903, p. 24) The American Federationist, our official monthly magazine, is unquestionably now the standard publication in the economic world, and is so regarded by trade unionists and students, not only of our own country, but the world over. In correspondence with statistical and other movements of labor of the federal, state, and foreign governments it is accepted as the best and most accurate reflex of the American labor movement. College professors, students, and those called upon to debate the various and complex questions of trade union growth, principles, and philosophy, and those in our own ranks advocating upon the public platform the cause for which we stand, accept it as their text-book, guide, and teacher. Its columns are quoted and referred to in every standard work upon the labor problem, and, withal, it is an educator to the unorganized. Its articles, reports, and editorials are republished in the newspapers and magazines. It sets forth the thesis of labor; it is the educator of the unorganized, and it commands the respect even of our opponents.

(1904, pp. 33-148-171) Each issue if possible had been an improvement of its predecessor. It always endeavored to put labor's best foot forward; to defend labor against wrong and persistently advocate its rights; to tear the mask of hypocrisy from our opponents, and to encourage our fellow workmen to a more intelligent understanding of their duties, a higher and better conception of their rights, and the means by which they can be achieved. There is not a word uttered through its columns or upon the platform that we would retract except to say it with greater emphasis.

(1907, pp. 47-293) Adopted this method of gradually increasing the circulation of the Americal Federationist: 1. That the national and international organizations affiliated be requested to advise their locals and other subdivisions that each one should send at least one subscription to the American Federationist in order that the organization may keep itself informed as to the general labor movement. 2. That all paid organizers representing the A. F. of L. be instructed to make it part of their duty to mention the American Federationist at every meeting they attend and forward its interests to the best of their ability. 3. That circulars should be sent out at intervals to as many affiliated organizations as possible, extolling the virtues of the American Federationist, thereby stimulating and maintaining interest in the most important of all labor publications. 4. That the proper officers of the A F. of L. be empowered to take such action as may seem best to them to advance the interests and increase the circulation of the American Federationist.

(1905, p. 37) Educationally, the American Federationist has been of vast value. The editorials and contributed matter are generally republished by the labor press and, to a considerable extent, by the general press here and elsewhere. It is on file and in the archives in nearly every library, university, and college of America. The editor never has failed to prick the baubles and bubbles or fads and fancies of spectacular theorists who, under the pretense of friendship, undertake to do our movement its greatest injury. And as for our open antagonists of the capitalist class and their spokesmen he has allowed no opportunity to pass to show how utterly out of harmony are they with the progress and success of economic civilized life.

(1908, p. 37) The American Federationist performs a service which will be more and more appreciated as the present events of our movement pass into history. It is the official, full and accurate record not only of all that is done by the Federation, but a true reflection of the sentiments and hopes and aims of the toilers and their sympathizers. Through the American Federationist we have been able to secure far better reports from the daily press than would otherwise have been possible. By giving the copies of our printed circulars and the editorials to the press, they are obliged to quote accurately or not at all. In the past year the editorials of the American Federationist have been quoted more widely than those of any other magazine in existence.

(1909, p. 42) In our struggle for the maintenance of free press and free speech the files of the American Federationist will afford inspiration to the historian and information to the student as to the temperate, yet insistent, manner in which we have struggled for the preservation of constitutional rights, not only for the workers, but for all the people for all time. The work which the American Federationist has already performed will become more and more important as time goes by—there is much yet to do. There may be some wrong to be combatted, some injustice to be righted, some improvement to be secured, some advantage to be gained for the toilers. There will always exist the necessity for a free forum, having the confidence and esteem of the workers, through which shall be stated the accurate attitude and record of the doings of our organized labor movement; to voice the timely protest, a voice that shall ring clear and true. It is our aim to have the American Federationist truly express and reflect the sentiments, hopes, and aims of the toilers for the welfare of all.

(1910, p. 52) The issuance of the American Federationist was not originally directed for any financial returns it might yield. The authorization for its publication by the Convention of 1893 was "for the discussion of labor and its interests in all its phases," and in the seventeen years of its regular monthly issues it has been the

single aim to make it ring true to the cause, the rights and interests of the toiling masses of America. And through it all the American Federationist as an advocate and defender of our great cause—the cause of humanity—has been of insignificant financial cost to our fellow-workers or our Federation itself.

(1911, p. 79) It was never expected that the publication of an organ for our national movement would result in declaring dividends. Its purpose is educational. That is, it has been, and is intended to be, the medium by which the earnest and serious reader may be educated in the principles of trade unionism, and may obtain the views of prominent trade unionists and of qualified writers regarding the events of the day. (p. 275) The American Federationist has remained in the forefront in the clearness with which it has presented the historical facts connected with our movement, its present day activities and our hopes of future achievement.

(1912, p. 157) Executive Council authorized to consider the subject of consolidating the Weekly News Letter with the American Federationist, and to issue it weekly with such general instructions as are contained in the resolutions of the conventions of 1893 and of 1910 and having in mind the constitutional provision regarding the publication of the A. F. of L.'s financial transactions, and that if the Executive Council shall deem such consolidation and change expedient and advantageous, it shall have the authority to carry the same into effect.

(p. 267) We approve of the American Federationist being used as an open forum by all writers upon the problems that affect our interests, and urge that every subordinate body subscribe for at least one copy each month to be kept on file for information and reference, and that we also commend it to all our members and all others interested in labor's problems as the most reliable publication in our land conveying labor's position, not only on all important questions of general import, but also on all local matters of more than ordinary importance.

(1913, p. 268) As detached locals and federal labor unions have no official organ keeping them in touch with the general labor movement, practically all of their executive and educational work must be done and paid for by the A. F. of L. itself; that it is necessary that this should be done in order to assist in their education and development, thereby making the membership of these organizations more efficient and possibly lightening the labors of the parent organization itself with them. The cost for the Federationist should be fixed at 5 cents per month, with the understanding that if this does not pay the cost of furnishing our official organ to these members, the price can be changed at the next convention, bringing it up to the required amount.

(1914, pp. 162-347) No medium of publicity or literary agency in America has been a greater power for justice for the oppressed and for fair opportunity for all than has the official monthly magazine of the A. F. of L., the American Federationist. Founded by the authority of the Chicago Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1893, the magazine has constantly grown in power and influence, not only among the working people themselves but among students, publicists, lawmakers, administrators, and interpreters. Contributed articles and editorial expressions in the American Federationist have driven home with convincing logic and irresistible power the fundamentals of justice, right, and humanity; the laborers' side of labor, social and political problems; higher concepts of rights, duties and obligations; the relations of workers to employers and to society; the defense of the weak against the rapacity of the strong; protest against wrongs too long endured and demands for rights too long denied. This official journal has been an invaluable agency in the long fight for real industrial freedom that the workers have waged for nearly a quarter of a century. At first the ordinary publications were closed to our cause. There was no way to get a hearing before those who must be convinced before remedial legislation could be secured. There was no way to present the cause of justice for human beings who had not the means to buy publicity in publications conducted for profit. In that fight the American Federationist has led, ably supported and aided by the labor press. A great change has been worked in public opinion throughout the land among the people of all callings. It was necessary to convince all that constructive results for justice might be secured. The rights attaching to property have long found a hearing and advocates before all tribunals. The rights of human beings had to secure their hearing and their advocates. It was necessary to convince those who held power in their hands that the rights of human beings are of infinitely greater importance than rights attaching to property. This cause had to be presented in a way that would appeal to and convince those who mold public opinion and policies and as well as those who by the ballot ultimately decide public issues. It has been necessary for those who undertook the advocacy of these principles to incur full responsibility wherever that might lead. Freedom for the workers has involved freedom of speech and press. Efforts to maintain these rights unrestricted have necessitated that those responsible for the publication of this official magazine challenge judicial usurpation of authority at the risk of personal liberty. By this concrete immediate instance of denial of rights to workers the American Federationist effectively forced home the urgent need of legislative relief to secure relief from the abuse of injunctive process. The American Federationist has successfully done this. It has aroused and crystallized the judgment of the people of our country which found its expression in the enactment by Congress of the labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act and in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the constitutionality of the Missouri trust law. That decision laid down the principle at least so far as that state is concerned, that there is a distinct line of demarcation between the control of the products of labor and the control of human beings over their own labor power. A study of the columns of the American Federationist readily discloses the persistent discussion and insistent demand for the

writing into law of that principle embodied in the Clayton Antitrust Act, that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. In the movement for the more thorough organization of unorganized fellow-workers the American Federationist not only has furnished the argument and the philosophy of organizing material in advocating the principle of organized effort, unity, federation, and solidarity, but has been a splendid practical aid. It has stimulated thought and found response in the hearts and minds of all, and helped the struggling labor press to a better understanding of the underlying principles, as well as the hope and the aspirations of the organized labor movement. It has furthered and interpreted the interests of the workers in all lines of endeavor. In addition, in the columns of the American Federationist have been published the financial reports of the A. F. of L.—the income received from all sources and expenditures for all purposes, thus challenging the criticism of our opponents and receiving and deserving the commendation and confidence of our fellow-workers. It publishes the reports of the organizers, salaried and volunteer, giving the record of the work done in each locality, and giving advice and encouragement to the toilers the continent over. These reports are the first-hand sources of labor history. They reflect in palpable form efforts to promote human welfare. They show the movement in the making and contain the only general survey of the labor movement in America published anywhere. The American Federationist prints contributed articles and reports from officers in the labor movement of this and other countries. While maintaining in its columns an open forum, no expression of opinion by any one adverse to the rights and interests of Labor has been published but which has been accompanied by prompt and effective refutation. The American Federationist has been sent to the membership of directly affiliated local unions and has kept the workers better advised of the work, aims, and purposes of our movement, thereby creating a closer bond of unity and sympathy. This project of supplying the membership of directly affiliated local unions with copies of each issue of the American Federationist is not financially a profitable one, nor indeed is the American Federationist in itself a business concern conducted with regard to profit or loss, but our magazine is regarded and used as an authoritative means of recounting the history of the methods and achievements of the labor movement, voicing the fears and hopes as well as the wrongs and the rights of the toilers, and declaring for the highest ideals and aspirations for a higher and better life. These advantages are of far greater value than can be computed in mere money terms. The American Federationist has performed a great educational service. It has supplemented this information with carefully prepared interpretations and detailed information—in other words, the magazine is the official organ which deals with the policies and the philosophy of the trade union movement. It is the publication to which officers, union members, workers and students, turn for data and interpretations as a reference source to help them in their work, their writings, their speeches, their study. All fellow-unionists should avail themselves of the splendid opportunities afforded for mental expansion and clearer vision of the length and breadth and width and depth of our movement by voluntarily subscribing for the American Federationist.

(1915, p. 151) The American Federationist has been a tribune that has stood for human rights and human freedom, and has insisted that every other consideration must be subordinated to these. The influence of the magazine upon the labor press, as well as the general press of the country, is strong and helpful in all things, true to trade unionism. It is an influence that can not be bought, can not be diverted, and can not be silenced or ignored.

(1917, p. 133) The labor papers form a chain of live agencies by which the problems, the activities and the ideals of the workers of one locality are communicated to fellow-workers everywhere and the ties of brotherhood and co operation strengthened. Local labor papers have been effectively united into a system for labor publicity through the press service which the A. F. of L. has furnished in its official publications—the American Federationist and Weekly News Letter. These two publications supplement each other in furnishing aid to labor papers; the American Federationist through editorials and articles interprets Labor's relations to vital problems and important movements and speaks for Labor; the Weekly News Letter furnishes to the labor press a resume of happenings of general interest to the movement of this and other countries. The American Federationist presents to the workers the best considered judgments of representatives of the organized labor movement, to assist them in working out their own problems.

American Federation of Railroad Workers—(1915, p. 177) Because of lack of support the American Federation of Railroad Workers went out of existence. Recently it attempted to create a source of revenue by masquerading under a new title and seeking to deceive the unwary into the belief it is associated with bona fide unions.

American Railway Union Strike—(1894, pp. 10-28) A stampede strike of employes of the Pullman carshops in Pullman, Ill., followed the discharge of three members of a committee which had presented certain just grievances to the superintendent. Many of the strikers were members of the American Railway Union. The latter offered the company arbitration, but this was rejected. The A. R. U. convention held later declared a boycott on Pullman cars and notified the Railway Managers' Association its members would not work on trains in which such cars were hauled. The managers refused to eliminate the Pullman cars. The strike followed. The strikers called upon all labor to strike in sympathy, and the president of the A. F. of L. was called upon to attend a meeting in Chicago to consider a general strike. He reported to the convention:

"It seemed to go there either as an individual or as president of the A. F. of L. would be most unwise and impracticable, inasmuch as I could not take any tangible action. As the Executive Council was about

to meet, I suggested the session be held in Chicago. A number of national and international officers were invited to meet the Executive Council in an advisory capacity. The president of the A. R. U. was invited to address the council to present what he in his judgment believed it should do under the circumstances. He depicted the conditions which caused the strike and boycott and submitted a proposition which he asked your president to lay before the Railway Managers' Association. It is but proper to say that when the president of the A. R. U. made this proposition every member of the Executive Council and every member of the conference accepted it as a declaration on his part that the strike had failed, since it contained the provision for the strikers to 'return to work unconditionally.' After further conferences the Executive Council and conference issued a statement declaring it would be unwise to extend the strike any further, and requested our fellow unionists of other trades to return to work." The convention unanimously indorsed the report of the president and Executive Council, declaring:

"We are of the unanimous opinion that the course pursued by President Gompers and the Executive Council, in the strike of the American Railway Union, was the right and proper course for them to follow, notwithstanding that their sympathies must have run counter to their judgment in this unfortunate occurrence; and we also emphatically indorse the condemnation expressed by our president of the action of President Cleveland in the use of force through the federal troops on behalf of monopoly and injustice and against the working people and right upon that occasion." (p. 48) Condemned blacklisting of men who sturck to secure justice to Pullman employes, whose sole offense was a noble and commendable sympathy for their fellowmen in distress, and urgently requested the federal judiciary in control of certain railroads and their receivers to make a thorough investigation of the facts and right the great wrong. (p. 52) Sincere sympathy was extended to president of A. R. U. and all members incarcerated in the Cook County (Illinois) jail on contempt of court charges, and moral and financial support was pledged in the struggle to right wrongs committed in the name of the law.

(1894, pp. 13-28) Approved donation of $500 to the defense of the president of the A. R. U.

Anarchists, Pardon of—(1893, p. 32) We endorse the action of the governor of Illinois in pardoning the so-called anarchists of Chicago and accept the reasons he assigns as in line with the true facts of the case.

Anderson, Judge—(1915, p. 278) Of all the judges on the Federal bench whose point of view and whose conduct have been hostile to the contentions of the working people of our country, Judge Anderson stood out among the most conspicuous. When the Clayton bill was passed by Congress, signed by the President and became law, the first presentation of the claims contained in the Clayton bill were at that time characterized by Judge Anderson as "buncombe."

Anti-Boycott Association. — American — (1911, p. 362) This telegram from the secretary of the New York District Council of Carpenters was read: "Today in the Supreme Court of this state, application was made by the joint district council of Carpenters for an injunction enjoining and restraining the American Anti-boycott Association from practicing law and instituting baseless and vexatious litigation against the Carpenters in violation of Section 280 of the Penal Law of the State of New York. In substance it was alleged on this application which was adjourned at the request of the defendants that it is an organized voluntary association composed of corporations, manufacturers and attorneys engaged in the practice of law designed to destroy, if possible, workingmen's unions, and for that purpose has regularly employed counsel with officers, sending out circulars soliciting subscriptions and assessments from the corporations and firms who become members of the Association, advertises in the newspapers, whenever successful, the result of its attacks upon organized labor and so on; all of which it is alleged constitutes a crime under the laws of this state. When this motion was made for an injunction against this association there gathered in court from all the hidden recesses and subterranean passages all the head devils opposed to organized labor throughout the country, and a number of lesser moles who had heretofore hidden themselves in the secret recesses of the American Anti-boycott Association anxiously wondering whether the vast fees and associations which have heretofore been pouring into their pockets were suddenly about to be cut off and whether they must again go back to the ordinary toils of practicing attorneys. You thus see that we are with you in the fight against this American Anti-boycott Association and to the finish."

Anti-Shoddy—(1890 p. 40) Urged federal law making misrepresentation of any article put on the market a criminal offense, such as selling goods as all wool that are not, hand made when they are not and placing foreign stamps on domestic articles.

Apprentice Laws—(1881, p. 3) Necessity demands enactment of uniform apprentice laws that provide a term of three to five years, the employer to furnish proper facilities to make him a competent workman. Action was also taken in 1882 (p. 15) and 1885 (p. 14). (1886, p. 9) Desertion of apprentices had become so common journeymen were brought into disrepute and Congress was urged to enact a law prescribing compulsory indenture in the District of Columbia, that the apprentice shall make his home with his parents or guardian—the authority of the master to extend only over the hours of employment at the craft.

Arbitration and Joint Trade Agreements —(1884, p. 15) Urged state legislatures to enact legislation providing the proper machinery to adjust all disputes between employers and employes. (1885, p, 14) Cigarmakers reported their constitution made arbitration necessary before a strike could be called. Delegates of the Carpenters and several other trades said they always offered arbitration before strikes. (1902, p. 14) President reported a growing tendency to joint trade agreements between employers and employes and that the unions honorably adhered to the terms. The convention (p.

144) recommended no agreements be made that prohibited one union helping another. Also declared that if contracts for long terms were entered into the judiciary may use its equity power to compel specific enforcement and take away the right to quit work in unison. (1903, pp. 90-251) Indorsed resolution adopted by Executive Council condemning charge that trade unions violate agreements, which added: "We wish in the strongest language possible to express our regret that any organization of workingmen should fail to rigidly adhere to a contract entered into with employers or its members, and we believe it essential to urge upon trade unionists the absolute necessity of holding contracts between them and their employers inviolate." (1903, p. 206) Instructed affiliated building trades unions in New York City to sign plan of arbitration and expel all nonaffiliated organizations.

Arbitration, Compulsory Union—(1905, pp. 218-22) Appointment of two men by each union, they to select the fifth in ten days or he be named by president of A. F. of L., as an arbitration board, decision to be final in settling jurisdictional dispute between the longshoremen and seamen, was declared compulsory arbitration and therefore coercion. Seamen accepted the plan and Longshoremen promised to recommend to their membership to accept the award when made.

Arbitration, Compulsory—(1894, p. 15) It is generally accepted that in the consideration of the question of compulsory arbitration, there is one means by which an award against labor could be enforced but that the imposition of those conditions are tantamount to chattel slavery, hence the alternative proposition to make the organizations and the funds of organizations attachable for the failure of any workman to abide by a decision which may be awarded against us, or in the absence of such funds, compel the placing of a bond by the trade union for the enforcement of such an award. In few if any instances would awards be rendered against the trade unions when the trade would be thoroughly organized, but during the period of organization, or through an unauthorized hasty action of a member, the entire union could be placed in peril, its future and its efficacy destroyed and the workers placed at the tender mercies of their employers. Disputes between the workers and employers may be generally adjusted by arbitration, but if they are, it will only come when the workers are better organized, when their power and their rights have received greater recognition. The first step must be organization, the second conciliation, the next, possible, arbitration, but compulsory arbitration—never.

(1894, p. 29) The Executive Council is instructed to consider the recommendations of the commission appointed by the President of the U. S. to investigate the causes of the strike of the American Railway Union. It is evident from the expressions and conclusion of this commission that it has conducted said investigation in a fair and impartial manner, but we believe, nevertheless, there is an element of danger involved in their recommendations, which are, in brief, that a permanent commission be appointed by the government with power to investigate any industrial situation that may portend a strike, and that pending such investigation all parties be restrained from action; that when a decision is rendered it shall be binding upon all parties for a specified time, sixty days, and such decision not to be combatted without thirty days' notice, and also that trades unions be incorporated and made responsible for the action of their several members individually and collectively. "While we deplore the strained relations that necessarily ensue between employer and employe because of strikes, we cannot admit the right of any person, corporation or legislative body to compel any individual to remain at work distasteful and unsatisfactory to him against his own free will, even for one moment."

(1895, p. 39) Bill before Congress to prevent strikes was declared similar to the law that destroyed the English Labor movement in the Fifteenth century. It attempted to set aside the Thirteenth amendment to permit individuals or combinations to contract away their rights. No one could strike or leave employment except on three months' notice or suffer a year's imprisonment. Executive Council was instructed to investigate and reported in 1897 (p. 21) that on advice of eminent counsel the provisions of the bill were highly injurious to the workers, particularly to their organized efforts for just conditions. The protest entered was sufficient to defeat the bill in the Senate.

(1897, p. 88) Any board of arbitration with power to enforce its award upon individuals ceases to be a board of arbitration and assumes all the functions of an industrial court; as such a revival of the English quarter sessions wages and a reintroduction of serfdom; also opposed to the 13th amendment.

(1898, p. 24) The railroad arbitration (Erdman) bill, with many improvements because of A. F. of L. suggestions, became a law. Through this persistency, and the railroad men bear willing testimony, the law is freer from dangers to their interests, rights and liberties and those of the workers of the country than when introduced.

(1900, p. 21) Report of president: In common with the general trend of organized labor to prevent strikes and lockouts whereever and whenever possible, a sentiment for arbitration has been awakened among the people of our country. There are some, however, who, playing upon the credulity of the uninformed seek to divert the principle of arbitration into a coercive policy of so-called compulsory arbitration; in other words, the creation by States, or by the nation, of boards or courts, with power to hear and determine each case in dispute between the workers and their employers, to make awards, and, if necessary, to invoke the power of the Government to enforce the awards. Observers have for years noted that those inclined to this policy have devised many schemes to deny the workers the right to quit their employments; and the scheme of so-called compulsory arbitration is the latest design of the well-intentioned, but uninformed, as well as the faddists and schemers. Our movement seeks, and has to a considerable extent secured, a diminution in the number of strikes, particularly among the best organized. In fact, the

number and extent of strikes can be accurately gauged by the extent, power, and financial resources of an organization in any trade or calling. The barometer of strikes rises with lack of, or weakness in, organization, and diminishes with the extent and power of the trade union movement. Through more compact and better equipped trade unions have come joint agreements and conciliation between the workmen and associated employers; and only when conciliation has failed has it been necessary to resort to arbitration, and then the only successful arbitration was arbitration voluntarily entered into. Organized labor can not by attempted secrecy evade the provisions of an award reached by compulsory arbitration, and determine upon a strike. By the reason of their large numbers their every act would be an open and public act, known to all; while, on the other hand, an employer, or an association of employers, could easily evade the provisions of such a law or award, by modern processes of enforcing a lockout; that is, to undertake a "reorganization" of their labor forces. It is submitted that the very terms, "arbitration" and "compulsory," stand in direct opposition to each other. Arbitration implies the voluntary action of two parties of diverse interests submitting to disinterested parties the question in dispute, or likely to come into dispute. Compulsion by any process, and particularly by the power of government is repugnant to the principle as well as the policy of arbitration. If organized labor should fail to appreciate the danger involved in the proposed schemes of so-called compulsory arbitration, and consent to the enactment of a law providing for its enforcement, there would be reintroduced the denial of the right of the workmen to strike in defense of their interests, and the enforcement by government of specific or personal service and labor. In other words, under a law based upon compulsory arbitration, if an award were made against labor, no matter how unfair or unjust, and brought about by any means, no matter how questionable, we would be compelled to work or to suffer the state penalty, which might be either mulcting in damages, or going to jail; not one scintilla of distinction, not one jot removed from slavery. It is strange how much men desire to compel other men to do by law. What we aim to achieve is freedom through organization. Arbitration is only possible when voluntary. It never can be successfully carried out unless the parties to a dispute or controversy are equals, or nearly equals, in power to protect and defend themselves, or to inflict injury upon the other.

The more thoroughly the workers are organized in their local and national unions, and federated by common bond, policy, and polity, the better shall we be able to avert strikes and lockouts, secure conciliation, and if necessary, arbitration; but it must be voluntary arbitration, or there should be no arbitration at all. It is our aim to avoid strikes; but I trust that the day will never come when the workers of our country will have so far lost their manhood and independence as to refuse to strike, regardless of the provocation, or to surrender their right to strike. We seek to prevent strikes, but we realize that the best means by which they can be averted is to be the better prepared for them. We endeavor to prevent strikes; but there are some conditions far worse than strikes, and among them is a demoralized, degraded, and debased manhood.

(1900, p. 143) A special committee, appointed to consider the statements of the president, made this report, which was adopted: "We are in full accord with the president when, in substance, he says that the right to quit work, at any time, and for any reason sufficient to the worker himself, is the concrete expression of individual liberty. Liberty has been defined as a right to freely move from place to place; hence, any curtailment of this right by and through law, or by and through contract enforced by law, is, in fact, a negation of liberty, and a return to serfdom. We have had before us "The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Law of New Zealand," "The Law Creating and Governing the Indiana Labor Commission and Arbitration Board," copied from laws of 1897, and issued by the Indiana Commissioners; and "The Arbitration Law of Illinois," as well as "An Act Concerning Carriers Engaged in Interstate Commerce, and Their Employes," approved June 1, 1898, along with such other information, from this and European countries, as was available at this time; and we find that the kernel of all this species of legislation is a desire to prevent strikes by punishing the striker. Our existing form of society is, unquestionably, based upon manufacture, commerce and transportation, and anything which disturbs the industries is resented, and means are sought to prevent a recurrence and to clothe it in such a garb that public opinion will accept it and permit of its execution. Dealing with this matter more specifically, we find that the New Zealand law provides for a Board of Conciliation with power to use their best efforts in bringing the contending parties together and in causing them to make some agreement. This failing, it goes, upon the demand of one of the contending parties, before the Industrial Court, which has the same powers as any other court, namely, to hear and determine; and the award—sentence—is enforced by the state in the usual way, by fines or imprisonment, or both, the only distinction being that the trial by jury is dispensed with, and an appeal denied. The only relieving feature about this law is, that individuals can not claim its protection. Men must voluntarily enter into a labor union or association in order to come under its provisions; hence, at least a semblance of individual liberty is left, but we are of the opinion that it is destructive of the right of combination and of actual individual liberty, because those who consent to arbitration by joining such organization have the power to bind all the rest. The industrial courts of France are, as we understand it, organized much in the same way. The bill to prevent strikes, which was introduced in the German Reichstag, at the instance of the government, had the same underlying motive, and practically the same way of attaining its purpose. The law adopted by the Hungarian Diet, and which provides that agricultural workers must make agreements for specific terms of service (and that where such specific agreements are not made they shall be implied) also provides that any violation of the

agreement shall subject the offending party to imprisonment. Again we meet the same purpose—to prevent strikes by punishing the striker. The question of extending the master-and-servant laws of Sweden to the industrial workers of that country was under discussion in the Swedish Ricksdag and was fiercely combatted by the lovers of liberty in that country. It was, however, finally passed, and the Swedish government the other day crushed a strike on the electric tramways in Stockholm, by arresting and sentencing the leaders to long terms of imprisonment.

Coming, now, to our own country, we find that a bill was introduced in Congress which would admit of every train being made a mail-train, and which, under the postal laws, would have subjected strikers in railroad transportation, to imprisonment, for delaying the mails. Through the efforts of the railroad brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor, the bill failed. Then followed the introduction of the Olney Arbitration Bill, which provided for arbitration voluntary in submission or in its initiatory stages, but compulsory in obedience to the award; that is; the award was to be enforced by a direct penalty of imprisoment for any individual violating the same, or by injunction, and then the penalty for contempt of court. We find in the Indiana law, Section 6, page 131, the following:

"An agreement to enter into arbitration under this act shall be in writing, and shall state the issue to be submitted and decided, and shall have the effect of an agreement by the parties to abide by and perform the award." And Section 10, page 133, reads as follows:

"The clerk of the Circuit Court shall record the papers delivered to him, as directed in the last preceding section, in the order book of the Circuit Court. Any person who was a party to the arbitration proceedings may present to the Circuit Court of the county in which the hearing was had, or the judge thereof, in vacation, a verified petition referring to the proceedings and the record of them in the order book and showing that said award has not been complied with, stating by whom and in what respect it has been disobeyed. And, thereupon, the court or judge thereof, in vacation, shall grant a rule against the party or parties so charged, to show cause within five days why said award has not been obeyed, which shall be served by the sheriff as other process. Upon return made to the rule, the judge, or court, if in session, shall hear and determine the questions presented, and make such order or orders directed to the parties before him in personam as shall give just effect to the award. Disobedience by any party to such proceedings of any order so made shall be deemed a contempt of court and may be punished accordingly. But such punishment shall not extend to imprisonment except in case of willful and contumacious disobedience. In all proceedings under this section the award shall be regarded as presumptively binding upon the employer and all employes who were parties to the controversy submitted to arbitration, which presumption shall be overcome only by proof of dissent from the submission delivered to the arbitrators, or one of them, in writing before the commencement of the hearing."

It will be observed that this may be called "voluntary arbitration," because it is voluntarily entered into. The parties agree, from the very beginning, that if they, for some reason sufficient to themselves, should decline to abide by and perform the award, they are willing that the judge alone, without any jury, and without any limit as to time, may send them to prison until they shall consent to perform the labor which the award enjoins upon them. The thought underlying this law is, that the individual man may alienate his right to liberty, and it is, therefore, destructive of the fundamental principle of the Republic of the United States. It is equally dangerous with the New Zealand law, the Hungarian statute, or the proposed law of Germany, because it aims at tying the worker to the mine, the factory, or the means of transportation upon which he works, in the same way in which the agricultural worker, during the feudal era, was tied to the soil. We are not singling out the Indiana law as different from all the rest, or as worse than the rest—we quote it simply because it is before us. Paragraph 5a, of the Illinois law, reads as follows:

"In the event of a failure to abide by the decision of said board in any case in which both employer and employes shall have joined in the application, any person or persons aggrieved thereby may file with the clerk of the circuit court or the county court of the county in which the offending party resides, or in the case of an employer in the county in which the place of employment is located, a duly authenticated copy of such decision, accompanied by a verified petition reciting the fact that such decision has not been complied with and stating by whom and in what respect it has been disregarded. Thereupon, the circuit court or the county court, as the case may be, or the judge thereof, if in vacation, shall grant a rule against the party or parties so charged, to show cause, within ten days, why such decision has not been complied with, which shall be served by the sheriff as other process. Upon return, made to the rule, the court, or the judge thereof, if in vacation, shall hear and determine the questions presented, and, to secure a compliance with such decision, may punish the offending party or parties for contempt, but such punishment shall in no case extend to imprisonment."

The difference between this section and the one quoted from the law of Indiana, aside from the final proviso, the value of which is doubtful, is in verbiage only; and further comment is, therefore, unnecessary. We are informed that the Manufacturers' Association of the south, meeting during the last year, decided to submit to the legislature of each of the southern states a law providing for term contracts, the violation of which would be punished as a felony, and that they did this with the specific purpose of preventing strikes and of inviting Northern capital. When their attention was called to the fact that they were, as yet, not "bothered" by labor organizations, they are said to have answered, "That's true; and that's just the reason why we decided to take steps to prevent the formation of any, and to stop strikes in the most effective manner." All these laws are reactionary in their character. They mean sim-

ply that the employers of today find themselves in a somewhat similar position to the employers of England after the "Black Death." The King issued a proclamation at that time that any one who would refuse to continue to work for the wages usually paid in a specified year of the King's reign, would, by the State, be compelled to labor at such wages, regardless of any wishes that he or she might have. The English Parliament later enacted this into a statute known as the "Statute of Laborers," and re-enacted it periodically, with ever-increasing penalties, until Henry VIII, finding himself in need of funds, confiscated the guild funds, and, by impoverishing the organizations of labor at that time, succeeded in enforcing the Statute of Laborers from that time on. That law was every bit as fair, upon its face, as the law of New Zealand, of Indiana, Illinois, or any other of those laws with which your committee have any acquaintance, because it provided that the judges sitting in quarter sessions should hear both sides and then determine upon a fair wage for the year. Readers of "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," by Thorald Rogers, Professor at the University of Oxford, will know the result to the English working people. Their daily hours of labor were increased, their wages reduced, until it was necessary to enact the "Poor Laws," and to quarter the worker upon the occupier, because he was continually being robbed by the employer. It has been stated by others that this law reduced the physical stature of the British workers about two inches, and that the poverty—the real, dire poverty—to be found in the back alleys of English cities, even to this day, is largely caused by that species of legislation. The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding slavery or involuntary servitude, may perhaps be quoted to show that in our country no one can be compelled to work against his or her will, and that, therefore, there is no serious danger to individual liberty in these so-called "voluntary arbitration" laws. In order that the working people, and the true friends of freedom, may make no mistake on this question, we quote from the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Robert Robertson, et al., vs. Barry Baldwin, January 25, 1897, and beg to remind them that this is the only construction of the thirteenth amendment and the term "involuntary servitude," so far as we know, ever given by the court. It reads as follows:

"The question whether Sections 4598 and 4599 conflict with the thirteenth amendment, forbidding slavery and involuntary servitude, depends upon the construction to be given to the term 'involuntary servitude.' Does the epithet 'involuntary' attach to the word 'servitude' continuously, and make illegal any service which becomes involuntary at any time during its existence; or does it attach only at the inception of the servitude, and characterize it as unlawful because unlawfully entered into? If the former be the true construction, then no one, not even a soldier, sailor or apprentice, can surrender his liberty, even for a day, and the soldier may desert his regiment upon the eve of battle, or the sailor at intermediate port or landing, or even in a storm at sea, provided only he can find means of escaping to another vessel. If the latter, then an individual may, for a valuable consideration, contract for the surrender of his personal liberty for a definite time and for a recognized purpose, and subordinate his going and coming to the will of another during the continuance of the contract; not that all such contracts would be lawful, but that a servitude which was knowingly and willingly entered into could not be termed involuntary. Thus, if one should agree, for a yearly wage, to serve another in a particular capacity during his life, and never to leave his estate without his consent, the contract might not be enforcible for the want of a legal remedy, or might be void upon grounds of public policy, but the servitude could not be properly termed involuntary. Such agreements for a limited personal servitude at one time were very common in England, and by statute of June 17, 1823 (4 Geo. IV, ch. 34, sec. 3), it was enacted that if any servant in husbandry, or any artificer, calico printer, handicraftman, miner, collier, keelman, pitman, glass man, potter, laborer or other person, should contract to serve another for a definite time, and should desert such service during the term of the contract, he was made liable to a criminal punishment. The breach of a contract for personal service has not, however, been recognized in this country as involving a liability to criminal punishment, except in the cases of soldiers, sailors and possibly some others, nor would public opinion tolerate a statute to that effect." The only dissent from this construction comes from Justice Harlan, who, in his dissenting opinion, sends out to the country a warning against the awful consequences logically followed from this decision in the following words: "In considering this case it is our duty to look at the consequences of any decision that may be rendered. We can not avoid this duty by saying that it will be time enough to consider supposed cases when they arise. When such supposed cases do arise, those who seek judicial support for extraordinary remedies that encroach upon the liberties of freemen will of course refer to the principles announced in previous adjudications and demand their application to the particular case in hand.

"It is, therefore, entirely appropriate to inquire as to the necessary results of the sanction given by this court to the statute here in question. If Congress, under its power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, can authorize the arrest of a seaman who engaged to serve upon a private vessel, and compel him by force to return to the vessel, and remain during the term for which he engaged, a similar rule may be prescribed as to employes upon railroads and steamboats engaged in commerce among the states. Even if it were conceded—a concession to be made only for argument's sake—that it could be made a criminal offense, punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both, for such employes to quit their employment before the expiration of the term for which they agreed to serve, it would not follow that they could be compelled, against their will and in advance of trial and conviction, to continue such service. But the decision today logically leads to the conclusion that such a power exists in Congress. Again, as the legislatures of the states have all legis-

lative power not prohibited to them, while Congress can only exercise certain enumerated powers for accomplishing specified objects, why may not the states under the principles this day announced, compel all employes of railroads engaged in domestic commerce, and all domestic servants, and all employers in private establishments, within their respective limits, to remain with their employers during the terms for which they were severally engaged, under the penalty of being arrested by some sheriff or constable, and forcibly returned to the service of their employers? The mere statement of these matters is insufficient to indicate the scope of the decision this day rendered."

We believe that the reason why many well-meaning, honest and conscientious men and women favor some form of compulsory arbitration arises from the fact that their attention has been called to the refusal to arbitrate, on the part of large corporations or other employers of labor. It is felt that the rest of the public are made innocent sufferers and victims, and that there ought to be some way to give to the public the facts, in order that it might know who is actually to blame. Whenever they are asked, "Do you want to send a man or a woman to jail for quitting work?" they immediately answer "No, no." What they seem to desire is, that these corporations or employers who refuse to arbitrate shall, in some way, be compelled to do so. This is manifestly impossible. Laws that are "jughandled," even if possible of enactment and execution, invariably have the handle so placed that the large corporations and employers of labor keep hold of the handle. Commissions, with power to examine and report, would seem to be more in line with what is actually desired, but we would call attention to the fact that even these have in them a feature dangerous to liberty, because from them may come—and sometimes do come—reports which have a tendency to warp public opinion and prepare it for measures which without such preparation the public would unhesitatingly reject. We, therefore, reaffirm the previous position of the A. F. of L., namely, that we are utterly opposed to any law enacted by the state which will in any way, by consent or otherwise, deprive the worker of his right to quit work at any time and for any reason sufficient to himself; and we recommend that the different State Federations and Local Central Bodies in the several states insist upon the repeal of any compulsory features in any arbitration laws now on the statute books, and use their utmost endeavor to prevent any such laws from being enacted in the future.

(1901, p. 26) It is the tendency of organization, as well as the aim of trade unionists, to prevent and avert strikes whenever and wherever possible; but we insist, and will insist, upon the legal right of the workers to quit their employment at will, without incurring the risk of punishment by fine or imprisonment. We insist, too, that when the state can inflict financial punishment or send to jail a worker who, for any good reason known to himself, desires to change his employment, or who refuses to work so as to induce his employer to grant him fairer conditions of employment, that moment the worker is reduced to veritable slavery. Of several state legislatures which convened, there were but few in which there were not introduced numerous bills providing for compulsory arbitration, and in each one the penalty clause provided for the specific performance of the terms of a contract to labor, and fines and imprisonment for their violation. It required not only alertness, but promptness and a vigorous campaign against the enactment of these laws. All who observe and think rightly know that there is no power so efficient to prevent hasty or illy-considered strikes, or to reduce the number of strikes to a minimum, as a well organized and well equipped union of the trade, and a thorough federation of all organized workers.

(1902, pp. 13-144) After the miners' strike many had been led to advocate compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. We make for industrial peace and tranquillity. We recognize these as essential to our material and social welfare; but we ought never to be asked and we never will surrender our right to protest and resist wrong or an invasion of our rights, to be hampered in a lawful, peaceable struggle for amelioration in our condition, and for financial emancipation of labor through the evolutionary process of building character, manhood, independence, intelligence, which inspire nobler aspirations. The men of organized labor want arbitration, but only arbitration as a last resort after conciliation has absolutely failed, and then arbitration only, voluntarily entered into by both the organized workers and employers, the award voluntarily, honorably and faithfully adhered to by both sides. Compulsory arbitration means compulsory labor at wages, hours and conditions prescribed by the arbitration tribunal. It therefore means loss of personal freedom, loss of mobility, loss of the power of initiative, loss of hope. It was the law, from the latter part of the sixteenth to the early part of the nineteenth century, in practically every civilized country, but especially was it so in England. It left behind such poverty, degradation and stunted humanity that it has taken one hundred years of better laws and higher freedom to even partially ameliorate. To give it a new name neither changes its principles nor its viciousness and uncivilizing tendencies.

(1904, p. 31) Nothing can be fraught with so much danger, resulting in rank injustice and injury, as compulsory arbitration by the state in any form with its practically compulsory enforcement of an award. It is not amiss to reassert our conviction that in the one case it may result in confiscation of property, and in the other involve involuntary servitude; in other words, the slavery of man. We, therefore, opposed a bill before both committees of Congress, recognizing in it the entering wedge of what would inevitably lead to complete compulsory arbitration. (p. 160) Resolution calling on Congress to provide some plan of arbitration was defeated on the ground it virtually asked for compulsory arbitration.

(1906, p. 28) Section 10 of the Erdman act was declared unconstitutional by a Kentucky court. The section makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than $100 nor more than $1,000 for any employer subject to the provisions of the

act, or any agent, officer or receiver of such employer, to "require any employe, or any person seeking employment, as a condition of such employment, to enter into an agreement, either written or verbal, not to become or remain a member of any labor corporation, association, or organization," or to "threaten any employe with loss of employment, or unjustly discriminate against any employe because of his membership in such a labor corporation, association or organization"; or to "require any person seeking employment, as a condition of such employment, to enter into a contract whereby such employe or applicant for employment shall agree to contribute to any fund for charitable, social or beneficial purposes; to release such employer from legal liability for any personal injury by reason of any benefit received from such fund beyond the proportion of the benefit arising from the employer's contribution to such fund"; or "after having discharged an employe, to attempt or to conspire to prevent such employee from obtaining employment, or who shall, after the quitting of an employe, attempt or conspire to prevent such employe from obtaining employment."

(1908, p. 177) Condemned bill before Congress providing for compulsory arbitration.

(1912, p. 29) Instructions of 1911 (p. 311) convention to have the Erdman act amended so it would include all railroad employes had not been carried out owing to the apparent desire of certain legislators to experiment in such legislation and that the dangers lurking in the proposal gravely affected the rights of the workers. (p. 313) Convention declared: "We want peace in industry, but we want peace with honor, progress and freedom. We welcome arbitration as a means of industrial peace when the parties to the proposed arbitration are given the opportunity of establishing a proper basis upon which the arbitration shall proceed before it is entered into. No other method can protect the rights and liberties of the parties at interest. Compulsory arbitration, in order to be effective, must be binding upon both parties to the controversy. That condition would mean that if an award was made unfair to an employer, he would be compelled to operate his plant even though at a loss, which would mean confiscation or the taking of property without proper compensation therefor. It would also mean that the workmen would be compelled to work under the terms of the award whether they were satisfactory to them or not which would mean slavery. It would be unjust to the workmen because of the fact that in every arbitration entered into there is a cleancut dividing line between profit and loss readily and easily established by records which will protect the employer against any award injurious to him, while no such distinct dividing line protects the workmen. The standard of living is a flexible proposition which may be easily raised or lowered and the workman still live. Having no distinct protecting line in his standard of living, he would be more liable to have an unjust award imposed upon him than would the employer. No one can conceive of any compulsory arbitration being so constructed that it would compel the employer to operate at a loss, thereby taking from him his previous accumulations. But it is conceivable that a workman would be required to work upon a lower standard of living than he had previously worked under, or which he would be willing to accept. It may, from time to time, occur that large numbers of the people not directly interested in an industrial conflict may be embarrassed because of such a struggle taking place, but it is better that they should suffer the embarrassment incident to such a conflict than that the workers as a whole should have their right to end a civil contract to labor and their right to work, or not to work, as their judgment may dictate, impaired by legislation of this character."

(1913, p. 55-297) After many years of effort the Erdman act was repealed, and the Newlands law enacted to take its place. Executive Council instructed to amend Newlands act to cover all railroad employes. Two other bills before Congress would be a long step toward compulsory arbitration and the labor unions of Michigan and Wisconsin were urged to notify their representatives, the authors of the bills, they were objectionable and intolerable.

(1916, pp. 79-263) Condemned bill before Congress modeled after the Canadian Compulsory Investigation Act. It provides that during a period when demands for changed conditions are under consideration it would be unlawful for railroad workers to strike. This effort to subject wage earners to involuntary servitude has aroused the determined resistance of wage earners generally. (p. 100) During the closing days of Congress vigorous efforts were made by several representatives to incorporate in the Railroad Eight Hour bill a clause requiring compulsory investigation of labor disputes which might interfere with interstate commerce, but they were defeated by a vote of 282 to 87. When the bill reached the Senate an effort was made to amend to give the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to fix hours and wages of railroad employes. Defeated.

(1917, pp. 123-312) Representatives of the A. F. of L. were helpful in defeating the compulsory arbitration bill covering railroad employes and endeavored to have the Colorado Industrial Commission act repealed. The latter provides for compulsory investigation before a strike or lockout can take place.

Arbitration in Colorado and Canada—(1916, pp. 81-263) The institutions for achieving industrial justice and industrial freedom must be agencies that permit of the freest and best development of the people, for the establishment of justice and freedom come only through the growth and development of right thinking and right living so that opportunities for freedom and justice are used for the best interests of all. In only one state of the Republic has there been a law providing for compulsory investigation of industrial disputes. That law was enacted in Colorado in 1915 and has been discussed in the following issues of the American Federationist: October, 1915; December, 1915; June, 1916; October, 1916. As a result of their experiences under this law the trade unionists of Colorado in their convention held at Colorado Springs in August, 1916, declared emphatically against

the law by practically unanimous vote—that is, with only one dissenting voice—and have pledged themselves to work for the repeal of the law. The action taken by the Colorado trade unionists in August is identical with that taken by the Canadian trade unionists in their last Trades and Labor Congress held in September, 1916. For many years those who were personally affected by the operation of the Canadian law have denounced the principle upon which it was based, but the opinion never became general enough in Canada to become the demand of the organized labor movement until the Canadian law had been extended by an administrative act to apply to a greatly increased number of workers in Canada. The experience of the workers during the past year under the extended application of the Lemieux Act resulted in a practically unanimous demand on the part of the Dominion Congress that the law be repealed.

Arago Case, Seamen's—(1895, p. 81) Four seamen of Astoria, Ore., desired to leave the ship Arago; master refused; were arrested; kept in jail 14 days while vessel was being loaded; then, handcuffed, they were put on board by a U. S. marshal; refused again to work; vessel towed out to sea; again refused. Subsequently the vessel was in danger but they persisted in their refusal to work and were taken to San Francisco and charged with disobedience. The Seamen's Union took up the case on the principle that no one should be compelled to work against his will. Case went to supreme court and the sailors, refusing to give bail, went to jail to test their right to quit work. After a year in jail the Supreme Court of the U. S. decided a seaman under contract could not leave a ship when in a safe harbor and in 1897 (pp. 20-87) this criticism was adopted: During the early part of the year the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision in a case involving the right of seamen to quit their employment even when the vessel was in safe harbor. The decision was adverse to the rights of the seamen. In the opinion accompanying the decision, the court gave expression and laid down doctrines entirely inimical to the interests of the people, and in so many words invalidated the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting involuntary servitude. Your attention is called to the dissenting opinion of the court in order that the full measure of the wrong may be appreciated. The decision is the most far-reaching which the Supreme Court has issued since its famous Dred Scott decision enforcing a return of a fugitive slave who escaped to another State. In view of legislation which some seek, placing greater powers in the hands of government, it is submitted that greater caution should be exercised in the future than has been in the past, in order that some of the rights which the people possess, or believe they possess, may not be taken from them through court-made law. A rehearing of the case has been applied for, but thus far has not been granted. One justice dissented, holding (p. 87): "It is, therefore, entirely appropriate to inquire as to the necessary results of the sanction given by this court to the statute here in question. If Congress, under its power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, can authorize the arrest of a seaman who engaged to serve upon a private vessel, and compel him by force to return to the vessel and remain during the term for which he is engaged, a similar rule may be prescribed as to employes upon railroads and steamboats engaged in commerce among the States. Even if it were conceded—a concession to be made only for argument's sake—that it could be made a criminal offense, punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both, for such employes to quit their employment before the expiration of the term for which they agreed to serve, it would not follow that they could be compelled, against their will and in advance of trial and conviction, to continue in such service. But the decision today logically leads to the conclusion that such a power exists in Congress. Again, as the Legislatures of the States have all legislative power not prohibited to them, while Congress can only exercise certain enumerated powers for accomplishing specified objects, why may not the States, under the principles this day announced, compel all employes of railroads engaged in domestic commerce, and all domestic servants, and all employes in private establishments, within their respective limits, to remain with their employers during the terms for which they were severally engaged, under the penalty of being arrested by some sheriff or constable, and forcibly returned to the service of their employers? The mere statement of these matters is sufficient to indicate the scope of the decision this day rendered."

Arizona—(1912, p. 139) Statehood bill was vetoed by the President of the U. S. because it provided for the recall of judges. The clause was voted out of the constitution December 12, 1911, on the terms of the President. At the same time they elected a legislature pledged to restore the recall of judges to the constitution and that was its first act. It was immediately signed by the governor. This incident was declared a great impetus to the movement throughout the country for the recall of judges and decisions nullifying laws of a sociological character passed under the police power.

Armor Plate Defective—(1896, p. 77) Called for a thorough investigation of armor plate supplied by the Carnegie Steel Company, as "the practice of contractors to rob the government and oppress their employes is evidence of a controlling greed that makes all such contracts dangerous."

Army—(1899, p. 84) Standing army should be reduced to 25,000 instead of being increased, and thereby demonstrate to the powers of the world we can depend upon our volunteer soldiers to defend our country in time of danger. (1914, p. 467) Patent rights on munitions are one of the main reasons for large military establishments and they should be all acquired by the government.

Assessments—(1896, p. 83) Unions failing to pay 1 cent assessment for eight hour agitation before April 1, 1897, shall be suspended and can only be reinstated by a vote of convention after such arrearages have been paid. (1916, pp. 66-277) No assessments be levied except in accordance with the constitution (sec. I, Art. XII.), as it is

unwise for conventions to take such action. (1918, p. 332) Assessment of 1 cent per capita levied on members of the affiliated unions, $10 on state federations and $5 on central bodies to be used solely as a war emergency fund and to be understood as in no way modifying the present law governing the levying of assessments, nor shall it be devoted to any purpose than the one specified.

Assessments, Referendum Vote on—(1904, p. 234) Central bodies and state federations were notified that special assessments should not be levied unless approved by a referendum vote of the unions affiliated.

Australia, Labor Commission to—(1917, p. 392) Plan for A. F. of L. to send a commission to Australia to investigate the experience of the labor movement during the war, court proceedings during strikes, compulsory arbitration, government operation of railways, etc., was adopted.

Australian Ballot System—(1888, p. 26) We indorse the Australian ballot system, as the purity of the ballot is the safety of the nation. (1889, p. 11) Adjourned to have a practical view of the Australian ballot system. (pp. 16-19) Urged Australian system in all states.

Baker, Francis E.—(1901, p. 212) Protest to U. S. Senate against the confirmation of Francis E. Baker, son of Judge Baker of Indianapolis, as Circuit Court Judge, as it would permit him to review his father's decisions. A judge nurtured in such surroundings and under such baneful influences should not be placed in a position to emphasize and legalize a father's decisions and further harrass and oppress organized wage earners.

Bakeshops, Pestilence Breeding—(1893, p. 33) Called attention of factory inspectors to "pestilence breeding bakeshops." Urged agitation for laws prohibiting bakeshops in basements, cellars or subcellars.

Bands at Exposition—(1915, p. 308) Ordered protest filed with Secretaries of War and Navy against permitting enlisted bands playing at San Diego Exposition.

Banks of the People—(1918, p. 244) The control of capital should be in the hands of the people, therefore the Executive Council should investigate the possibility of making the national banks, banks of the people.

Banks, Trade Union—(1904, p. 157) Refused to endorse plan to organize workmen's banks in various parts of the country (the cities to be selected by the Executive Council) in which all unions must deposit their funds. (1914, p. 462) Rejected plan for American Federation of Labor to establish bank in which national and international funds can be deposited.

Baseball Players, Brotherhood of—(1889, p. 40) Brotherhood of Baseball Players unanimously endorsed.

Beer Tax, Refused to Protest—(1900, p. 122) Declined to protest against retaining tax on beer at $2 a barrel, convention declaring it could not conceive how it could be possible the brewery interests should need aid in securing legislation in their own interest.

Birth Records—(1910, p. 50) Under present conditions of employment there is a constant temptation to misstate the age of a child seeking work. Valid evidence of the date of birth is often lacking. If laws providing for a free and happy childhood and the prevention of ills that follow the employment of children under legal age to be enforced there should be means of obtaining evidence of ages beyond doubt. Members of unions should take a personal interest in this because of its importance to their families.

Blacklisting—(1886, p. 19) Denounced blacklisting by employers of all workmen who would not become "servile slaves" and condemned those who sought by its use to break up trades unions. Congress was urged to enact anti-blacklisting bills. Similar action in 1887 (p. 29), 1897 (p. 21), 1899 (p. 130).

Blind—(1900, p. 86) Endorsed bill in Congress to provide ways and means for the higher education of the blind to fit them to pursue vocations in life in which the sightless can most successfully compete.

Bohemian Independence—(1918, p. 340) American Federation of Labor pledges its support to all small nations by declaring: "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which they do not wish to live."

Boiler Inspectors—(1898, pp. 44-77) Favored government appointing practical boilermakers and iron shipbuilders to inspect boilers of steam vessels. (1911, p. 355) Executive Council instructed to do all in its power to have competent locomotive boiler inspectors appointed under law enacted. (1912, p. 46) Request made that all violations of the law be reported to president American Federation of Labor. (1914, p. 470) Officers instructed to draft a suitable bill to present to Congress providing for inspection of locomotive boilers, engines and tenders. (1915, p. 114) Chief locomotive inspector agreed to certain rules for inspection of locomotive engines and tenders and they were submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission for approval.

Bonds for Union Officers—(1902, p. 205) Endorsed plan to bond all financial officers of unions by company selected by the Executive Council. In 1909 (p. 218) the convention refused to consider the question of establishing a bonding company.

Borden Mutiny—E. W. Clark and George Miller were sent to the Thomaston, Me., prison in 1875 for mutiny, their sentences having been commuted by President Grant to life imprisonment. The two men had left New Orleans on the schooner Borden, a 600-ton vessel, overloaded and undermanned with only four sailors before the mast. A brutal captain strung them up to the mast by the thumbs, toes just touching the deck. They were forced to drink salt water. Frenzied by drinking the sea water, abuse and torture, the crew mutinied. One of the crew was an Englishman. His government protected him, and he was given only ten years. Clark and Miller were sentenced to death. In 1890 (p. 28) the convention requested the President to pardon them. Every convention repeated the re-

quest until in 1903 (p. 215) Clark was pardoned, Miller having died in 1894 (p. 29).

Boycott for Opinions, Cannot—(1904, p. 222) The untrammeled freedom of the press is so important to the wellbeing not only of organized labor but to human, civilized life, that no conceivable circumstances could arise that would warrant trade unionists in their organized capacity in placing a publiction upon a "boycott" list for the expression of opinion.

Boycotting, Fined For—(1907, p. 199) In 1902 39 of 40 employers in Toronto in the sheet metal trade signed an agreement with the unions and it has since been renewed each year. One of the employers in the exercise of his rights refused to sign. The workmen, in pursuance of their rights, refused to work for him. The employes in their local union voted in favor of a strike. For that the courts have determined that the local, and the international, which contributed some strike pay, are liable in damages to the Metallic Roofing Company, on the broad principle that the men were coerced by the resolution to strike. The local union, out of deference to other employers with which they had contracts, gave notice that on and after a certain date the members did not intend to handle the goods of the Metallic Roofing Co. The courts have interpreted that to be a boycott and that the local and international are responsible in damages. In time judgment was given against the local and international unions. The Metallic Roofing Company has had a receiver appointed to collect the per capita tax that is to go to the international union. The judgment allows them to take the per capita tax, not only of the local unions in Toronto, but all the local unions in Ontario. The result will be the local union will not collect per capita tax, which will make it difficult for the international body to secure money to pay the necessary expenses. This company can sue upon the judgment in any province in Canada or any state in the United States. Whether they will succeed in the states is another story, but the chances are they will succeed in any province in Canada.

Boycott Law, Alabama—(1906, p. 162) Executive Council authorized to test validity of Alabama boycott law, which provides fine and imprisonment for declaring the products of any individual, firm or corporation unfair.

Boycott Methods—(1897, p. 23) Whenever a court shall issue an injunction restraining any of our fellow workers from placing a concern hostile to labor's interest on our unfair list; enjoining the workers from issuing notices of this character, the suggestion is made that upon any letter or circular issued upon a matter of this character, after stating the name of the unfair firm and the grievance complained of the words, "We have been enjoined by the courts from boycotting this concern," could be added with advantage.

Boycotts—(1885, p. 12) Many boycotts had been declared up to this time and they were considered a popular and favorite weapon of organized labor. But in many cases the principle had been grossly abused by unscrupulous and designing persons connected with some of the unions. The convention declared such action might endanger the usefulness and effectiveness of an otherwise perfectly honorable, legitimate and powerful weapon with which the toilers can compel their oppressors to make amends and concessions to the rightful demands of organized labor. Some organizations resorted to the boycott on every frivolous, trivial or imaginary grievance without first giving the subject that attention and thorough investigation the justice and gravity of the question so necessarily required. Rival factions of workingmen had been known to have boycotted the goods of firms that employ none but union workingmen and paid the highest rate of wages in their line of manufacture. Such practices in the future will be discountenanced, and we recommend to all unions the necessity of providing proper safeguards to avoid having odium cast on the honest and just efforts of workingmen in bringing to terms unreasonable and tyrannous employers.

(1886, p. 19) The indiscriminate and frivolous use of the boycott as a remedy on every trifling occasion is strongly condemned and its careful and energetic use as a last resort, when properly undertaken, is favorably endorsed.

(1889, p. 38) All unions and central bodies requested to furnish the secretary with a list of their secretaries every three months to be used in sending out boycott circulars.

(1890, p. 30) Declared no boycott should be endorsed by the American Federation of Labor until ordered by the Executive Council and then only after arbitration and other means have been exhausted. (p. 46) Owing to the number of boycotts on beer, action for a special ban on another brewing company was deferred.

(1893, p. 54) Executive Council was instructed to not enforce any boycott adopted by the convention until after it had visited the firms involved to see if settlements could be made. (p. 57) We severely condemn the publication of advertisements of boycotted firms in the journals of affiliated organizations and request that greater care be exercised in this matter in the future. (p. 64) This amendment to the constitution was adopted: "No endorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported upon by the Executive Council." (p. 67) Favored centralization of effort in the localities directly interested in boycotts, as the desired results in one location would be so much waste of energy in another.

(1895, p. 60) Delegate refused a seat because his union had refused to endorse a boycott levied by an affiliated organization and endorsed by the A. F. of L.

(1896, p. 52) Reported that the English labor movement was observing a boycott issued by the A. F. of L. (p. 67) Typographia No. 7 of New York gave notice the grand jury had preferred charges of libel against it for conducting a boycott and two members had been arrested.

(1897, p. 43) Executive Council recommended fewer boycotts be placed, believing it would accomplish more good. (p. 91) Executive Council was instructed to send circular letters with these questions to all unions with the view of decreasing the number of boycotts: 1. The length of time

such firm has been on the list. 2. What is being done to inform the working people of the firm's position in regard to organized labor. 3. Under what condition at present its workmen are employed. and the number of said employes. And such other information as will give the Executive Council the exact situation of affairs. And if, upon investigation the Executive Council ascertain that no effort is being made to successfully carry on the work, by those directly interested, or sufficient reasons are given why the firm should not be taken from the "We Don't Patronize List," the Executive Council shall, after first making an effort to adjust the difficulties, take the firm's name from the "We Don't Patronize List." In the future, before granting a request for the placing of a firm on the "We Don't Patronize List," all organizations having members working for said firm shall be corresponded with to show cause why the request should not be granted.

(1898, pp. 58-116) The A. F. of L. shall endorse no boycott where the products of several organized unions will be affected thereby until every possible effort has been made to secure a settlement, and all organizations to be affected shall have been given a hearing and an opportunity to assist in securing a settlement of the existing grievance. (p. 118) This resolution was referred to following convention: "No firm shall be placed on the A. F. of L. 'fair list' unless all persons engaged in the employ of said firm are members of the trade unions of their craft."

(1899, pp. 10-147) Boycotts wantonly or unnecessarily placed brings that weapon into disrepute. It is our God-given, natural right to bestow collectively that which we have the right to withhold individually. (p. 161) Any product represented to be "union made" shall not be considered union unless it bears the label of the craft producing such commodity. (p. 162) "We Don't Patronize List" ordered dropped after February 28, but this did not debar unions from renewing application after failing to adjust grievance.

(1900, p. 163) Ordered that all future applications to place firms on the "We Lon't Patronize List" should be made direct to the Executive Council.

(1901, p. 168-233) Declared it inadvisable to burden the unfair list with too many names and limited national and international unions to three boycotts and local and federal unions to one. (p. 196) No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list, until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the central body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

(1902, p. 145) The constitutional guarantee of a free press should be pleaded against interference in the issuance of boycott circulars or other means that unions may choose to take to disseminate the true facts as to their relations with their employers.

(1903, p. 31) Alabama enacted a law making it illegal "to print or circulate any notice of boycott, boycott cards, stickers, dodgers, or unfair lists, publishing or declaring that a boycott or a ban exists, or has existed, or is contemplated against any person, firms, or corporation doing a lawful business, or publishing the name of any judicial officer or any other public official upon any blacklist, unfair list, or other similar lists because of any lawful act or decision of such official." (p. 257) The utmost caution should be used in granting applications for space in the unfair list. If any firm is unjustly placed upon it not only is the organization directly interested injured but also the entire labor movement. Any proposition submitted in good faith and having merit cannot suffer by undergoing a careful investigation to the end that the unfair list may not be too loosely applied while in the interest of one branch of organized labor it may be injurious to another.

(1906, p. 242) Organizations having names on the unfair list beginning January 1, 1907, must report every three months to the Executive Council what efforts they are using to make the boycott effective. Failure to report for six months shall be sufficient cause to remove such boycotts as are not reported on from the unfair list.

(1909, pp. 109-282) Under present conditions the boycott is a necessary legal and moral weapon, and one there should be no hesitation to resort to when other remedies fail and the occasion demands the unusual and drastic antidote. Lawyers' associations. medical societies, scientific bodies, even the fraternal societies, all forms of combined human endeavor—all resort to the boycott to achieve their legitimate, and in some instances illegitimate ends. Why then should not the labor union have that right with its cause a just one, and its desire the betterment and uplifting of those who follow the scriptural injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread." If an individual has the right to refuse to patronize, then that same individual has the right to enlist the sympathies of his fellowman, and it follows that if the two have the right to refuse to patronize, then labor in combination has the right to refuse to patronize. We say that when your cause is just and every other remedy has been employed without result, boycott; we say that when the employer has determined to exploit not only adult male labor, but our women and our children, and our reasoning and appeal to his fairness and his conscience will not sway him, boycott; we say that when labor has been oppressed, browbeaten and tyrannized, boycott; we say when social and political conditions become so bad that ordinary remedial measures are fruitless, boycott; and finally we say, we have the right to boycott, and we propose to exercise that right. In the application of this right of boycott, we propose to strive on and on.

Boycotts, Political and Economic—(1914, pp. 92-365) Proceedings were brought against the Photo-Engravers' Union and the Allied Printing Trades Council of New York under the Sherman antitrust law, but the act complained of was held by the assistant attorney general not a violation of that law. The ruling held that workers may legally strike for union shop conditions. He made

a distinction between political boycott and economic boycott. Workers, according to his ruling, may legally endeavor, by appeals to state boards of education, to have patronage withdrawn from publishing houses that have printing or engraving done in non-union shops. Such action was held as political in nature. On the other hand, he held that if union workmen approached booksellers with threats not to buy from them if they carry in stock books of publishers who employ non-union printers, such action is illegal—that is to say, in order to promote their welfare workers may threaten to withdraw their political patronage (votes) from those whose policies are contrary to their concepts, but they may not threaten to withdraw their economic patronage. After this ruling proceedings were brought against the Photo-Engravers' Union to show cause why it should not be enjoined from any acts to establish union standards or conditions contrary to the policies of the complainant. The brief for the Photo-Engravers pointed out the heart of the controversy: "Have the defendants the right collectively to refrain and to notify their employers that they will refrain physically from working on typographical and photo-engraving work of customers, who give part of their work to concerns which maintain a trade attitude and trade conditions similar to that maintained by the complainant?" The federal judge held that the motive determining the union's activity was not enmity to the complainant but the imperative necessity for protecting themselves through establishing union standards, and that the injunction process could not be invoked to punish crimes. He indicated other ways in which the complainant could proceed against organized labor, but pointed out the danger to equity justice by legalizing the activities of trade unions. Such a course would establish for the workers rights which would clash with those already accorded to property—as a result, "equal legal rights would clash, and equity would be helpless." His opinion represents the legalistic prejudice against disarranging precedents and the failure to recognize the paramount importance of human rights and human welfare.

Boy Scout Movement—(1911, pp. 139-358) Executive Council directed to continue investigation of the Boy Scout movement and its economic, and other influences.

(1912, pp. 157-259) This report of the Executive Council and its recommendations were adopted: "The American Boy Scouts was introduced into this country some years ago. The movement originated in England. This movement was transported in its entirety and without any changes. The scouts were required to learn military drills and use the rifle. The scout organization in England originated with Lieuttenant-General Baden-Powell. It followed closely the South African War that had alarmed England as to her future fighting stock. The movement appeared to be military cabal, as the scouts were being trained to arms and inured to the privations of camp life. There are about 400,000 boys organized in England and in her colonies. The founders of the movement in this country suggested the organization of the American Boy Scouts as a national institution. Prominent workers for boy welfare attended meetings and helped to launch the movement which rapidly spread to other cities and towns. Their efforts met with hearty support from prominent men throughout the country. Instruction for the boy scouts included the rudiments of military training, camping, cooking, signalling, woodcraft, sanitation, first aid to the injured, swimming, boating, the rescue of persons from the water, fire, etc. Special achievements were rewarded by certificates and medals. Official uniforms were adopted. Military terms were used in connection with organization, such as enlisting and recruiting, drummers and trumpeters were encouraged to join the organization. In addition to the games and drills, there was the boy scout law, which, with the scout oath, made up the code. The second section of the scout law contained the following sentences: "A scout is loyal to his parents, to his superiors, to his country and to his employers. He must stick to them through thick and thin against everyone who is their enemy or even talks badly of them." This organization of the scouts became very popular and attracted much attention, although exact information of its aims and purposes was not generally known The attention of organized labor was attracted to the movement by two characteristics; its tendency to foster militarism and possible interference with organized labor. Its military tendencies were emphasized by the expressions of those who were backing it so that its chief purpose seemed to be that of a feeder to the army. Military ideals were held up to impressionable youths. The possibility of its antagonism to labor organizations by using and training the boys as strike breakers was brought out by two illustrations. At Des Moines, Iowa, boy scouts were used to break a strike of bootblacks who wished to increase their prices. At Ironton, Mo., a scout musical band was organized which competed with a band of organized musicians. In Chicago, some of the teachers in the public schools who were organized in the Chicago Teachers' Federation, became alarmed at tendencies and appointed a committee to investigate the organization and its purposes, but this committeee was not permitted to attend any of the meetings of the officials. Accordingly the Teachers' Federation, after making all observations and investigation possible, adopted resolutions condemning the organization, because of its military nature, and because it appointed as teachers of immature boys persons not required to conform to the usual qualifications and standards, and because it placed instruction that properly belonged to the public schools under outside jurisdiction. The Chicago Federation of Labor also passed resolutions condemning the movement. At the May meeting of the Executive Council, held in Washington, representatives of the boy scout movement, the Executive Secretaries of New York and Washington, explained the movement and filed documents. This conference and the data filed brought out the following facts: There are in the United States two boy scout movements: The American Boy Scouths and the Boy Scouts of America. The ideals and activities of the Boy Scouts of America are for peace and the building up of body, mind and character. The rifle is

not a part of their equipment. It seems that in the launching of the movement, as a result of increasing and insistent demands for information from all over the country, that a manual was hastily prepared for use. In this rather unwise haste the manual was taken bodily from that used in England and was not carefully edited. As a result, there appeared in the manual considerable emphasis on militarism, and the section just quoted which roused organized labor. As soon as popular criticism called the attention of the Executive Board to these objections, the Board directed that the plates of the book be changed as soon as possible. Either these matters had been allowed to creep into the organization through oversight or failure to consider all their bearings, or popular criticism had convinced the leaders that a change of ideals was necessary to adapt the movement to American boys. Changes were made in some of the scout laws and requirements, those containing the references to implicit loyalty and obedience to employers, which were most offensive to labor, were changed entirely. The clause which stated: "A scout is loyal to the President and to his officers and to his parents, his country and employers, he must stick to them through thick and thin against anyone who is their enemy and who even talks badly of them," was changed to read: "A scout is loyal, is loyal to all to whom loyalty is due; his scout leader, his home and parents and country." Another clause, which read: "A scout obeys orders from his parents, patrol leaders and scout masters without question," was revised to read: "A scout is obedient, he obeys his parents, scout master, patrol leader and all other duly constituted authorities." Whatever the reason for the change, the revision removes the serious objection that the organization was intended to breed strike breakers. The objection to the organization on the ground of encouraging militarism is not so clearly refuted. It is quite evident that though the letter of the constitution and by-laws may not openly favor military training, the spirit of the organization could very readily develop that tendency and could endow military purposes and ideals with a glamor that would allure many an American boy. Then, too, the lecture given in this country by the originator of the movement under the auspices of the Boy Scouts of America on the subject of "Scouting in War and Peace," seems to indicate friendly relations with that organization and to clearly emphasize the ultimate military purposes of the organization, for which General Baden-Powell himself stands. In a letter written by the executive secretary of the New York Boy Scouts of America he said: "The American Boy Scouts is still in existence, although practically all of the branches throughout the country have become affiliated with this organization. There are, however, a number of unattached groups which are working practically without supervision. They drill with rifles, and in fact most of their activities are purely military. To this we are radically opposed." It is not quite clear just what he implies by saying that branches of that old organization have affiliated with his organization. It is not plain whether or not these affiliated branches have ceased all connection with the older organization.

As to the specific charges of hostility to labor organizations, the following replies were made: In regard to the Des Moines incident, it was said that the bootblacks were Greek boys who were endeavoring to take advantage of a temporary increase in demand due to a fair, and increased their charges from five cents to ten cents. A scout leader who was rather indignant at the attempt at what he termed "extortion," impulsively asserted that he could supply enough bootblacks from his boy scouts to do all the work at the old price. The executive secretary asserted that there was no strike or labor difficulty involved and that the speaker did not intend to imply any avowed policy of opposition to labor organizations as such. The incident was purely local and did not represent the ideals and purposes of the movement. Referring to the Ironton band, he stated that he had known nothing of the affair until the incident was called to his attention, and that it was not the purpose of the organization to encourage the organization of scout bands, and it certainly did not approve of the organization of such bands for the purpose of competition. It was simply a case of local authority failing to carry out the spirit and the ideals of the national movement. In regard to the resolutions of the Chicago teachers, it is possible that in this case also the ground for opposition was occasioned by lack of harmony between the local authorities and the avowed purposes and intent of the organization. The argument of the teachers that the work done by the boy scout organization in nature study, wood craft, physical culture and ethics belongs to the teachers and the school, is not altogether convincing. It is true that some of the more progressive schools have attempted something along these lines, but the greater proportion of the schools outside of the large cities do very little of this work. This is due to lack of funds, and to the low salaries paid the teachers, so that well equipped and efficient instructors are not secured. While to incorporate all of these lines in a full and complete education may be the ideal toward which the schools are working, very few have attained this ideal and there seems no present prospect of its universal attainment. In the meanwhile, if these different objects can be worked out by some outside organization, their practicability and feasibility fully demonstrated, their usefulness in child development fully illustrated, it will be much easier for the public to demand that they be made part of the ordinary school curriculum and that teachers trained in these lines be employed. If the full responsibility of instructing the youth of our country in morals and ethics be placed upon the public schools under their present organization, the load might be more than they could carry. At present it is impossible to keep the boys and girls under their constant supervision. During the months of summer vacation, as well as during that part of the day not spent in the school, there is absolutely no control. If some outside organization can supplement this moral and ethical instruction, the American school boy will be the gainer. Under the resent organization a great majority of the teachers are women, and it would not be practicable to expect them to lead the boys in cross-country "hikes," outdoor

gymnastics and camp life. To be sure, the change would lead to training and employment of more qualified teachers, or to the utilization of the present force in the school. But it should be noted that many of the leaders of the boy scouts are the trained, active and efficient men teachers in the public schools, so that after all the school still has an influence in the boy scout movement which should be increased and developed. The boy scout movement seems to be one phase of a larger movement, sometimes termed the "simple life," the purpose of which is to counteract the injurious effects of our increasingly complex civilization and method of living. The idea is to get back to the elemental things, to close contact with the earth, forest and water, to develop a strong vigorous physique so that the boy may know the pure joy of mere living, and as a strong, healthy animal be able to take care of himself under all circumstances without artificial assistance. Our artificial method of living and the strain of modern industry have so taxed the physical endurance of the race that scientists have been constantly warning us that we must conserve our physical resources or the race will deteriorate. The boy scout movement rightly directed will help to solve this problem. Another present ideal of the organization is to develop all of the good qualities resulting from military life without the attendant evils of militarism. To gain these results, boys are taught to regard as sports the stalking of animals to learn their customs, to catch a picture of them in their native haunts, exploring, etc. There is much about the activities of the organization that would serve as a school for training the imagination, such as the emphasis laid on legends, animal life, the weird mystery of the camp fire, the long nights spent in the open with only the stars overhead and the winds telling strange stories of the stream and forest and hillside. These things bring out the poetry of life and the poetry of the world, and serve as an antidote for much of our too practical civilization. The movement seizes the keenest interests of the boys of the adolescent age and directs them toward pure and simple things, and in this way keeps them away from much of the evil and impure that would otherwise occupy their thoughts and time. It deals with the problems of child training by the simple process of substituting good things for evil things and crowding out what would be detrimental. The lists of activities, any one of which each scout may pursue in order to win distinction, is a very wide one, and includes almost every form of useful human activity. The ideals of the movement seem to be well chosen and calculated to develop poise, self confidence and comradeship among the boys. Of course, in any organization of such a size and scope, there is a chance for the machinery to be misused by some of the agents selected. This is true of any organization, for only through the human agency can any ideal be realized, and in dealing with each human agent the personal equation will modify more or less the purposes and instructions of the officials. Wherever there is a great chance for good to be done there is also a great chance for evil to result through mismanagement. The causes for complaint and objection have so far been purely local. On the whole, however, the officials seem amenable to suggestion and desirous of doing what the public demands. The officials have expressed a desire to shape the ideals and practices of the movement to accord with the aims and ideals of organized labor. The boy scout movement is now in the formative period; it is daily gaining in popularity and influence; it promises to have great power in boy life, for good or evil. Whether this power shall be directed toward militarism or toward idealizing the advocations and pursuits pertaining to peace and civic and social uplift, is now to be determined. The movement has features and tendencies that can now be turned in either direction. If organizations working to promote the general uplift, endeavoring to develop the best that is in humanity, should endorse the movement, it will be within their power to keep the boy scout movement away from militarism, in the direction of pure, wholesome ideals. If we keep in touch with the movement we may be able to shape and direct it; if we condemn it, we shall find more difficulty in defeating the military tendencies that can so easily develop and dominate the movement, and thereby exert a far reaching and potent influence in boy life. Much of the work the boy scout is doing, might and should be under the control and supervision of the public school system. There is a growing demand throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the scope and ideals of education should be widened and adapted to needs of all of the children; that the school may not only serve for the training of the mind and for cultural purposes, but shall train the children to conserve and control their resources—mental, physical and moral; that the school shall not only prepare for future life and work, but shall enter into and direct in the best channels, child life, interests and ideals. The possibilities open to the school for influencing standards of honor and ethics is a function that cannot be too strongly or gravely emphasized. We cannot recommend too heartily that every facility for education, for the conservation and development of the physical, mental and moral faculties be afforded to every child within our country. We are just beginning to catch a glimpse of the development possible under proper direction and control. This is the full duty of the school —let it enter into its heritage. We recommend that the A. F. of L. do not denounce the boy scout movement; that on the contrary, the officers of the A. F. of L. shall keep in constant touch with that movement so as to prevent its activities of purposes being directed toward any military movement, or militarism in any form, and that in matters affecting the rights and interests of the working people, that the boy scout movement be urged to a constantly closer sympathetic attitude toward the organized labor movement in its work and struggle for the achievement of a higher material, political, moral and social standard for the toilers of our country."

Bribe Taking—(1903, p. 202) An isolated case of bribe taking does not warrant the conclusion dishonesty on the part of officers of organized labor prevails. On the contrary, we are convinced the representatives of organized labor are by far the

most reliable, honest and trustworthy of any walk of life.

British Labor Movement—(1909, pp. 36-318) While the single organization of the American Federation of Labor administers the funds contributed by the international unions in cases of trade disputes, decides at its conventions upon the policy relative to any proposed acts of Congress or the legislatures, and takes advisory notice of elections involving rights essential to the wage-workers or citizens, in Great Britain these several features of working class achievements are performed by three separate agencies. The General Federation of Trades was called into existence 10 years ago because the function of national financial assistance to unions suffering from the stress of self-protection against employing class aggressors could not be assured by the one central organization already existing. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, as its name implies, has for its purpose the work carried on in America by the state federations of labor and federation legislative committees; namely, the promotion of laws protective to labor. The Trade Union Congress seldom takes cognizance of any resolutions except such as contain instructions to its Parliamentary Committee whose chairman is president of the congress. The political sentiments of the 1,701,000 members sending delegates to the Congress are by no means in agreement. Fifty-two union card holders are in the House of Commons, of whom 34 are in the "block" which has subscribed to a compact on a working platform on labor affairs. The rest are, in cases, in line with the Liberal Party, and in others independent. Within the "block" there are strongly marked partisan differences. The labor bills passed in the House of Commons have, of course, been those accepted by the Liberal Party. The various labor representatives in the United Kingdom doubtless represent, on the whole, a movement necessary to its working people at the present time. The Taff-Vale decision evoked a spirited political protest from the wage-workers. Whatever dissensions, uncertainties of purpose, and lack of cohesion among the political representatives of labor may exist in the House of Commons must bar adverse judgment in America. The difficulties with which the wage-workers in politics in the Kingdom contend are many and various. The state pays no salaries to legislators. Forty per cent of the wage-workers in some cities are excluded from franchise, while property qualifies its holders for multiple voting. The hereditary lords and the partisans of the crown are interested enemies of democracy; the aristocracy, buttressed by vested rights, nurtures an unprogressive public sentiment; real estate taxation, as compared with our American methods, is grossly partial to unused land holders; the working classes are only beginning to make their voting power tell on the old party organizations.

Buck's Stove and Range Company—(1890, p. 30) Matter of the boycott on the Buck stoves and ranges referred to Executive Council. (p. 46) Executive Council deferred action on the boycott until further information could be received. (1906, p. 167) The committee on boycotts recommended reference to the Executive Council of a resolution from the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes charging The Buck's Stove and Range Company with being unfair and requesting its products be placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the A. F. of L. A minority recommended the adoption of the report, these reasons being given: "The attitude of the president of the company towards organized labor is well known, he being president of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of St. Louis, and first vice president of their national association. At the present time the metal polishers, buffers and platers are out on strike, and have been since August 29, to resist an increase of working hours from nine (which they worked under for eighteen months) to ten per day. Mr. Van Cleave withdrew his patronage from a printing firm that had done his work for a year when it granted the eight-hour day to its employes, and issues a circular to all business men calling upon them to do the same. This leaves no doubt as to his attitude towards organized labor." The majority report was adopted with the amendment that the Executive Council take action at the earliest possible moment.

(1907, pp. 34-90) The Buck's Stove and Range Company, of which J. W. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, is president, brought suit against the A. F. of L., the members of its Executive Council, both officially and individually, and officers and members of unions attached to international unions affiliated to the A. F. of L.

(1908, pp. 14-217) December 18, 1907, Justice Gould of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia issued an injunction prohibiting the officers of the A. F. of L., the officers and members of all affiliated unions, their or our agents, sympathizers, counsel, "conspirators or co-conspirators," from making any reference that the Buck's Stove and Range Company ever had any dispute with labor or ever had been regarded as unfair.

(1909, p. 17) The injunction proceedings of the Buck's Stove and Range Company of St. Louis, Mo., of which James W. Van Cleave is president, against the A. F. of L., resolved themselves into two separate cases: one, the original injunction issued by Justice Gould of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; the other, the proceedings for contempt brought against President Samuel Gompers, Vice-President John Mitchell and Secretary Frank Morrison. An appeal was taken by the American Federation of Labor on both cases. Owing to the refusal of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, of St. Louis, to continue the nine hour workday to the metal polishers in its employ and its discrimination against and discharge of employes because of their membership in the union, and despite efforts to harmonize and adjust the differences existing, the labor organizations in interest of St. Louis placed the product of the Buck's Stove and Range Company on their "We Don't Patronize" list. Application was made to the American Federation of Labor at the Minneapolis convention, 1906, to endorse the action of the workers particularly interested and place the name of the company upon the "We Don't Patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor. The

matter was referred by the convention to the Executive Council for the purpose of investigation and, if possible, adjustment. The Executive Council entrusted the matter to Vice-President Valentine to use his best efforts in the direction indicated. At a subsequent meeting of the Executive Council Vice-President Valentine reported that he had gone to the limit of his opportunities, and definitely ascertained that any effort on his part or on the part of anyone else to confer with Mr. Van Cleave upon the subject would be utterly fruitless, and though some of the then employes of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, who might be affected, were members of the Iron Molders' Union of North America, of which Mr. Valentine is president, he could not conscientiously interpose any objection to the attitude of the workers and organizations aggrieved or to the full endorsement of the application of our fellow-workers to place the Buck's Stove and Range Company on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor. Thereupon, the Executive Council unanimously voted to approve the application. On December 18, 1907, Mr. Van Cleave, president of the Buck's Stove and Range Company of St. Louis, who at the time was also president of the National Association of Manufacturers, obtained from Justice Gould, of the District of Columbia, an injunction against the A. F. of L., the members of the Executive Council, both officially and individually, the officers and members of local and international unions affiliated to the A. F. of L., its agents, friends, sympathizers, or counsel, forbidding them in any way to publish, print, write, verbally or orally communicate the fact that the Buck's Stove and Range Company was unfair to or had any dispute with organized labor, or that it was "boycotted" by organized labor. The injunction prohibited the publication of the company's name upon the "We Don't Patronize" list of the A. F. of L., directly or indirectly, and all were forbidden to state, declare, or say that there existed or had been any dispute or difference of any kind between the company, the A. F. of L. or any of its affiliated organizations in any manner whatsoever. Hearing was had before the temporary injunction was issued by Justice Gould. He declined later to modify it or to explain its terms. On December 18 the court issued the temporary injunction, it becoming effective December 23 when the Buck's Stove and Range Company filed its bond, approved by the court. The temporary injunction was made permanent March 26, 1908, by Justice Clabaugh of the same court. Upon the authority of the Norfolk Convention of the American Federation of Labor an appeal from the injunction was taken to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, our main contention being that the terms of the injunction were in violation of fundamental constitutional rights and guarantees, and that it was, therefore, invalid and void. While this appeal was pending before the court, so hasty and vindictive was Mr. James W. Van Cleave, of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, that he petitioned the court which issued the injunction to adjudge President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell, and Secretary Morrison guilty of contempt of court and to require them to show cause why they should not be punished therefor. They were harassed for months, counsel and witnesses being required to travel throughout large sections of the country to take testimony. Days upon days were consumed in the examination of Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison at Washington. Practically the history of the A. F. of L., printed, written or unpublished, was made part of the testimony. The court heard argument of counsel on both sides as to whether the defendants, Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison, were guilty of contempt of court. And while the appeal on the original injunction was pending, Justice Wright on December 23, 1908, adjudged them guilty of contempt of court and imposed a sentence of six months, nine months, and one year's imprisonment respectively upon "Morrison, Mitchell, and Gompers."

This passing comment appears apropos. It is that an unprejudiced, impartial judge might well have deferred a decision in a contempt case alleging violation of an injunction while an appeal upon the validity of the injunction itself was pending and was being considered for decision by a higher court, and further, that the unprecedented sentences imposed were entirely in conflict with the spirit and plain provision of the constitution as being cruel and unusual. The language and manner of Justice Wright in delivering his opinion upon the guilt of the men charged with disobeying the terms of the injunction, the fact that he had given his opinion, or permitted it to be given out in advance, the whole mockery and formality of asking them whether they had any reasons to assign why sentence should not be pronounced, when he had determined on the sentences in advance; all these, as well as the matter and manner of the arrangement for the scene and the delivery of the opinion and sentence indicated the unfitness of the man to wear the judicial robe and occupy the judicial position. What were the offenses for which Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison sentenced to long months of imprisonment, and the ignominy of being classified as criminals? They had dared to defend their constitutional rights as men and as citizens, despite the injunction of a court which sought to invade the rights of free speech and free press secured to the Anglo-Saxon people centuries ago by Magna Charta and clinched by the adoption of the first amendment to the constitution of the United States. And what, after all, are the grounds upon which Justice Wright held the defendants guilty of violation of the terms of the injunction? When the injunction was issued and went into effect, both temporary and permanent, they proposed to test the principles involved before the established legal tribunals. By instruction of and with authority from the Executive Council the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company was removed from the "We Don't Patronize" list in the American Federationist. Vice-President Mitchell, it was alleged, violated the injunction by allowing certain acts to be performed by the officers of the A. F. of L., and also, that while presiding at a convention of the United Mine Workers of America, a resolution, regularly introduced by a delegate, calling upon the members of that organization not to bestow their patronage

upon the product of the Buck's Stove and Range Company was submitted by Mr. Mitchell to the delegates for a vote. Secretary Morrison was charged substantially with having violated the terms of the injunction in so far as that he sent, or caused to be sent out copies of the printed official proceedings of the previous convention of the A. F. of L. containing officers' and committee reports and resolutions of the convention relative to the Buck's Stove and Range Company's injunction and copies of the American Federationist containing similar references, circulars, appeals for funds, and editorials written by President Gompers on the injunction abuse. The allegations charging him with violating the terms of the injunction were that he did, or authorized, or directed to be done, these things; because, by authority of the convention and of the Executive Council he sent to fellow-workers and friends an appeal for funds in order that they might be in a position to defend themselves before the courts in the very injunction case involved; because in lectures and on the public platform, during the Presidential campaign President Gompers made addresses to the people giving the reasons for the vote as a citizen he was to cast at the then pending Presidential election, and because he dared editorially to discuss the fundamental principles involved, not only in the injunction pending but the entire abuse of the injunction writ. Aye, because he published in the American Federationist the order of the court to show cause why we should not be punished for contempt of the injunction was made part of the testimony upon which Justice Wright deemed it important to hold him guilty. Immediately after Justice Wright declared the defendants guilty of the injunction and imposed the sentences, notice of appeal was given and bonds furnished in the following sums: Gompers, $5,000; Mitchell, $4,000, and Morrison, $3,000, for appearance before the court at any time when called upon. On March 11, 1909—that is, nearly four months after Justice Wright imposed these sentences for alleged contempt of the injunction—the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia handed down its decision on our appeal in the original injunction. That court greatly modified the terms of the injunction, holding that no publication could be forbidden except in furtherance of a "conspiracy" to boycott. The injunction as modified and affirmed by the court is as follows:

"It is adjudged, ordered and decreed that the defendants, Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, John B. Lennon, James Duncan, John Mitchell, James O'Connell, Max Morris, Denis A. Hayes, Daniel J. Keefe, William B. Huber, Joseph F. Valentine, Rodney L. Thixton, Clinton O. Buckingham, Herman C. Poppe, Arthur J. Williams, Samuel R. Cooper and Edward L. Hickman, individually and as representatives of the American Federation of Labor, their and each of their agents, servants and confederates, be, and they hereby are, perpetually restrained and enjoined from conspiring or combining to boycott the business or product of complainant, and from threatening or declaring any boycott against said business or product, and from abetting, aiding or assisting in any such boycott, and from directly or indirectly threatening, coercing or intimidating any person or persons whomsoever from buying, selling or otherwise dealing in complainant's product, and from printing the complainant, its business or product in the 'We Don't Patronize' or 'Unfair' list of defendants in furtherance of any boycott against complainant's business or product, and from referring, either in print or otherwise, to complainant, its business or product, as in said 'We Don't Patronize' or 'Unfair' list in furtherance of any such boycott. The costs of this appeal are equally divided between appellants and appellee."

The court which handed down this "modified and affirmed" decision is composed of three judges, each of whom delivered different opinions. One justice who concurred in the conclusion gave different reasons. It is difficult to read Justice Van Orsdel's concurring opinion and reconcile it with his conclusion to affirm the injunction even in modified form. Chief Justice Shepard dissented from the conclusion of the court. We urge upon every wage-earner and every one interested in the discussion of great rights and principles involved to read the decision and opinions of the justices rendered in this case. The opinions and decision were published in the April, 1909, issue of the American Federationist. The Court of Appeals did not take any original testimony in the case, and the judges were somewhat in error in their estimate of the actual facts in relation to the boycott of the Buck's Stove and Range Company. This is understandable from the fact that the American Federation of Labor at no time entered a detailed defense to the allegations of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, although the charges were untrue in many important particulars. On account of the fundamental issues of free press and free speech, which were involved in the original injunction, we preferred to stand upon the unconstitutionality of the injunction rather than obscure this great issue by going into the details of the original trouble with the Buck's Stove and Range Company. Judge Wright's prejudiced and misleading extracts from the original testimony, and his ignoring of testimony, also tended still further to becloud the facts. The Court of Appeals said that the only reason the publication of the Buck's Stove and Range Company was enjoined from appearing on the "We Don't Patronize" list was because they believed that a "conspiracy" to boycott had been entered into and that "threats," intimidation and coercion had been used on innocent third parties. On this wrong assumption the modified injunction was affirmed.

It was regrettable that the court should have been so in error as to the facts of the boycott. Even if the defendants had been guilty of unlawful conspiracy and coercion and intimidation—and they were not—surely there should be some more adequate punishment than by a process of injunction. In fact, existing laws do provide greater punishments for these offenses, and the convention respectfully submits that if they are guilty of them they should be tried by the due process of law before a jury of their peers and if found guilty punished as the law provides, rather than be subjected to the caprice of a judge who solely determines the sufficiency of the charge, the guilt of the defendant and who imposes punish-

ment as his whim may prompt. It was to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, the personnel of which has undergone no change since the rendering of the opinion modifying the injunction, that the appeal in the contempt proceedings was made. It may be interesting to know that Justice Wright assessed "Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison" in the sum of $1,500 as costs of the injunction proceedings against them. From this decree an appeal is also pending.

(1910, pp. 29-118-311) An appeal was made to the Supreme Court of the U. S. in the Buck's Stove and Range Company's suit for injunction, and also a petition, supported by brief, for the issuance of a writ of certiorari in the contempt proceedings under which "Gompers, Mitchell, and Mosrison" were held as guilty of contempt of court for an alleged violation of the injunction and sentenced to imprisonment. The petition was presented to the court November 29, 1909. The petition and brief are lucid and interesting. The U. S. Supreme Court took the petition under advisement, and a week later, that is, on December 6, granted the petition. It should be stated that the counsel opposed to us also appealed against the modified injunction of the Court of Appeals, and that after the granting of the writ of certiorari the U. S. Supreme Court directed the two branches of the case to be considered and discussed at the same time. It is gratifying to report officially that the industrial dispute between organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company was, in July last, adjusted upon mutually honorable terms. The decease of the President of the company, Mr. Van Cleave, gave the opportunity for the new manager of the company to carry out his lifelong policy of friendliness toward and co-operation with organized labor. And now the opportunity is afforded to disclose the correctness of the position which we took in the contempt proceedings; that is to say, the A. F. of L.'s representatives made earnest efforts to come to an honorable understanding and adjustment of the matters in dispute between the Buck's Stove and Range Company and organized labor before the company's products were placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list. At that time we were not warranted in making public the names of the men either directly or indirectly associated with the company through whom such efforts were made. Since Labor's agreement of last July with the company we feel justified in stating that the efforts were made through Messrs. Hogan and Cribben, the then executive officers of the National Stove Founders' Defense Association, of which the Buck's Stove and Range Company was a member, and Mr. F. W. Gardner, the present chairman of the board of directors of the company. This fact disproves the position taken by Justice Wright when he declared that no such effort had been made by us. The agreement reached between organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company was published in the September, 1910, issue of The American Federationist, and a later agreement in compliance therewith was entered into at St. Louis, September 7, 1910. In connection with the published agreement, attention should be called to the fact that upon advice of counsel the representatives of Labor requested that those provisions in section 4 of the agreement by which the company was to withdraw its attorneys from the cases pending in the courts, be nullified. The company readily agreed to the request. It will be remembered that the counsel opposed to us in the case is retained by the so-called Anti-Boycott Association, and had appeared for the company as a member of that association. Under the old management and policy this was agreeable to both company and association. Our attorneys advised us that if we desired the U. S. Supreme Court to pass upon the principle underlying the judicial controversy, it would be unwise to insist upon the company's withdrawal of its attorneys of record in the case. In view of this fact, and the further fact that the attorneys of record opposed to us are equally with us fully intent upon having these fundamental principles determined by the U. S. Supreme Court, we were glad to avail ourselves of the suggestion of our attorneys, which, as already stated, was cordially acceded to by the company. However, from any standpoint, it has been the purpose of the A. F. of L., ever since injunctions of this character have been issued to have the U. S. Supreme Court pass judgment upon them. They are fundamental. They strike into the very bottom of the principles of personal liberty and equality before the law. If it were our purpose to avoid the consequences of the assertion of our rights, there has not been a time during these entire proceedings in the last five years when we could not have avoided them. But there had been developed in employers of labor and business men a mental attitude and condition in which they undertook to deny to the working people of our country rights which are accorded to all other citizens. The issue was clean-cut, and we have been glad of the opportunity to meet it. For years we have endeavored to make this issue before the courts. The dispute with the Buck's Stove and Range Company and the injunction issued upon its petition afforded the desired opportunity. At our own wish, as well as upon the direction of the A. F. of L., advantage was taken of this injunction in order that the case might be made full and complete and the issue tested before the several judicial tribunals until it had reached the U. S. Supreme Court. Inasmuch as the opportunity is afforded equally to Labor's opponents, we feel confident that they also will be glad that the questions at issue shall be determined by our highest judicial tribunal.

(1911, pp. 39-278-284-290) Since the last report much has happened in connection with the contempt proceedings and other litigation growing out of the original action of the American Anti-Boycott Association brought in the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company. An adjustment having been obtained in regard to our former difficulties with that company, when the appeals on the injunction were reached in the Supreme Court of the United States, that court indicated its conclusion that there was no longer a real legal dispute between our organization and the company, and that it would be unwilling to pass upon a case which was then purely moot. Following this intimation, the Supreme Court

directed that the appeals taken by both the company and ourselves should be dismissed, the costs to be equally divided With regard to the contempt case against Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, the history was somewhat different. After Mr. Justice Wright, in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, had found all guilty of contempt, and sentenced President Gompers to a year in jail, Mr. Mitchell to nine months, and Mr. Morrison to six months, they, through attorneys, considering the decision unjust, took an appeal. The attorneys regarded the petition filed by the plaintiffs as civil in its nature, and the appeal was arranged accordingly. Upon the hearing in the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, that court confirmed the sentences of Judge Wright, and held that the appeal was not taken in such manner as enabled it to consider the merits of the case, it having been treated as an appeal in equity, which would have been proper as a civil contempt, while the court regarded it as a purely legal matter, which should have been the subject of what is technically known as a bill of exceptions. They applied to the Supreme Court of the United States for the issuance of a writ of certiorari, representing to that body the magnitude of the case and the importance of the questions involved. The Supreme Court granted the writ, and the case, on their own part as well as their appeal in the principal case, was argued at great length. After a full hearing, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the contentions of their attorneys that the proceedings were civil in their nature, and that the appeal to the Court of Appeals was properly taken in the manner it was. Following largely the lines laid down in the argument of counsel, the Supreme Court held that the petition in contempt, originally filed in the name of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, was civil in its nature, and not criminal, but that the punishment undertaken to be meted out to the respondents was of a criminal character, its purpose having been apparently to vindicate the dignity of the court rather than to remedy the ills from which the company claimed originally to have suffered and desired to be cured. Considering, therefore, that the company had asked for something which was remedial in its nature, whereas the relief granted by Mr. Justice Wright was simply punitive, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of Justice Wright, which had been affirmed by the Court of Appeals, and sent back the cause to the lower courts, in the following language:

"The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed and the case remanded with directions to reverse the judgment of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia and remand the case to that court with direction that the contempt proceedings instituted by the Buck's Stove and Range Company be dismissed, but without prejudice to the power and right of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to punish by a proper proceeding contempt, if any, committed against it." On the morning after the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was orally rendered, and before any official or authentic copy of the decision was obtainable by any one, Justice Wright, taking advantage of the decision of the court, appointed a committee, consisting of the attorneys in the original injunction and contempt case, to make an investigation and report whether there be good cause for believing that Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison were guilty of contempt of court. The "committee" formulated charges and presented them to the court, and the defendants were cited to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt. The defendants' attorneys sought to have the case tried before another Judge than Justice Wright. This was overruled, and at a later session, because in the meantime President Gompers had testified before a committee of the United States Senate, during the course of which the course pursued by Justice Wright was brought by him to the attention of this committee, Justice Wright took cognizance of his statement to the Senatorial committee for further justification of his refusal to have another Judge try the case. Whereupon, because Justice Wright had in the previous case shown that his mind was biased against the defendants, and because of his latest expression in regard to President Gompers, their counsel renewed the motion for the case to be tried before another Judge of the same court, which in turn Justice Wright overruled. The committee of attorneys appointed by the court asked Justice Wright to refer the taking of testimony in the contempt proceedings to an Examiner, Defendants' counsel opposed, and urged that the case be heard in open court, where irrelevant testimony would be excluded and the defendants guaranteed the rights to which they were entitled, to be confronted by accusing witnesses, and to answer the same if necessary. It should be understood that when a case of this character is referred to an Examiner, obedience to subpoena, even to the defendants to testify against themselves, is expected to be obeyed, and that they are expected to answer any and all questions put, no matter how irrelevant they may be. It is true that counsel may object to the questions, but the answer is expected and under order of the court compelled to be given. It is true that when the written testimony is presented, the court may exclude these questions and the answers, but they have been written and are read by the Judge, and must have some influence in forming his judgment and decision.

(1912, pp. 124-348) The committee of attorneys recommended that it might be that Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison had believed that "the injunction was not binding" upon them because of what they claimed to be their "constitutional right of free speech and free press"; that it might be that, now that their contention had "not been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States," they might be prepared to make such "due acknowledgment, apology and assurance of future submission" to the court; that should such acknowledgment, apology and submission not be forthcoming after due notice and opportunity, the course necessary to be pursued to maintain its dignity and due respect for and obedience to the law, was submitted to the court for its consideration. No such apologies or acknowledgments were made, and in pursuance of these charges the re-trial of the

case began before Justice Wright, December 30, 1911. The taking of testimony lasted 25 days, during all of which time there was not a scintilla of evidence adduced which in any way reflected dishonorably upon our movement or our men. It clearly emphasized the fact of the determination to uphold, at whatever peril, the right of free speech and free press. The legal principle involved in the case is whether or not an order is void when issued by a department of the government in excess of its authority. The injunction issued against the defendants in this case was declared by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals to be in excess of the court's power to issue. The injunction, as issued, gave the court censorship over the press. Our counsel argued that the constitutional provisions were to prevent all previous restraints to publication. The argument of the case was completed March 15 and more than three months later, that is, on June 24, Justice Wright delivered his decision. As was expected, he confirmed his previous opinion. He declared Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison guilty of contempt of court, and sentenced them to imprisonment for twelve, nine and six months respectively. The decision aroused considerable comment because it was felt that Justice Wright had allowed personal opinions and feelings to determine his course. Our officials have stood firmly and unequivocally in defense of the right of free speech and free press. In that they have the almost universal approval and endorsement of the American people as well as of all men of other countries with whom we have had any contact or correspondence, and of the press of foreign countries which has come to our notice. The stand of the American labor movement, the position of our three colleagues, is the stand which right-thinking, liberty-loving men in all countries and in all climes have taken for centuries. It was wrung from an unwilling monarch of Great Britain hundreds of years ago and writ in Magna Charta. It was given a new meaning in the Declaration of Independence, in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and in the constitutions of every one of the States of our Union. It is a stand from which the American labor movement must not, and can not, recede. It is a stand which must ultimately be recognized and established for every citizen of our country and our time, regardless of who, in the meantime, must suffer in the struggle for its attainment. There is one fact which stands out clearly: that is, that our colleagues, Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, even though they may have to suffer imprisonment in this case, will bear no obloquy, but it will be to their honor and their credit in having made the stand for the rights of man. In addition, the circumstance was most unfortunate that the original appeal on the injunction itself, and which primarily involved the principle for which we were contending, that is, free speech and free press, became a moot case because, in the logical work in connection with our movement, we could not refrain from entering into an agreement with the company which had obtained the injunction. Therefore, the appeal on the injunction was dismissed and nothing but the appeal upon the contempt case was before the Supreme Court. An appeal from Justice Wright's decision and sentence was taken to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.

(1913, pp. 73-300) The District Court of Appeals gave its decision May 5, 1913. The opinion of the court, written by Justice Van Orsdel and concurred in by Justice Robb, sustained the lower court in finding Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison guilty of contempt of court, but declared the sentences imposed by Justice Wright a violation of judicial discretion. The court changed the sentences imposed from imprisonment for twelve, nine, and six months to imprisonment for thirty days for President Gompers, and $500 fines for Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison. In justifying this modification of sentences the court said:

"The differences which necessitated the injunction have been settled. The sole purposes of punishment, therefore, is to give reasonable assurance that respondents will in the future respect the authority of the courts. While the injunction was issued to restrain the most subtle and far-reaching conspiracy to boycott that has come to our attention, the boycott has ceased and the necessity for the injunction no longer existed at the time this case was tried below. A penalty, therefore, which would have been justifiable to prevent further defiance of the order of the court but for the settlement, would now be needless and excessive. Had the court below imposed penalties not greatly in excess of those which we now deem adequate, we would not feel justified in holding that there had been an abuse of discretion. Since, however, the penalties imposed are so unreasonably excessive, and we are called upon to modify the judgment, we prefer to err, if at all, on the side of moderation. No one, however, can read this record without being convinced that respondent Gompers had been chief factor in this contempt; hence, a severer punishment is merited in his case than in the cases of the other respondents." In this, as in the first contempt case, Chief Justice Shepard wrote a dissenting opinion. He held that the Statute of Limitations did apply to the particular offenses charged and would bar all specifications of the charges against John Mitchell and all except one against Frank Morrison. This was the one charging Mr. Morrison with the circulation of the American Federationist for September, 1908. The Chief Justice added: "As to this the charge is too general to put the party under notice." As to the charges specified against President Gompers, within the three-year period Chief Justice Shepard did not consider that any of the evidence produced constituted a violation of the injunction. This opinion concludes with a consideration of the failure of the defendants to apologize, as was suggested by the report of the committee appointed by Justice Wright. The Chief Justice stated: "The failure or refusal to accept the suggestion has been considered as important in measuring the intent and temper of the defendants. I am unable to see how the refusal to apologize for an act, the commission of which had been expressly denied, shows a reprehensible intent or temper. On the contrary, it seems to me

the natural conduct of a self-respecting man. Having sworn that he had neither disobeyed nor intended to disobey the mandate of the court, a confession that he had done so would be a solemn admission of wilful perjury. Moreover, the demand that the court be acquainted 'before these proceedings close with your conviction whether you ought and whether you hereafter expect to lend adherence to the decrees of judicial tribunals of the land in matters committed by law to their jurisdiction and power,' was entirely outside of the offense charged and beyond the power of any court." The opinion of the District Court of Appeals did not give a decision to the fundamental issues upon which organized labor had been so long asking a judicial ruling. Labor wished to know what position the highest court of the land would take upon the matter involved—namely, when a court transcends the power delegated to it by law, and issues an order forbidding persons to do that which they have a lawful right to do, rights which are specifically guaranteed and protected by the written Constitution, is that order null and void? Organized labor had been prohibited the right of free speech and of free press—the rights essential to the presentation and discussion of grievances and abuses. Therefore, the counsel for the American Federation of Labor were instructed to file a petition in the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of certiorari to obtain a review of the case by the highest tribunal of the land. The modification of sentences made by the District Appeal Court was displeasing to Judge Wright, who filed a petition asking the Supreme Court to reverse that part of the decision which reduced the sentences. The petition, charging the appeal court with transgressing the bounds of its authority, is an incident unique in the history of jurisprudence. The Supreme Court of the United States, to cover any possible technical question, has granted a writ of error and an appeal.

(1914, p. 94) The proceedings in the Supreme Court of the U. S. were presented in different technical ways so as to meet any condition the court might find to have existed; that is, by writ of error, appeal, and petition for certiorari. Our petition for certiorari was recognized as proper. On May 11, 1914, the case was decided in favor of the respondents and the judgments of the courts below reversed, this action being taken by seven of the judges, Justices Van Devanter and Pitney alone dissenting. While it may seem that the decision afforded us only a technical victory, in point of fact the decision of the Supreme Court tends to sustain certain contentions of Labor the importance of which can scarcely be overestimated. It has been argued on behalf of courts that contempt cases were not like ordinary criminal cases, but were so far personal to the court itself that they might not be the subject of jury action. For the purpose of contempt the court was regarded as a law unto itself, and its action not to be limited or restrained by legislative power. The decision of the Supreme Court is directly in the teeth of this view and shows that a proceeding for contempt does not differ in its essence from any ordinary charge of crime, even though it may not be the custom generally to allow trial by jury with regard to it. So far does the court go in this direction that it states: "Maintenance of their authority does not often make it really necessary for courts to exert their own power to punish, as is shown by the English practice in more violent days than these, and there is no more reason for prolonging the period of liability when they see fit to do so than in the case where the same offense is proceeded against in the common way." The decision lays much stress upon the fact that in the earlier days of the English law trial by jury was customary in contempt cases. The court said: "These contempts are infractions of the law visited with punishment as such. If such acts are not criminal, we are in error as to the most fundamental characteristic of crimes as that word has been understood in English speech. So truly are they crimes that it seems to be proved that in the early law they were punished only by the usual criminal procedure, and that at least in England it seems that they still may be and preferably are tried in that way."

(1914, p. 365) We congratulate the defendants and all their associates in the labor movement that this case has been terminated and will no longer stand as it did for so long as a possible bar or at least a hindrance to efforts in other directions. It served well a purpose which was hardly in the mind of the prosecuting Judge at the time he began his ferocious and unmitigated onslaught against Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. He served to call attention of the public to certain abuses in a way more emphatic and more convincing than had ever been attained and the result of this discussion has certainly been advantageous to the labor organizations of America and of the world, and now, at the end of this year, we find that neither Gompers, Mitchell nor Morrison were called upon to serve one day in jail as the result of the desire for vengeance on the part of this judicial tyrant, but on the contrary they stand before their fellow-men vindicated in their course, while the Judge himself stands before his fellow-men disgraced and on the way to that oblivion from which his only possible escape will be that he may be remembered as the man who tried, but failed, to put three labor leaders in jail.

Building Employes—(1916, p. 143) The interests of the janitors and elevator employes would be injured, not helped, by the formation of an international union of building employes, it being apparent its maintenance would be difficult if not impossible, owing to infringement on jurisdiction of various trades.

Building Trades Council, National—(1897, pp. 64-95-6) All unions were advised to discourage formation of a national building trades council, for if persisted in it would endanger A. F. of L. A convention for the purpose was then in session in St. Louis, but as it was not organized on the basis of "one for all and all for one" it eventually failed. (1899, p. 156) Declared local building trades councils of great benefit, but the National Building Trades Council had assumed an attitude of rivalry and hostility, not only to the A. F. of L. but to local unions of affiliated bodies, going so far as to charter independent unions organized to antagonize regular organizations.

(1900, p. 20) National Building Trades Council still holds itself aloof and in some cases is antagonistic to the purposes of the A. F. of L.

Bureau of Engraving Director Removed—(1898, pp. 73-116) Charges made against Director Claude M. Johnson and repeated in 1899 (p. 115) submitted with proof to Secretary of Treasury, who permitted him to resign (1900, p. 27).

Canadian Labor Movement.—(1902, pp. 14-224) The Canadian Trade and Labor Congress in 1902, the largest and most representative of any ever held, inserted a clear-cut declaration in its constitution in favor of the closest bond of unity and fraternity with the A. F. of L. It placed itself squarely on record in accord with the principles of international trade unionism. (p. 225) Believed that permitting the Canadian Trade and Labor Union Congress to charter federal and local unions would have a tendency to divide the labor movement and it was refused.

(1903, pp. 21-92) Progress of labor organizations in Canada gratifying. (p. 159) Condemned the "National Trades and Labor Congress," whose motto is "Canada for the Canadians," which was fostered by Canadian employers after the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada had excluded independent unions and local assemblies of the Knights of Labor.

(1904, p. 20; 1905, pp. 16-187; 1906, p. 16; 1907, p. 25; 1908, p. 11) Great growth of the Canadian labor movement reported each year.

(1909, p. 256) Executive Council commended for aid given in organizing Canadian wage earners, especially the French-speaking race in the Province of Quebec.

(1910, p. 270) Convention adopted: 1. That the Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada have the sole right to speak and act for organized labor in all political and legislative matters in the Dominion and all of its provinces. 2. That the autonomy of International Unions in trade matters be maintained as heretofore. 3. That the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress shall have the sole right to issue chrters (certificates of affiliation) to provincial or local central bodies in Canada. 4. That Canadian provincial or central bodies holding charters from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress may at their discretion also hold charters from the American Federation of Labor.

(1911, p. 276) International unions having locals in Canada were urged to have them affiliate with the Trades and Labor Congress.

(1912, p. 15) Reports from every industrial center show that either by collective bargaining or the use of the strike remarkable progress has been made in shortening the workday and increasing wages. Organizers reported the year was the best in the history of the labor movement in Canada and that the attempt to develop a purely Canadian type of trade unionism doomed to failure.

Canadian Laws—(1897, p. 96) Instructed Executive Council to pay especial attention to interests of the unions in Canada and cooperate with the Dominion Trades Congress to urge favorable legislation by parliament. (1898, p. 54) Appropriated $100 a year for legislative agitation in Canada.

Canadian Members, Tax on—(1907, p. 213) International unions must pay per capita tax on Canadian members to A. F. of L. as well as to the Canadian Trades and Lbor Congress.

Capital Punishment—(1895, p. 38) Declared capital punishment a barbarous and "revolting practice" and should be abolished.

Carnival Shows—(1903, p. 208) Central bodies warned against making contracts with carnival shows, which in every instance had proved financial failures and caused dissention in the ranks.

Caste, Abolition of—(1904, p. 167) The trade union movement stands for the abolition of the, at present, yet prevailing opinion that the laborer, because he is a laborer, is something less than a citizen, and has not the full right as such. It endeavors to establish on the industrial field such equality and such opportunity as has been granted on the political field, not only theoretically, but in fact, as lived and experienced in everyday life. The growing understanding of the movement, in its essence, the understanding of its law of growth, and the growth itself as such, gives to each worker in the movement his or her greatest incentive to continued effort, and to the friends of labor and progress everywhere a great cause of satisfaction. It naturally unites those who insist upon a development toward industrial feudalism.

Census—(1891, p. 40) Indorsed bill for permanent census bureau under direction of the Department of Labor; that the enumeration of the population could be ascertained early and announced immediately. (1893, pp. 13-42) Reaffirmed. (1909, p. 316) Amendments had been secured to the census bill providing all printing be done in the government printing office, thereby insuring performance of the work under fair conditions and upon an eight hour basis.

Central Bodies—(1911, p. 211) Refused to make mandatory the formation of a central body in a city where there are one or more local unions or to join such a body if one is in existence.

Central Bodies, Loyalty of—(1905, p. 225) If central bodies are loyal to the A. F. of L. they will abide by its decisions.

Central Body for Two or More Cities—(1898, pp. 59-68-127) Resolution providing for only one central body where two or more cities are divided by an imaginary line was defeated.

Central Labor Bodies—(1905, pp. 15-206) Our local central labor unions, assemblies, and federations are accomplishing a vast amount of good in the interests of labor and the people generally. These local central bodies are, to their respective local jurisdictions, what our American Federation of Labor is to all America, a parliament of the wage-earners, where the needs of the hour and the work and hopes of the morrow are recounted and formulated; where the best methods are devised for making the burdens of the toilers lighter, their homes and lives better, and for the uplift of the common weal. It may not be amiss to call

attention that here and there a central body, by the pursuit of a course wholly repugnant and foreign to the interests, the policy, and the purposes of the trade union movement, may shape its course to its own decimation. In connection with this subject, it is recommended that our local central labor bodies should adopt a constitutional provision specifically setting forth the time when adjournment of the meeting must take place, and also that no special meeting of the body shall be held within twenty-four hours from the time of any regular meeting. Such a provision would relieve them of the complaint sometimes indulged in, whether justifiedly or not, that meetings are sometimes prolonged far beyond a seemly hour, when a large number of members or delegates are forced by circumstances to leave the meeting room, and at which time, it is alleged, some of the most important legislation is transacted.

(1906, p. 220) Central bodies notified they must refrain from taking part in adjustment of wage contracts or disputes of local unions unless the laws of the parent body permit it.

(1910, p. 270) Recommended national and international unions make it mandatory for local unions to affiliate with state and city central bodies.

(1914, p. 492) One reason assigned for lack of harmony between the A. F. of L. and some central bodies and their failure to obey the mandates of the federation is that national and international unions do not secure the affiliation of their locals with the central bodies. These recurring complaints are the cause of the friction. It was recommended that a representative of the A. F. of L. visit each international union convention and urge legislation insisting on locals affiliating with central bodies.

(1915, pp. 60-477) Executive Council reported recommendation had been carried out and convention adopted similar instructions.

..Charter Must Be Surrendered by Union—(1911, p. 334) President decided the presiding officer of the International Association of Carworkers had no right to surrender its charter as an individual, as he had usurped the prerogatives of the membership that had not spoken on the question.

Charters, How Issued—(1905, p. 201) Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all national and international unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation (sec. 1, art. XIV).

Charters Issued by President—(1901, pp 158-229) The president is empowered to issue charters without reference to the Executive Council when no protest appears.

Charters, Revocation of—(1912, p. 401) Refused to amend constitution providing charters could be revoked only by a two-thirds vote of a convention, as it would permit any central body or state federation between conventions to be unhampered in the admission of all sorts of rival, dual, secession or antagonistic organizations.

Child Labor and Compulsory Education—(1881, p. 3) This declaration was made in the first constitution adopted: "We are in favor of the passage of laws in the several states forbidding the employment of children under the age of 14 in any capacity under penalty of fine and imprisonment." The plank was unsuccessfully opposed (p. 18) on the ground its enforcement "would be an interference with individual rights." Another said there was no greater crime under the heavens than of employing children in factories; that children are driven into factories by brutal fathers. Boys are training for criminals and girls for prostitutes. Charged that little children of 6 and 7 years of age had been seen in the middle of a room in the dust of a tenement house in New York City stripping tobacco and toiling from dawn until late into the night.

(1883, p. 8) New Jersey prohibited employment of infants, and Maine children under 12. Michigan enacted a compulsory education law for children and Massachusetts' ten hour law for women was extended to all industrial establishments.

(1884, p. 9) Children 5 to 8 years were working in Rhode Island mills 64 to 74 hours a week for less pay than given in Massachusetts mills where the ten hour day was adhered to and children under 10 not permitted to work and those between 10 and 14 were compelled to attend school 20 weeks in the year. Condemned "pernicious system known as child labor." Urged federal amendment limiting hours for females and minors in textile industries.

(1885, p. 18) Demanded children under 14 be educated and not allowed to work in mills.

(1887, p. 30) Demanded compulsory education laws and the teaching of the science of government in the public schools.

(1888, p. 29) Instructed officers to take steps against children being taken from orphan asylums to other states and putting them to work in mines and workshops to the detriment of their moral and physical well being.

(1889, p. 23) Urged law abolishing child labor under 14 in the mills, factories and stores.

(1890, p. 15) Of all the ills from which mankind suffers that which rises to horrible proportions is that of child labor. The children of the workers have none to raise a voice in their defense other than the organized workers. (p. 34) Called on unions to secure legislation in states against the employment of minors under 14. (p. 40) Favored constitutional amendment forbidding employment of children under 14 in factories, mines and mercantile establishments.

(1891, p. 40) Reaffirmed. (pp. 16-40) Because tariff question overwhelmed Congress resolution for a constitutional amendment was not presented. (p. 32) Again insisted on compulsory education laws to compel every child between 6 and 14 to attend school at least nine months every year.

(1892, p. 46) Declared for compulsory education in all states.

(1893, p. 15) The damnable system that permits young and innocent children to have their very lives worked out of them in factories, mills, workshops and stores is one of the very worst grievances of labor and in the reformation of which we never shall cease our agitation until we have rescued them and placed them where they should be, in the school room and playground. (p. 37) Declared in favor of free

and compulsory education in every state, territory and the District of Columbia.

(1894, p. 31) Reaffirmed.

(1898, pp. 65-127) Refused to indorse plan to impose an internal revenue tax of 50 per cent on all establishments where children under 14 are employed or minors or women are required to work more than eight hours a day, or 48 per week; believed tax would act as a license and therefore make such employment legal.

(1899, p. 12) Indorsed move to enact law by Georgia legislature limiting hours of employment of children.

(1900, p. 28) Alabama had repealed a law forbidding the employment of children and limiting the hours of labor of all minors. Organizers were creating sentiment for a new law. (p. 67) Regretted defeat of the Georgia bill. Though defeated, it becomes our duty to undertake an agitation for the creation of a healthier public opinion—to arouse the conscience of the people of Georgia, so that when this humane proposition is again introduced, it will be enacted into law, and thus preserve the health and save the lives of thousands of otherwise helpless children.

(1901, pp. 16-171) Of the many injustices and wrongs growing out of our modern industrial system, none is so grievous or so inexcusable as that of the employment of young and innocent children who should be in the schoolroom, the playground or the home; developing their physical, mental, and moral well-being. Surely, in our day, with the wonderful productive forces of steam and electricity, and the highest developed machinery found anywhere on the globe, there is not even a semblance of an excuse to exploit the labor of children of tender years for profit and private gain to the detriment of the manhood and womanhood of our day, and the future of those who are now too often dwarfed through the rapacity on conscienceless employers. From the earliest period our modern trade unions have always been in the forefront to demand the protection and safety of the children, insisting that inasmuch as they are liable to the cupidity of the profit-mongers as well as the ignorance of some parents, they should be regarded as the wards of the state; that it, with its power, should step in and see to it that its future citizens, men and women alike, should not become mental or physical deformities or derelicts on the body politic. (p. 187) It is a sad commentary upon our industrial system that the tendency is ever to take the woman and child from the home and immure them within the factory's walls. For the protection of the woman we concur in the suggestion that to them be further extended the benefits of organization. (p. 217) Recommended state federations secure legislation against child labor.

(1902, p. 22) Kentucky had enacted an effective law and a public sentiment had been aroused in all states of the union that would result in the adoption of such beneficent measures.

(1903, p. 28) The A. F. of L. has been successful in securing child labor laws in Oregon, Texas and Alabama. The latter's law is not one to give satisfaction but is a beginning on which we can justly count for improvement in future. In New York and Pennsylvania child labor laws had been improved. We can be engaged in no more praiseworthy work than to save the children, to protect their lives from the exploitation of avaricious employers, to gain for the children of our time and of the future not only the right to live but the right and opportunity of an education, of light and sunshine, and of play, that they may physically and mentally grow and morally expand, that they may become strong men and women of the future, ready to enjoy the privileges and perform the obligations devolving upon them in their time.

(1904, p. 160) We most earnestly call the attention of the public press, ministers, teachers and all reform bodies to take up the cause of the child, 2,000,000 of whom of tender years are employed in the various industries of the country, the cause being the greed of employers and poverty of parents; that child labor shall be forever abolished and the child placed in school where it properly belongs.

(1905, pp. 77-233) Competent authority declares that not only is the employment of children the cause of their premature "taking off," but that it so enervates them, and undermines their health that in their young manhood and womanhood they are most susceptible to the ravages of tuberculosis. We cannot complacently accept as final the present status of laws, or the moral conception, which permits avarice setting out its dragnet for the children of the poor. We cannot permit the machinations of greed to grind the bodies and souls of our children into dollars. (p. 189) The child of today contains the citizen of tomorrow. No country can afford to squander the possibilities of its young for commercial gain. For both economic and ethical reasons, unionism demands the abolition of child labor.

(1906, pp. 30-177) Approved joint resolution of Congress directing the Department of Labor to make an investigation on the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical conditions of woman and child workers in the U. S. President of U. S. was informed that opponents were seeking to show such an investigation would be an "unnecessary duplication" of figures gathered by the Census Bureau. He insisted a comprehensive sociological investigation should be made. Under modern conditions of industry, where so many women, and particularly children, are employed under conditions which not only stunt the physical and mental growth and development, but undermine and destroy the moral and social fibre of those who should make up the manhood and womanhood of the people, the citizenship of the future, it is essential that a thoroughly comprehensive investigation should be made so that the condition we know to exist may be equally known to all our people. It should be made so that such a course may be pursued as shall best safeguard the womanhood and childhood of our time from the avaricious exploitation now in vogue. (p. 164) Directed Legislative Committee to cooperate with the National Child Labor Committee in securing enactment of laws in the several states prohibiting the employment of children under 16 years.

(1907, pp. 28-205) The humane work inaugurated and conducted by the labor move-

ment to eliminate child labor in the industrial and commercial affairs of our country has borne good fruit and is destined to bring still better results. In the early history of labor's efforts to obtain this end, we were met by the bitterest and most relentless antagonism. Our motives were aspersed and our efforts ridiculed just as are now the demands which organized labor makes upon society in its claims for the present and for the immediate future. Today there is not an institution in our country, political, commercial, financial or religious, but which is committed in some way to the abolition of child labor. Better than all, it is now the universal judgment of all our people that the facts as to the existence of child labor shall be investigated and ascertained and such legislation enacted as shall take the children from the factory, the work-shop, the mill, the mine and the store or anywhere they are employed for profit, and give to them the opportunities and advantages of the home, the school and the playground, that they may imbibe the sunshine and the light to grow into the physical and mental manhood and womanhood of the future. (p. 337) Reaffirmed demand for child labor legislation in various states.

(1908, pp. 25-218) Law was enacted forbidding the labor of children under 14 years of age in the District of Columbia after great efforts had been made to prevent the age limit being fixed at 12 years. This protest made by the president of the A. F. of L. to Congress prevented the age limit being fixed at 12 years: "The heart and the conscience and the good sense of our people have been aroused against the great wrong and injury resulting from the labor of young and innocent children. So far as this reform movement has gone, in 35 of our states the law upon the statute books provides the 14-year age limit and in only nine is there a law providing for the 12-year age limit. If the Congress of the United States were to enact a law by which the age limit of the labor of children would be set at 12 years, it would be the severest blow which this humane movement could receive. Here in the capital of the United States, with Congress legislating upon this subject, it would seem that even a fair conception of right and duty would permit the enactment of a law that shall set the age permitting children to work in the industries of Washington at not less than 14 years. The fact that there is no law upon the statute books regulating or limiting the labor of children in the District of Columbia is a severe reflection in itself. To now enact a law that would set the permissive age at 12 years for children to labor would not only be a serious mistake and contribute to retard the progressive movement toward eliminating child labor, but, as already stated, would be regarded as reactionary in the extreme. It were far better that Congress would not enact a law upon the subject at all than to pass the bill reported by your committee to the House." Convention directed a bill be drawn providing for a sufficient appropriation to pay inspectors and officers to rigidly enforce the law. (p. 177) Sixty per cent of the 600,000 textile workers are women and children and this militates against the progress of these workers by organized effort. We favor the appointment on every state commission on uniform laws representatives of organized labor to the end the worst state laws will be put on a level with the best; that the movement to uplift the women workers and abolish child labor may be carried on in a more universal manner so that state cannot be used against state.

(1909, pp. 29-316) The most precious heritage of a nation is its children. This truth is scarcely yet fully realized. One of the greatest dangers to the health and patriotic life of a country has been the exploitation of our helpless children. Children are the wards of the nation, the responsibility for which can not and must not be shifted. The century past was noted for many remarkable discoveries, but none was greater than that of the great economic and social power of woman. Our present century will be noted for much greater and more significant advance, the importance of the discovery of child nurture, the value of childhood. The science of raising and training children has only just begun to appeal to the great mass of the people as a serious proposition. When the young heads, hearts, and minds are trained in an intelligent, scientific, and humane course, the era of the industrial slaughter of the innocents will have been obliterated and they will in their innocence be preserved, cultivated and developed to their fullest mental, moral, and social welfare. In the past it was the policy of our opponents to play the backwardness of one state against another, and under the plea of hindrance to economic and industrial progress, the road to success was made doubly difficult. What now is required to raise the level of the poorest laws in the most backward states to the standard of the best laws in the most progressive states. Let the efforts of all be directed to follow this suggestive plan systematically, and the evil of child labor will be more readily and effectively eradicated from our entire industrial and commercial life.

(1910, p. 35) The persistency and patience of the organized workers in behalf of the children of the nation are being rewarded. After years of heroic effort and weary periods of misrepresentation and misinterpretation by the gradgrinds of industry, the goal of ultimate success gradually but surely is being reached. The child, our nation's most priceless possession, is at last being recognized by society as its most valuable asset. Some other influential portions of society have at last, after our repeated warnings, continual struggles, and gratifying successes, been convinced that we are right in asking protection for the child. They are taking a leaf from our book of endeavor and aspiration and are now rendering us valuable aid in behalf of better child labor laws. This is as it should be, and as it should have been years ago. If it had been so, our newly discovered auxiliaries could more consistently claim credit they are now appropriating without stint. This is another evidence of the truism, "Nothing succeeds like success." The period has now arrived when the average Member of a Legislature is proud if he can make a good record on "child labor legislation." (p. 264) Bill pro-

viding for a "Children's Bureau" in the Department of Commerce and Labor referred to Executive Council.

(1911, p. 35-284) The investigation the A. F. of L. had induced the Fifty-ninth Congress to make was successful. Eleven volumes of the results were published, the last on "Accidents in the Metal Trades," contains these five specific conclusions: 1. The hazard to women in these industries is distinct and considerable. 2. When men and women work at the same task its dangers menace the women much more seriously. 3. The employment of children have in general only those dangers common to all factory work. Their employment at dangerous tasks is rare and seems to be decreasing. 4. Negligence of the worker as a cause of accident has been greatly over-emphasized. 5. The accidents of most frequent occurrence are largely preventable. (pp. 35-285) Favorable action on instituting a Children's Bureau was expected.

(1912, pp. 40-345) Law enacted providing for a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor. The measure was opposed by some so-called "child welfare organizations." A permanent Bureau of the Federal Government will be enabled to maintain continuous supervision, investigation and records, and thus educate and arouse public sentiment. Uniform laws embodying the best provisions of legislation regulating the employment of women and children can be enacted in all of the States, if our organizations in each State act as vigorously and faithfully in the future as they have in the past. The measure establishing the Federal Children's Bureau is without doubt the beginning of a great reform. It is a great satisfaction to know that our organizations took such active part in successfully prevailing upon Congress to establish that Bureau.

(1913, pp. 57-298) Executive Council directed to continue its efforts to secure legislation for the proper control of the child labor evil.

(1914, pp. 76-346) No dividends, no profits can compensate for the waste and the wrong of child labor. The greatest possession that any nation has is its men and its women. No nation can be greater than the masses of its men and women. There is no more deadly certain way to undermine national power than to deny its children rights necessary to most complete development of heart, mind, and body. Child labor denies these opportunities, not only to the individuals themselves but to their children and their children's children. The effect of the wrong and waste is cumulative, sapping the life-force of the nation.

Many industries in our country are soulless corporations as heartless as the "ogres" that were said to eat children. They have taken these little ones and have done their most to them. They have set dreary, tiresome tasks for little hands, they have permitted little feet to tread in dangerous places—all that they might have higher profits.

Statistics of child labor, however appalling, are a most inadequate method of evaluating the incalculable—the effect of child labor upon human minds, bodies, and ideals. Child labor robs children of a chance to grow, a chance to learn and a chance to dream. It robs them of the chance to attain the fullest development of manhood and womanhood. It leaves them with a sense of the world's injustice burned into their inmost beings.

Children will become better citizens when the wrong of child labor is abolished. They will become healthier, more capable men and women when uninjured by premature overwork. They will become greater men and women when removed from associations that degrade and injure.

Child labor is not essential to any industry. An industry which can not be profitably conducted without using child labor is not necessary to society and is abhorrent to the social conscience. Men and women with hearts do not wish to encourage or to indorse in any degree those who profit by child labor. But often they are placed in the unfair position of giving seeming approval through patronage because they do not have access to information that will enable them to act in accordance with their sense of justice and their conviction of right. It is due to those who earnestly desire the welfare of the nation's children that they should have the opportunity to help in the conservation and protection of the children. It is a most solemn obligation due the children that all organizations for human welfare should use every available agency to promote humanity's progress.

Therefore, the A. F. of L., the greatest humanitarian movement of the country, declares that any who profit by the toil of children at all or by the labor of other minors required to toil more than eight hours a day, is unfair and unworthy of the patronage of true patriots and those who desire human welfare. (p. 76) Bill introduced in Congress prohibiting interstate transportation of products in the production of which the labor of children under certain ages are employed. A joint resolution also was introduced proposing an amendment to the U. S. constitution that "the Congress shall have power to regulate throughout the United States the employment of women and persons under 21 years of age."

(1915, p. 105) Executive Council reported that a child labor bill would become a law in the near future, as Congress was not inclined to set itself against the enlightened public sentiment of the people in behalf of better opportunities for children.

(1916, p. 90) We consider, as an organization of thoughtful, devoted and persistent advocates of judicious legislation that will protect the youth of our land, as well as to conserve the best interest possible for the children yet unborn, that we should congratulate ourselves upon the fact that due to the most persistent efforts we have finally secured a federal law which will protect the children in each and all of the states, in so far as such protection to the children can be afforded by federal authority. The Federal Child Labor bill has been passed and is now a law effective September 1, 1917. Evilly disposed persons and professional fault-finders have already attacked this Child Labor law, its sponsors, the party in power responsible for it and the administration officials, with the broad statement that it is a "gold brick." They deliber-

ately attack the law and either ignorantly or designedly fail to distinguish between producing plants, shops or factories and warehouses or storehouses which, of course, frequently are and always may be located under the same roof as the producing plant and still be absolutely distinct under the meaning of the provision, prohibiting from interstate commerce any product removed from a plant in which child labor had been employed within thirty days previous.

(1917, pp. 117-413) A bill was introduced in Congress to postpone the date for the operation of the Child Labor Law until one year after the conclusion of the war. In addition an injunction was sought in the federal court of the Western District of North Carolina to restrain enforcement of the law on the ground it is unconstitutional. Ronald H. Dagenhart declared his two sons worked in the cotton mills and that he was to receive their wages until they became of age. Federal Judge Boyd declared the law unconstitutional, thus making the measure inoperative in that district. The main issue is based on the contention that the law is an interference with state rights. We shall do all in our power to have the law sustained by the Supreme Court. (p. 413) The A. F. of L. is unalterably opposed to employment in gainful occupations of children under 16.

(1918, p. 113) Arguments on the appeal to the Supreme Court were made April 15, 1918, but no decision had been made before the convention convened. (p. 316) June 3 the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. The A. F. of L. urged the government to immediately cause an order to be issued, having for its purpose prohibiting the transportation of all articles or commodities manufactured or produced by child labor, or into which child labor has entered, along similar lines as were contained in the law held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. It is further authorized that bills be prepared and presented to Congress firmly establishing for all time the true concept of our people to the constitutional right to fully safeguard the children of our nation. The first shock to the public (caused by the decision) within and without the labor movement, is caused by the direct blow against the conservation of our manhood and womanhood of tomorrow, and the first effort must be toward limiting the disastrous effects of the decision as far as may be possible pending new legislation. But we hope that an additional result will be the placing of effective restrictions on the power of five men to nullify the legislative enactments of the duly constituted representatives of over 100,000,000 free people; this convention instructs the Executive Council to make an effort to secure such restriction.

Child Labor in D. of C.—(1908, p. 25) Law enacted forbidding children under 14 working for wages in the District of Columbia. The age limit was increased to 14 from 12 after urgent requests of the A. F. of L.

Children's Bands—(1908, p. 166) The custom of organizing bands of musicians of children 6 to 14 years old living in eleemosynary institutions to compete with professional musicians declared a most unfair form of child labor. Juvenile bands should not be exploited but confined to the institutions for purely educational purposes.

Chinese Employing White Girls—(1913, p. 370) Evils arising from the employment of females in establishments owned by Chinese and Japanese constitute, both morally and economically, a serious menace to society and should be abolished by law. (1914, 364) Indorsed bill to prohibit females working for Asiatics under any circumstances.

Chinese Exclusion—(1881, p. 4) The first convention declared 30 years' experience of the Pacific Coast with Chinese had proved their competition with white labor was the greatest evil with which a country could be afflicted; that publicity as to its true character be disseminated throughout the country and Congress urged to enact an exclusion act.

(1882, p. 9) Legislative Committee reported monster demonstrations everywhere against Chinese immigration. Bill passed by Congress was not satisfactory and had been made inoperative on the coast by decisions of a government official and judges of California. (p. 17) Legislative Committee was instructed to obtain a true interpretation of the act.

(1885, p. 17) Convention refused to indorse the use of force in settling the Chinese question but demanded rigid enforcement of the exclusion act.

(1886, p. 17) Demanded enactment of laws by Congress to prevent the courts being used as back doors to admit such immigration. Efforts of the surveyor of the port of San Francisco had been nullified by court decisions.

(1887, p. 30) Insisted on a more stringent law and in 1888 (p. 10) Congress prohibited the landing of Chinese anywhere in the U. S.

(1889, p. 15) President reported law flagrantly violated while all which protect the interests, notably the tariff, are strictly enforced; that decisions of courts were peculiar and the influence of the Chinese Six Companies could only be appreciated by those who have lived in San Francisco.

(1892, p. 39) Indorsed stand of Pacific Coast unions to place Japanese in same status as Chinese. Also asked Treasury Department to permit representatives of organized labor to be present when return certificates were issued Chinese.

(1893, p. 13) Influenced by the Chinese Six Companies, Chinamen defied the registration act and government officials did not deport them as required by law. This gave them the idea the law was not to be enforced.

(1894, p. 12) The Secretary of State negotiated a treaty with the representative of the Chinese government in reference to Chinese immigration. The executive council after due consideration of the matter and after obtaining the best legal advice, concluded that the treaty was a departure from the policy of our government and inimical to the interests of labor to have the matter of Chinese immigration subject to treaty stipulation with a foreign government. It had taken years of agitation and education to recover the right by which our people could legislate upon this subject, exclusively from the standpoint of our own interests, without intervention or question from the Chinese government. There is no antipathy on the part of American workmen to Chi-

nese because of their nationality, but a people which has allowed civilization to pass them by untouched and uninfluenced, a people who allow themselves to be barbarously tyrannized over in their own country, and who menace the progress, the economic and social standing of the workers of other countries, cannot be fraternized with. We are opposed to the servile of all countries, our own included. In view of these facts a determined protest was made against the ratification of the treaty, and although we failed to secure its rejection our action resulted in its postponement for several months.

(1900, pp. 27-142) Authorized the Executive Council to urge re-enactment of Chinese exclusion law, which would terminate May 5, 1902.

(1901, p. 21) Convention instructed Executive Council to concentrate all the resources of the A. F. of L. upon a supreme effort to secure legislation excluding the Chinese.

(1902, pp. 20-145-228) Declared danger from Chinese greater than ever and reaffirmed demand for necessary legislation. Also ordered investigation of the danger from Chinese competition in the Philippine Islands.

(1903, pp. 26-163-204) Through A. F. of L. efforts a Chinese exclusion law had been enacted, but although a proclamation had been issued prohibiting them from emigrating to the American possessions attempts had been made to have it appear they were necessary to the industries there. The Mongolian question had also arisen. Condemned employment of Chinese and Japanese in the laundry department of the Navy. Urged legislation against limited immigration of Japanese and Coreans to our insular possessions as suggested by the President of the U. S., as it would be a "system of peonage or compulsory labor against which we most emphatically protest regardless of whether the laborer be black, white or yellow."

(1904, pp. 29-170) April 17, 1904, through the influence of the A. F. of L. Congress by an amendment to the general deficiency bill re-enacted law of 1902 and extended it to the island territory of the U. S. Immigration from the latter to the U. S. or from one island to another also was prohibited. (p. 30) China denounced treaty which brought to light negotiations for a new understanding that would deal "more liberally" with Chinese immigration, which "is not alone a danger to the working people but a menace to the institutions of our country."

(1905, p. 29) Warning was given that an attack on the exclusion law was screened behind the sugar planters of Hawaii, placing them in the position of asking for a modification of the law to permit Chinese immigration to that island. We make no pretense that the exclusion of Chinese can be defended upon a high ideal, ethical ground, but we insist that it is our essential duty to maintain and preserve our physical condition and standard of life and civilization, and thus to assure us the opportunity for the development of our intellectual and moral character. Self-preservation has always been regarded as the first law of nature. It is a principle and a necessity from which we ought not and must not depart. (p. 117) All unions were ordered notified that a representative of the National Peace Association had collected money from Chinamen on assurance labor would cease its opposition to Chinese cheap labor. (p. 189) We all want the fullest and freest opportunity of trade with China, but it ought not and must not be either secured or maintained at the cost of the protection and safety of American life and American standard of civilization. Not only should Chinese immigration be prohibited to our island possessions but Japanese and Coreans should be included. Called on President of U. S. to instruct Department of Labor to stop the violation of law by the employment of Chinese sailors, as an American ship is American soil. Unless all Oriental immigration is checked the American people must surrender their right to occupancy and use of American soil in many important sections of the country.

(1906, p. 23) President of U. S. had recommended to Congress to place Chinese students, doctors, manufacturers, professors, preachers and the like in the excepted class, which, if enacted into law, would specify all Chinese shall be admitted and those who may not come. The latter are the Chinese coolies. (p. 179) Convention instructed Executive Council to oppose immigration from China, Japan, Corea and British India.

(1908, p. 173) Reaffirmed action against all Asiatic races. (1909, pp. 316-328; 1911, pp. 306-355) Reaffirmed.

(1912, pp. 39-344) Senate bill No. 3175 was intended to be a codification of laws regulating immigration and Chinese exclusion. Section 39 repealed all laws relating to the exclusion of Chinese except such provisions as may relate to the naturalization of aliens, and section 3 provided that among the exclusions should be "persons who are not eligible to become citizens of the U. S. by naturalization, unless otherwise provided for by treaties, conventions or by agreements as to passports," etc. The Executive Council obtained this statement of facts as to the effect of the bill on treaties if it became a law: "The Treaties provide for the free admission of Chinese in the absence of certain specific findings of fact by the Government of the United States. It is proposed (in the Immigration codification bill, S. 3175) that the Congress shall repeal the laws containing such findings. Immediately upon this action being taken, we will revert to the condition which existed immediately consequent upon the signing of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. The modification proposed to that Treaty by the Treaty of 1880, and itself dependent upon the action of the Government of the United States, not being invokable because of the failure of the Government to act, or, more strictly speaking, because of the revocation by the Government of the United States of its former action. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that if the pending bill becomes enacted in its present form, the right of Chinese to come to this country will be absolutely unrestricted." Unions of the Pacific Coast co-operated with the Executive Council and this amendment to section 3 was submitted and adopted: "Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent, whether subjects of China or subjects or citizens of any other country foreign to the United States, persons who are not eligible to become citizens of the United States by naturalization un-

less otherwise provided for by existing agreements as to passports, or by treaties, conventions, or agreements that may hereafter be entered into." The bill passed.

(1914, p. 469) Trade unionists and their friends were urged to patronize union restaurants and laundries.

(1915, p. 109) Owing to the government's objections to any change in the Asiatic immigration regulations because of fears of interference with Japanese treaty rights it was found impossible to make any progress in that direction.

Chinese Immigration During War—(1917, p. 461) Reports that an effort would be made to secure legislation to permit the importation of Chinese coolies during the war were ordered investigated; that in the event such legislation is proposed in Congress the A. F. of L. will hold to the strictest account those responsible for so traitorous an assault on its interests in this most critical hour of our public life.

Church and Labor—(1905, p. 178) Recommended all affiliated state and central bodies exchange fraternal delegates with the various state and city municipal ministerial associations to insure a better understanding on the part of the church and clergy of the aims and objects of the labor movement of America. (p. 232) Indorsed new and significant movement of the Presbyterian Church in establishing a Department of Church and Labor. (1906, p. 83) Fraternal delegate from that organization seated without vote. (1909, p. 252) Urged unions to aid in securing large audiences for the churches on Labor Sunday. (1913, p. 257) Seattle Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers transmitted resolutions it adopted "recognizing in organized labor a great ally of the church in lifting the standards of living, assimilating the alien and especially in securing world peace."

Cigars, Revenue on—(1887, p. 31) Condemned agitation to abolish internal revenue tax on cigars as the system had the effect of booming the industry.

Circle Check System—(1896, p. 61) Condemned circle check system. Employers of union labor had been duped into paying tribute for patronage which they would have and were entitled to receive; while on the other hand unfair concerns gladly availed themselves of what they imagined an indorsement of their nonunion product. This brought good name of labor into disrepute.

Citizens' Alliances—(1904, p. 169) Associations of employers in the last year or two had been organized for the specific purpose of opposing trades unions. Their spokesman announced the principles of the alliances were: "Open shop, no sympathetic strikes, no limitation of output or restriction of apprentices and enforcement of law." We claim that as workmen we have the absolute right to refuse to work for or with any employer or laborer antagonistic to our interests. We insist on the union shop, because in any serious disagreement with our employers the most effective weapon we have is to withdraw our labor until the controversy is adjusted. The nonunion shop permits the employer to destroy existing conditions and reduce wages at will. (1906, p. 170) Instructed Executive Council to place organizers on special duty in localities where citizens' alliances are opposing unions. (1907, p. 237) As affiliated organizations had suffered setbacks by Employers' Associations and Citizens' Alliances, we recommend that no employer of labor shall be allowed a seat in a central, state or national body.

Citizenship—(1917, p. 353) Instructed Executive Council to prepare a measure to govern naturalization of aliens before joining unions. (1918, p. 99) It recommended: That as true democracy requires all should bear equal responsibilities in the defense of our respective countries local unions should consider incorporating in their constitutions this proviso: "That men coming from abroad to the United States and to Canada, or are born here of foreign parents, and before they make application for membership, or are admitted to membership in the respective organizations, they shall either be citizens of the United States, or of Canada, or shall have officially and in accordance with the law declared their intentions of becoming citizens."

Citizenship, Rights of—(1911, p. 216) Indorsed bills guaranteeing government employes freedom of petition and speech and the right to organize. Two presidents had issued executive "gag law" orders forbidding such employes to petition Congress or any of its committees without first obtaining the consent of the heads of the departments. Penalty, summary discharge.

(1912, pp. 42-345) On January 25, 1906, an order was issued by President Roosevelt forbidding Government employes, directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay, or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interests or through legislation before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of departments, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service. This order arbitrarily deprived the employes in the Government service of the right of citizenship guaranteed to them under the Constitution. The departmental Government employes were gagged and their hands tied, without any means of redress. The only channel through which they could appeal for a remedy of any grievance was through their immediate superior officers, who usually were the source and cause of such grievance. On November 26, 1910, President Taft issued a supplementary order extending and making more rigorous the order of January 25, 1906. This supplementary order provided that no bureau, office, division chief, or subordinate in any department of the Government, and no officer of the army, navy, or marine corps stationed in Washington, shall apply to either House of Congress, or to any committee of either House of Congress, or to any member of Congress for legislation or for congressional action of any kind, except with the consent and knowledge of the head of the department. As a citizen, the President of the A. F. of L. immediately entered protest when the executive order of 1906 was issued, and emphasized that protest upon the issuance of the supplementary executive order of 1910. The convention of the A. F. of L. in 1906 took action denouncing and attacking the order, and demanding either a change of the executive order or legislation at the hands of Con-

gress restoring to Government employes their rights of citizenship. In consequence of the executive orders forbidding employes of the Post-Office Department to seek redress of grievances through direct appeal to Congress, a large number of the railway postal clerks organized and affiliated with the A. F. of L. This effort was made in order to enlist the assistance of the A. F. of L. in an effort to secure remedial legislation. A number of these organizations were chartered by the American Federation of Labor. As soon as this became known, the Post-Office Department undertook to destroy them. Men employed in the service were victimized and compelled to seek other employment. Realizing the helplessness of the railway postal clerks, and desiring to render them all the assistance possible, the A. F. of L. secured the introduction in both Houses of Congress of bills which, if adopted, would nullify the obnoxious executive orders to which reference is here made and restore to all employes of the Government their rights as American citizens. While these bills did not reach consideration by either House, yet by an amendment to the Post-Office Appropriation bill, which is now a law, the right of petition, a right guaranteed to all citizens, was restored to all persons employed in the civil service of the U. S. Representatives of organized men in the classified civil service and in other departments of the Government, may now seek legislative relief from onerous conditions for these employes. The effect of this amendment to the Post-Office Appropriation bill will be far-reaching and will preclude the possibility of the Post-Office Department assuming that men in the employ of the Government who organize for the protection of their interests, have no right to join the American Federation of Labor.

(1914, p. 466) Executive Council directed to secure further legislation to meet this situation: We most emphatically protest against any civil service rules and regulations which aim to muzzle the workers employed by our Government and totally prevent them from any participation in the political activities of wage earners.

Citizens Only on Government Work—(1891, p. 33) Called on state legislatures to enact laws providing that only citizens should be employed in the erection of public buildings and that they be members of trade unions as far as possible.

Civic Federation—(1907, p. 340) Resolutions declaring A. F. of L. had no confidence in National Civic Federation defeated. (1911, p. 217) Charges made against the National Civic Federation were repudiated as misstatements of facts and resolutions based on the false premises were defeated.

Civil Service—(1892, p. 46) Favored national, state and municipal civil service reform.

(1903, p. 27) Protests had been made to the President of the United States that foreign map engravers under an order issued by him were permitted to take examinations for positions paying a smaller rate than set by the union and he revoked the obnoxious rule. (p. 201) Indorsed civil service laws because they took the place of the "spoils system" and assured an employe protection from discharge for any reason except ability to perform his duties satisfactorily.

(1909, p. 218) Complaints were made by employes in different branches of the classified service of the United States that by arbitrary executive rulings they had been deprived of their civil and political rights. Convention suggested this be added to section 1753 of the law: "Provided, That persons in the classified service shall not be restricted in their freedom of speech or press or in the right to present their grievances to Congress, and no person shall be removed or otherwise punished except after written notice of the reason therefor and opportunity for defense."

(1910, p. 124) Executive orders issued were more rigidly enforced in the Post Office Department than in any other. Employes dare not post bulletins, circulate information, make complaints to or petition Congress for relief from injustice or to secure improved conditions; they cannot identify themselves with city central bodies or in any way express disapproval of onerous conditions under which they are employed without risking discharge. Silence is imposed upon them and implicit obedience is rigidly enforced. (p. 253) We protest against executive orders depriving federal civil service employes of their constitutional right as citizens to petition Congress for a redress of grievances and the right of free speech. Executive orders now in effect and part of the rules and regulations of the federal civil service forbids and prohibits all federal civil service employes (250,000 in number) from in any way attempting to influence legislation, directly or indirectly, in behalf of better working conditions, and which orders prohibit even the right to petition Congress in behalf of such legislation and restricts freedom of speech in that a civil service employe is forbidden to respond to requests for information desired by a member of either house of Congress or a committee of Congress, unless first granted permission to do so by departmental heads. Officials of the Post Office Department have removed employes because of alleged violation of such orders, and in one particular instance did summarily dismiss from the service a member of the Postoffice Clerks' Union on the charge that he attempted to influence legislation in the interest of better working conditions indirectly through the Legislative Committee of this A. F. of L., and because of his action in introducing a resolution in the Chicago Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L. denounces as un-American and despotic executive orders and rules that prohibit or restrict federal employes from exercising to the fullest extent the inalienable right of free speech and free press and the right to petition Congress.

(1911, pp. 62-288) We emphatically protest against orders prohibiting civil service employes petitioning Congress or any committee or member thereof for redress of grievances. When a person enters the civil service he does not thereby resign his rights as a citizen. If the conditions under which he labors are not satisfactory he has the same right to quit, either singly or collectively, as if he had been employed by a private individual. That such a stoppage of work would be more far-reaching than a strike of employes of a private concern must be apparent, and that in itself gives

greater reason why the conditions should be made such that disputes of that character would not arise. The right of such servants to strike must not be denied, but all just grounds for striking should be removed. Every effort to secure legislation on the subject had failed. (p. 303) Indorsed bill restoring to federal civil service employes their inherent rights as citizens to petition Congress for a redress of grievances, to a hearing before removal and the right to organize.

(1912, pp. 43-345) By an amendment to the Postoffice appropriation bill, now a law, the right of petition, a right guaranteed to all citizens, was restored. The effect of the law will preclude the possibility of the Post Office Department assuming that men in the employ of the government who organize to protect their interests have no right to join the A. F. of L.

(1914, pp. 465-466) Executive Council instructed to secure further legislation to meet these situations: Members of unions in the Mare Island Navy Yard had been called to trial by the Federal Civil Service Commission on charges of alleged political activity, consisting of making speeches for the initiative and referendum amendments to the state constitution and playing a cornet at meetings where such labor measures were furthered. Rule No. 1 of the Civil Service Rules and Regulations deprives the civil service employes of becoming candidates for office, engaging in any political movement, from distributing literature having a political purpose, addressing meetings, contributing articles for the press on political questions; officials of the postal department threatened to discharge railway mail clerks if they petitioned Congress to prohibit the stop-watch or time-measuring device in the government service.

(1915, pp. 97-292) It appears that in many of the positions, outside of the most menial or necessarily mechanical, the Civil Service Commission has made the field of employment in the government service a practically closd shop for college graduates. This practice is being steadily extended, and while we would not show the slightest inclination to discredit or reflect upon the advantages of a college education, yet we believe the time is here when we should protest to the Congress of the United States against academic degrees being the only standard as against the valuable practical experience which many men and women have gained in industrial activities without the advantage of a college education. To continue to ignore applicants with such valuable, practical knowledge and virtually to blacklist them from government employ, constitutes a serious impediment to the best interests of the people because the actual efficiency and the valuable services of many men and women whom it would be a distinct advantage to employ in government service, but who are now barred from employment, under the present regulations and theoretical vagaries which impress the present selectors of government employes, consequently the government is deprived of the services of some of the best workers and most valuable citizens our country possesses. However, the worst feature now prevailing is the fact that there is a constant inclination to deprive civil service employes of every attribute of freedom, and incorporate a system of dependency, subserviency and sycophancy that is repugnant to Americans who are prone to boast that this is "the home of the brave and the land of the free." We regret to state that we find in many of the departments (particularly the Post-office) a disposition to ignore and at times to resent the spirit and letter of the new law we secured in behalf of greater freedom for federal employes in August, 1912. It appears that government officials, especially those occupying powerful but in reality only secondary positions, became inoculated with arrogance by the extended authority granted to them under the Roosevelt and Taft "gag" orders, plainly evidenced by their arbitrary acts and their harsh treatment of subordinate employes for slight offenses or infractions of the departmental iron-bound rules for inferiors. (p. 310) The A. F. of L. registers its unrelenting opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech to any class of citizens or to any man; that forbidding the civil service employes of the Mare Island Navy Yard participating in politics or holding office in the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council (contending it is a political organization) is a further invasion by the Civil Service Commission, a non-legislative and non-judicial body. Executive Council is instructed to frame a bill with the purpose of curing the evil of preventing any person or persons from enjoying full freedom of speech.

(1916, pp. 105-265) Recommended continuance of efforts in behalf of civil service employes until every right under the bill of rights is accorded them. (p. 352) Favored enactment of a law providing for a court of appeals of the United States to investigate complaints of employes of the United States and District of Columbia, with authority to direct the correction of any abuses of official injustice toward any of said employes.

(1917, pp. 264-416) Asked repeal of section 6 of the urgency deficiency law, which provides no employe shall be transferred from one department to another at increased compensation if he has been employed less than a year nor shall he be granted increased compensation within a year following transfer.

(1918, p. 239) Favored transfer of internal revenue employes affected by closing of distilleries to other positions in the internal revenue or government service in preference to new appointees. Favored enactment of law placing internal revenue employes under civil service instead of being subject to discharge at the pleasure of collectors.

Class Distinction—(1901, p. 205) Refused to elect a seventh vice president whose duties should be confined to looking after the interests of the directly affiliated unions.

(1904, p. 234) Refused to amend constitution providing for at least one member of Executive Council from Washington, Oregon or California.

(1911, p. 186) Proposal to elect representative of some federal labor union as a vice president was rejected, the convention not deeming it advisable to make class distinctions when selecting members of the Executive Council.

Clayton Act—(1914, pp. 68-361) The greatest legislative victory secured by Labor during the year was the enactment of

the labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act, securing to the workers of America those fundamental principles of industrial liberty which were among the chief features of the Bill of Grievances and were the objectives of the poltical policy which the American Federation of Labor inaugurated in 1906. From the time trust legislation was first discussed there was a purpose on the part of the enemies of Labor to bring organizations of workers under the provisions of such legislation. The representatives of organized labor were constantly on the alert to prevent the consummation of that purpose. The Sherman antitrust law was never intended to apply to organizations of human workers banded together for mutual protection and betterment. That law was intended to protect human beings from the power and the rapacity of soulless corporations and trusts. But courts by interpretation perverted that law, intended to apply to the products of labor—perverted it to apply to the human labor power of the workers themselves. By these perversions of the law the courts placed in the same legal category the steel worker and the steel rail he produces; the engineer and the throttle he pulls; the carpenter and the saw he uses; the printer and the type he sets. The judicial perversions of justice ignore the fact that labor power is inseparable from the body and personality of the worker—that it is part of his very being. Labor in the speech of commerce and economic theory would not infrequently imply an inanimate something to be bought and sold exactly as an articre of trade or commerce. Labor is the great, creative, productive force of the universe. It is that which gives dignity, nobility, and purpose to human life. The workers through their organization have been urging this principle as the reason why trust laws should not apply to them. Upon innumerable occasions in writing, in publications and in public statements has this principle been pressed home upon the minds and the consciences of the citizens of our land. It has been urged in the form of demands for legislation upon the political representatives whom the people had placed in offices of responsibility. For twenty-four years this campaign of education and agitation has been in progress. Now the results of that campaign are apparent in the views of all manner of public representatives—judicial, executive, and legislative. Those views are manifest in public speech and official action. There can be nothing more gratifying than this common and implicit acceptance of the fundamental principle for which Labor of America has contended these many years. It has become a part of the thought and the action of our nation. Its acceptance and incorporation in the law of the land has been gradual. In reports to former conventions its progress has been recorded as shown by the affirmation of this principle in amendments to the trust sections of Sundry Civil bills, providing that the funds appropriated for the enforcement of the trust law should not be used in the prosecution of a worker or an organization of workers for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, the shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful. These amendments did not secure to the workers the full protection to which they were entitled. Full and complete justice could be done only by removing them from the provisions of the Sherman act and establishing their freedom by legislation of a constructive, substantive character. October 15, 1914, President Wilson approved the bill and the pen with which he signed the act was presented to President Gompers. The labor provisions of the bill are a splendid victory for organized labor. A few days after signing the bill, President Wilson wrote the following as his interpretation and understanding of them, which indorses the principles for which we fought:

"Incidentally, justice has been done the laborer. His labor is no longer to be treated as if it were merely an inanimate object of commerce disconnected from the fortunes and happiness of a living human being, to be dealt with as an object of sale and barter. But that, great as it is, is hardly more than the natural and inevitable corollary of a law whose object is individual freedom and initiative as against any kind of private domination.". The labor sections of the Clayton bill, as finally enacted, are:

Sec. 6. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof be construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the antitrust laws.

Sec. 20. That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employes, or between employers and employes, or between employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involving, or growing out of, a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant, or by his agent or attorney.

And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether single or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from attending at any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize or to employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do;" or from paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys

or things of value; or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States.

Sec. 21. That any person who shall willfully disobey any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command of any district court of the United States or any court of the District of Columbia by doing any act or thing therein, or thereby forbidden to be done by him, if the act or thing so done by him be of such character as to constitute also a criminal offense under any statute of the United States, or under the laws of any state in which the act was committed, shall be proceeded against for his said contempt as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 22. That whenever it shall be made to appear to any district court or judge thereof, or to any judge therein sitting, by the return of a proper officer on lawful process, or upon the affidavit of some credible person, or by information filed by any district attorney, that there is reasonable ground to believe that any person has been guilty of such contempt the court or judge thereof, or any judge therein sitting, may issue a rule requiring the said person so charged to show cause upon a day certain why he should not be punished therefor, which rule, together with a copy of the affidavit or information, shall be served upon the person charged, with sufficient promptness to enable him to prepare for and make return to the order at the time fixed therein. If upon or by such return, in the judgment of the court, the alleged contempt be not sufficiently purged, a trial shall be directed at a time and place fixed by the court; Provided however, That if the accused, being a natural person, fail or refuse to make return to the rule to show cause, an attachment may issue against his person to compel an answer, and in case of his continued failure or refusal, or if for any reason it be impracticable to dispose of the matter on the return day, he may be required to give reasonable bail for his attendance at the trial and his submission to the final judgment of the court. Where the accused is a body corporate, an attachment for the sequestration of its property may be issued upon like refusal or failure to answer.

In all cases within the purview of this act, such trial may be by the court, or, upon demand of the accused, by a jury; in which latter event the court may impanel a jury from the jurors then in attendance, or the court or the judge thereof in chambers may cause a sufficient number of jurors to be selected and summoned, as provided by law, to attend at the time and place of trial, at which time a jury shall be selected and impaneled as upon a trial for misdemeanor; and such trial shall conform, as near as may be, to the practice in criminal cases prosecuted by indictment or upon information.

If the accused be found guilty, judgment shall be entered accordingly, prescribing the punishment, either by fine or imprisonment, or both, in the discretion of the court. Such fine shall be paid to the United States, or to the complainant, or other party injured by the act constituting the contempt, or may, where more than one is so damaged, be divided, or apportioned among them as the court may direct, but in no case shall the fine to be paid to the United States exceed, in case the accused is a natural person, the sum of $1,000, nor shall such imprisonment exceed the term of six months; Provided, That in any case the court or a judge thereof may, for good cause shown, by affidavit or proof taken in open court or before such judge and filed with the papers in the case, dispense with the rule to show cause, and may issue an attachment for the arrest of the person charged with contempt; in which event such person, when arrested, shall be brought before such court or a judge thereof without unnecessary delay and shall be admitted to bail in a reasonable penalty for his appearance to answer to the charge or for trial for the contempt; and thereafter the proceedings shall be the same as provided herein in case the rule had issued in the first instance.

Sec. 23. That the evidence taken upon the trial of any persons so accused may be preserved by bill of exceptions, and any judgment of conviction may be reviewed upon writ of error in all respects as now provided by law in criminal cases, and may be affirmed, reversed, or modified as justice may require. Upon the granting of such writ of error, execution of judgment shall be stayed, and the accused, if thereby sentenced to imprisonment, shall be admitted to bail in such reasonable sum as may be required by the court, or by any justice, or any judge of any district court of the United States or any court of the District of Columbia.

Sec. 24. That nothing herein contained shall be construed to relate to contempts committed in the presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, nor to contempts committed in disobedience of any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command entered in any suit or action brought or prosecuted in the name of, or on behalf of, the United States, but the same, and all other cases of contempt not specifically embraced within section 21 of this act, may be punished in conformity to the usages at law, and in equity now prevailing.

Sec. 25. That no proceeding for contempt shall be instituted against any person unless begun within one year from the date of the act complained of; nor shall any such proceeding be a bar to any criminal prosecution for the same act or acts; but nothing herein contained shall affect any proceedings in contempt pending at the time of the passage of this act.

Coal Shortage—(1918, p. 240) Executive Council instructed to cooperate with the officials of the labor movement in sections where there is an acute shortage of coal to aid them in securing coal.

Coercion of Decisions—(1902, pp. 17-144) "Any organization which shall at any time declare or notify the office of the American Federation of Labor that unless its desires, wishes or claims are complied with, it will refuse to pay its proper financial obligations to the American Federation of Labor, or that it will withdraw from the American Federation of Labor, that in any such case the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall be prohibited from proceeding

further upon the matter involved in any manner whatsoever, and the organization shall be deprived of the right of representation in the convention of the American Federation of Labor until not only its full financial obligations have been performed in accordance with the constitution, but also until it has withdrawn such notice or declaration.

College Professors' Labor Attitude—(1902, p. 231) Investigation ordered of attitude of college professors toward labor brought this report in 1903 (p. 29) condensed from answers from them: (1) That many different points of view are honestly represented by our college and university teachers, and some are progressive and seek to keep in touch with labor, monopoly, and taxation problems and kindred topics; while others are more interested in purely theoretic or historical subjects. (2) The average teacher does not have a chance to appreciate fully the industrial problems of the day. He is living on a fixed salary, which does not vary from year to year, while his position is comparatively fixed and independent of crises, strikes, trusts, etc., which so vitally enter into the life of the day. (3) He is usually connected with some institution which either obtains its funds from men of large wealth, who are making money rapidly in connection with special privileges, or he is in some State institution which depends for its financial development upon State legislatures, which in turn are largely controlled by corporate interests that have some axe to grind. All this creates an atmosphere of conservatism. The social relations of a college or university teacher are likewise usually among those not largely in sympathy with the problems that you have in mind. (4) There has been, during the last ten years, a growing tendency among trustees of both public and private universities in selecting new men to take those who have not said or written anything likely to antagonize possible donors. Consequently, the men selected, while in most cases sincere men, are likely to be men of a conservative point of view along the line of applied economics. (5) Despite all these influences the college teacher inevitably imbibes some of the spirit of the age and can not teach his subject without calling attention to some of the best of the liberal books and articles bearing upon it. (1907, pp. 46-318) Further investigation demonstrates beyond question that this statement of facts is absolutely accurate in every particular. And this is equally true of and largely applies to men in professional life.

Colorado Struggle for Eight Hours—(1904, pp. 25-182) The iniquitous policy of the so-called citizens' alliances has had its fullest fruition in Colorado. In that state it has not only of itself had full sway, but it has been aided in the execution of its edicts by the executive with the full power of the military. Indeed, the citizens' alliance had but the simple declaration to make as to its wishes and what in its judgment constituted the law, to have the governor of the state order the troops to the most convenient point to execute what was accepted as a decree. Civil government has been set at naught, and constitutional and natural rights and guarantees wantonly trampled under foot. A brief resume of events leading up to and in connection with the outrage against not only the rights of labor but civilized society, may not here be amiss. Four years ago the Colorado legislature passed a law limiting the hours of labor of men who worked in the mines and in the smelters to eight per day. The courts of the state declared that inasmuch as there was no constitutional authority vested in the legislature for the enactment of such a law, the act was void. The subsequent legislature adopted an amendment to the constitution giving the legislature that needed authority, and made it mandatory upon the legislature to enact such a law. The amendment was submitted to a vote of the people of Colorado, and it was ratified by more than 47,000 majority, and thereby became a part of the state constitution. The legislature which had this direct mandate from the people utterly failed to comply therewith, and it is authoritatively asserted, and not denied, that the governor owed his nomination and election to the office he occupies upon the distinct understanding and agreement with the prime movers of the so-called citizens' alliance that he would prevent, if possible, an agreement by the two houses of the legislature upon any eight-hour bill; or that if agreement was reached, despite his effort, that he would veto such a bill. It was unnecessary for him to exercise his right of veto, inasmuch as his efforts to prevent agreement in the passage of the bill made the exercise of that function unnecessary. The indignation of the people generally, particularly the working people, at this political manipulation and trickery, was emphatic, and a keen sense was clearly manifested that their rights and their interests had been flagrantly betrayed. Disputes arose resulting in the effort to enforce by private agreement what the lawmakers, the misrepresentatives of the people, had failed to do; that is, the establishment of an eight-hour workday. In several instances strikes occurred; some directly for the eight-hour day, others in sympathy. At once a system of persecution was inaugurated by the employers' associations which assumed the title of citizens' alliances. Men against whom no charge of wrongdoing could be made were dragged from their homes and deported to other districts and to other states. Public officials, elected by the people, were summoned before secret meetings of these greedy monopolists, and simply because they refused to acquiesce in the employers' outrageous conduct, were summarily deposed from office and the agents of the employers directed to usurp these offices and perform their functions and duties. In one instance a rope with a noose at the end was tossed at the feet of an officer of the local government, elected by the people, with the choice given him of peremptorily resigning his office or to take the consequences of the other silent, yet effective, alternative presented to him. The governor has aided and abetted this criminal procedure, and utilized the military forces of Colorado to violate every vestige of human right recognized for more than seven centuries, as wrung from an unwilling monarch in the magna charta, asserted in the declaration of independence, guaranteed by the constitution of our country and of our states and fortified by every statute in our land. The governor not only declared martial law and

military rule, applying to districts, without authority of law and in conflict with the plain provisions of the constitution of Colorado, but he even demeaned himself to the exercise of that great power to apply to a single individual. Men charged with no crime or offense against the laws were corralled, and with the butt end of a gun or at the point of a bayonet driven like cattle into a bull pen, while others were bodily carried or driven into another state. We assert that under no circumstances had the governor of Colorado, without the consent of the legislature, the right or authority to declare martial law or military rule; that holding men in duress in that brutal military prison, the bull pen; that depriving men of their liberty without due process of law, was not only a brutal outrage of the rights of the men themselves but an unblushing wrong to all men. If the miners in the disturbed districts of Colorado were guilty of any crime, if they violated any law of the land, there are in existence upon the statute books laws for their apprehension and trial before the duly constituted courts by a jury of their peers according to the due processes of law as made and provided in such cases. The tyrant of old exercised his spleen with those from whom he differed, and deported, banished, or exiled them. Civilized man has come to recognize such punishments as unjust and unnatural. Even Russia has recently abolished the decree. It has remained for the unspeakable Peabody, governor of the great state of Colorado, to revive and put this benighted punishment into execution; and this, too, in spite of the fact that there is not in our country one scintilla of law authorizing any court or any officer, to deport, banish, or exile a citizen from his state or from the country. We have not, can not, and will not condone crime or unlawful conduct. We love liberty and justice; we revere the institutions, the history, and the traditions of our republic; the blush of shame surmounts our faces, and our sense of honor and dignity rises in protest against so foul a blot that a recreant public officer, creature, and puppet of sordid greed, should have so besmirched and defiled the proud record and honored name of a sovereign state. It was the evident purpose of that unholy combination of the citizens' alliance with Governor Peabody to destroy the independence and manhood of the workmen of Colorado by making an attack upon the effort to destroy organized labor of the state. Their declaration that their attack was not directed at the American Federation of Labor is disproved by their bitter antagonism to, and assault upon, the affiliated coal miners of that state. That they will fail in their destructive tactics, aye, that they have already failed, is evident from the fact that there are more workmen organized in Colorado today than at any time in its previous history; that organizations formerly in rivalry with each other have amalgamated, and a greater bond of unity and fraternity has been effected. The Executive Council issued a circular to affiliated unions, appealing for financial aid, so that the officers of the Western Federation of Miners might have the means to bring before the highest federal courts of our country the assertion and the test of the natural and constitutional questions and right involved in the outrageous conduct of Colorado's officials. We are firmly of the opinion that the highest judicial tribunal of our country will inevitably reverse a course so destructive of the very fundamental principles upon which our republic is based. We urge upon our fellow workmen still greater unity and federation. They should not only insist upon the punishment of the wrong-doers, the officials who have so violently defiled the good name of that state, but they must insist upon an effective eight-hour law, and better than all, be so united in numbers, purpose, and spirit as to inaugurate and enforce for themselves the eight-hour workday.

(1907, p. 307) All national, international and central bodies were requested to contribute to the Denver Building Trades Council to aid in to protect its unions in malicious suits brought by the Citizens' Alliances to compel them to spend all their money in attorneys' fees and court costs.

(1913, p. 310; 1914, p. 368) Reported miners fourteen months' strike due to non-enforcement of state laws. Convention called upon the President of the United States to insist that Colorado coal operators immediately comply with his plan of settlement. In the event they refuse that necessary steps be taken to have a receiver appointed to take over the mines and operate them in the interest of the people until such time as their civil and political rights are established.

(1915, pp. 70-328) Miners on strike in Colorado, where conditions existed like those in all other mining districts where the miners, because unorganized, have not succeeded in freeing themselves from the feudal governments maintained by the operators through the power of ownership of immense contiguous tracts of land. But the strike has not been in vain. With or without the consent of the coal operators of Colorado the miners will organize. The courts did not once take official action against violence on the part of the mine owners, but on the other hand fifty miners were indicted on charges of violence and responsibility for loss of life. Organized workers, under the leadership of the A. F. of L. and United Mine Workers, conducted a protest campaign against the persecutions.

Commercial Union With South America—(1916, p. 391) Convention declared it could not consistently indorse a commercial union (a proposal which also provided for establishment of steamship lines to run between North and South America, financed by bonds issued by the United States and to make loans to those countries) without indorsing the issuance of government bonds and further indorsing the proposition that these bonds, together with other financial obligations, shall be guaranteed by the government. Such principles make for war rather than its prevention.

Commission on Industrial Relations—(1912, p. 136) Congress enacted a law creating a Commission on Industrial Relations, among its duties being an inquiry into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States and seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation. Two members recommended by the American Federation of Labor had been appointed. (1913, p. 272) Commission urged to investigate conditions on the

Pennsylvania railroad. (pp. 58-376) Noted with satisfaction the appointment of two members of the Executive Council on the commission. (1914, pp. 102-347) Favored the widest publicity of the testimony of the president of the A. F. of L. (1916, p. 95) Announced that eleven volumes of 100,000 copies each of the report would be printed. (p. 272) Indorsed report of commission advocating federal encouragement and constructive promotion of housing conditions and the forcing of land into use by taxation to protect houseowners; also that Congress provide that money deposited in postal savings banks be loaned to municipalities for the purpose of building homes for citizens.

Committees, Election of—(1912, p. 399; 1913, p. 290) President should have the power to appoint convention committees, as their election would take up considerable of the time of the convention and accomplish nothing of benefit to the labor movement.

Company Stores—(1898, pp. 97-128) Condemned company store system where employes are compelled to pay exorbitant prices for inferior goods. "Operation of pernicious system is working great hardship on many hundreds of thousands and is practically responsible for half the friction between miners and their employers. Demands made for laws to wipe out the degrading company store system."

Compulsory Labor Laws—(1918, p. 82) Compulsory labor laws for the avowed purpose of preventing idleness and vagrancy during the period of the war were enacted in West Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and North Dakota. The West Virginia law applies to all male residents of the state between 16 and 60, who must work at least 36 hours a week. Fines or work on public streets the penalty for offenders. Maryland law applies to all males between 18 and 50. Persons self-supporting by reason of property or income must register. Wages shall be the same as paid others in same occupation. Proposed as a war measure we do not feel justified in opposing a law primarily intended to increase man power and bring home to all citizens the necessity of doing their part in the war.

Congressman, Average—(1909, p. 29) The average congressman either does not know, or does not care, or he does not dare. Give us men who do know, who do care and who will dare, and labor legislation will then come.

Congressmen Haunted by Fear—(1910, p. 24) In establishing the new nation the great statesmen who reared the structure of our republic conceived the idea of providing three separate, distinct and co-ordinate departments of government, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. Each of these departments was designed to be within itself absolutely independent of the other, exercising supreme and exclusive jurisdiction in its respective sphere, and yet all were intended to be interdependent. No similar experimentation with government had ever been attempted in other lands. This new plan was born out of the iron law of necessity. It was ideal in form, although somewhat cumbersome in operation when compared with the monarchical form, which it was designed to replace. The cardinal idea, the thought that inspired all, the intent that rivited the attention of those pioneers, was to show the whole world that no one man was or could ever be wise enough or good enough to control the destinies and the welfare of other men. That cardinal point must be clearly understood for a comprehension of the basic principles upon which our republic was founded. In connection therewith these early pioneers of the new government saw farther than merely exhausting their energies by making protests which were heard around the world; they coupled with those protests one of the most constructive features of self-government. The central thought was that the destinies of the people of the new nation should be left in the hands of the people themselves. For want of better machinery, with which the people might express their will, the old English system of expressing their collective will through representatives, our representative form of government, was established. For years the fathers wrested with this great problem of self-government. The spirit that had called forth the sentiments and principles of the Declaration of Independence struggled and contested for a popular government in all that that expression implies. The opposition, fearing to intrust the people with full sway, exerted their greatest efforts to limit the people's power. Yet all agreed upon one point, and that was, that the source of all power, of all new legislation, of every vital principle of law, should rest in the hands of the people through their representatives in Congress. aye, and by a two-thirds vote even over the veto of the President. In short, the Congress, composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate, was charged specifically under the basic laws contained in the Constitution to make provision for revenues and expenditures, to establish a fiscal system, and above and beyond all to form a code of law, in respect to which the executive and judicial branches of the government were and are required to yield obedience, these branches on this point being not co-ordinate, but subordinate. For example, the executive was granted no authority to create law; the judicial department was granted no prerogative to make law; the law was to be made solely and distinctly by the people's representatives in Congress, and then it was designed that the judicial department should administer the law as it found it, and the executive should execute the law as it was clearly written and interpreted. If present conditions were not so serious, it would appear absurd that at this late day such a restatement of fact and principle should be found necessary. But flagrant departures from the Constitution in the recent past not only justify but compel criticism and protest. When others who should speak are silent, when others are willing to allow the vital principles of self-government to be either misapplied or betrayed, it is time that the men of labor should speak, directing the attention of their fellow-workers and fellow-citizens to the evils that threaten. One of the greatest dangers now confronting the people and the people's government is the effort to overrule, to disregard, to treat with contempt that part of the government nearest the people—the House of Representatives. This is not generally understood, but it is a fact nevertheless, and

the character and the composition of the House in the last decade are chiefly to blame. For sake of party, of party harmony; for patronage, or its possible loss; for the sake of a re-election, the members have sat idly by, closed their eyes, refused to listen to the voice of duty, until such weakness has culminated in establishing the custom by Representatives of "holding their tongues" for fear they might lose caste with the Speaker whom they periodically and mechanically elected as their servant, yet to whom they have submitted as their master. For fear they might be considered fault-finders, for fear they might be called "irregular," for fear of their non-appointment on important committees, for fear they might lose the patronage the President has to bestow, they have acted as though paralyzed. Fear! Fear! Fear! Always the ghostly apparition of fear haunts the life of the average Congressman, and while this un-American attitude prevails the privileges, the dignity, the unquestioned prerogatives of legislation, the bedrock basis of constitutional rights, the fundamental requirement of fearless, faithful representation that gave this nation birth—these precious, valued, and holy elements of liberty are being gradually alienated from the House of Representatives by the courts and by the Presidents, and all that is now left of the power of the House is a theoretical recognition by the other departments that the House shall "hold the money bag" and provide revenue for the operation and continuation of the government. That the House has not availed itself of even this power is current history patent to any observer.

Congress, Members Of—(1899, p. 105) Representatives of Congress should take their seats within two months after their election instead of thirteen.

Conscription—(1917, p. 355) Favored legislation or treaties with our allies to compel citizens of those countries now in the United States to either bear arms in defense of our country, join the forces of their own country, or be deported.

Conservation of Natural Resources—(1908, p. 233) The conservation of the nation's natural resources is a subject of the most vital importance to all our people. Avaraciousness on one hand and an almost criminal carelessness on the other already has laid waste a large part of these resources. The Executive Council was instructed to assist in any legitimate movement which has for its object their protection. (1909, p. 105, 1911, p. 139, 1912, pp. 140-266, 1913, p. 268, 1914, pp. 54-346) Reaffirmed.

Conservatory of Music, National—(1918, p. 319) Endorsed movement for a National Conservatory of Music to be supported and managed by the government, making this country independent of other nations in music and art and the center of those accomplishments.

Conspiracy Laws—(1881, p. 4) Demanded repeal of all conspiracy laws applied to labor organizations in the regulation of wages and hours of employment. (1888, p. 26) Declared object of conspiracy laws was to deny right of working people to organize and be represented by committees or agents of their own selection in dealing with employers in relation to hours and wages. (1891, p. 39) All unions urged to secure repeal of conspiracy laws that are designed or may be taken advantage of by employers to oppress labor organizations.

Constitutional Rights—(1887, p. 30) We caution the working people to more effectually guard their constitutional and economic rights, as the tendency of executive authorities is to arbitrarily use their power against the political and economic rights of citizens.

Contracts, Labor—(1893, p. 61) Urged this amendment to Illinois constitution: The legislature shall have power and it shall be its duty to enact laws necessary to control contracts, conditions and relations between corporations and their employes.

Convention Call Dangerous—(1902, p. 205) Plan to hold convention in Milwaukee of delegates from central labor bodies was declared dangerous to the general labor movement, as it might develop into a rival to the American Federation of Labor.

Convention City—(1907, p. 300) Rejected plan to have Executive Council select convention city from the three receiving the highest number of votes, the choice to be made before Juyy 1.

Conventions, Special—(1904, pp. 26-170) President reported: "During the past year I have been requested on two separate occasions to call a special convention of the American Federation of Labor, and also to call all labor and al 'reform' forces of the country to hold a congress 'to make,' in the language of the applicants, 'the position of labor clear,' 'to attack conditions and denounce officials,' 'to devise ways and means' out of certain exigencies, etc., etc. These special conventions, or so-called congress, were not called. My colleagues of the Executive Council were in entire accord as to the utter futility and unwisdom of any such course. The labor movement of America is an orderly, regularly conducted movement, and though an extraordinary emergency may arise where a special convention or a special general conference may be advisable and necessary, the more frequent such special conventions or conference would be held the less potent and influential would each succeeding one become, until the whole labor movement would degenerate and come to be regarded as a grotesque farce. Nor is our movement to be perverted by the fads, fancies, and fantasies of a heterogeneous gathering of men who would come without authority, who would have no responsibility, and who could be careless or indifferent as to the consequences of their utterances and actions upon the interests and welfare of the working people of our country. Thousands of meetings of unions are held nightly in which the men of labor give expression to their judgment upon all questions affecting them and their fellows. There are not less than 700 conventions (city central labor union meetings) held every week or two in as many cities and towns in the United States. The central labor unions are made up of delegates from the different unions in their respective localities, men coming from the factory, shop, mill, and mine duly credentialed by their most intelligent organized fellow craftsmen, who there, in joint council, in central bodies, which hold regular meetings or conventions, express and manifest in no uncertain or mistaken tones the best opinions upon labor's rights and just indignation against any wrongs committed against their fellow man. Our international unions in turn are in the exact same potential position, while in the conventions of the A. F. of L., regularly and

orderly held, the best opinions and judgment find their expression in the filtered, digested, and crystallized thought of all. We can not afford or permit the orderly progress, growth, and development of our movement to be risked, and perhaps destroyed, or at any rate retarded, by the sporadic, haphazard outgivings of thoughtless and irresponsible men. The pages of the early history of the labor movement are darkened by the dire results of such planless, chaotic gatherings. The A. F. of L., organized in 1881, is the first instance of not only a constantly growing general movement of labor of America, but with each recurring day of its entire existence it has striven to earn and to deserve the good will, confidence, and respect of our fellow workmen, who realize in our movement that its splendid efforts and opportunities are constantly utilized and influenced to their good."

Contracts, Against Government—(1885, p. 17) Urged Congress to enact law providing all government work shall be done under government superintendents and no further contracts be given; that all candidates for Congress who do not pledge themselves to abolish the contract system be opposed at the polls, as it has a tendency to drag honest labor to a convict's cell.

(1888, p. 26) Requested Congress to abolish contract labor on public work because mainly inferior workmen are employed at reduced wages, while the federal eight-hour law is ignored.

(1892, p. 38) All contract work for government should cease.

(1894, p. 31) Requested Congress to empower Bureau of Labor to investigate contract system in public work.

(1897, pp. 74-85) Disapproved of giving navy contracts to private corporations when U. S. yards are in a position to build them, thus doing away with bonuses for high speed, especially when such speed is brought out by hand-picked coal and expert firemen.

(1898, pp. 43-77) Endorsed plan to have all vessels and equipment for the navy built in government navy yards.

(1904, p. 184) Favored establishment of a federal bureau of photo-engraving on lines similar to the other branches of the printing trades. (p. 267) Evils of contract system have been often demonstrated and day work system will not only reduce the cost of public work but will guarantee a higher grade of workmanship.

(1905, p. 179) Reaffirmed.

(1908, p. 257) Government requested to take contract for upholstery away from an unfair firm and give it to an employer of union men.

(1909, p. 29) Executive Council succeeded in having census reports printed in the Government Printing Office instead of by private contract. (p. 256) Called on the Secretary of War to insist upon fair wages and conditions when placing contracts for supplies. (p. 258) Demanded that government abolish practice of printing corner cards in envelopes free.

(1911, p. 265) Urged government engineers to make estimates on dredging work to enable contractors to grant the eight hour day. (p. 266) That eight-hour provisions be drafted by the Executive Council to place in the several appropriation bills providing for the construction of harbors, channels and fortifications, including ordnance and armor, so the work will conform to the eight-hour provision in the construction of battleships. (p. 264) Urged efforts be made to have all naval vessels for the U. S. be built in government navy yards.

(1912, pp. 37-344) Article in June, 1912, American Federationist, proved conclusively the cost of construction was less in government than private yards. The evidence was so convincing Congress instructed the Secretary of the Navy to have more ships built by the government.

(1913, p. 272) Reaffirmed policy of advocating the building of all naval vessels in government navy yards. (1914, p. 378) Called on government to have the construction and repair of vehicles done by union men under union conditions.

(1915, pp. 94-292) Proportion of repairs to government vessels is much greater in federal than private yards. Executive Council secured this clause in the naval appropriation act: "No part of the sums appropriated by this act shall be used to procure through purchase or contract any vessels, armament, articles or materials which the navy yards, gun factories or other industrial plants operated by the Navy Department are equipped to supply, unless such government plants are operated approximately at their full capacity for not less than one regular shift each working day."

(1916, p. 98-153) Work in government navy yards increased. Money appropriated to equip government navy yards for the construction of battleships.

Convict Goods Barred, Foreign—(1913, p. 275) Executive Council authorized to request the Secretary of the Treasury to regulate importation of convict made goods as provided by law, which reads: "That all goods, wares, articles and merchandise manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor shall not be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary for the enforcement of this provision."

Convict Labor—(1881, p. 8) Plank 6 in first platform demanded repeal of all laws permitting prison contract labor, which is a species of slavery in its worst form, as it pauperizes free labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer and degrades the very criminal whom it employs.

(1882, p. 9) Ohio house passed and senate defeated prison labor bill.

(1883, p. 8) New Jersey required prison made goods stamped. Pennsylvania abolished contract system and required prison made goods to be plainly marked. New York submitted abolishment of prison contract labor to the people and the legislative committee (p. 14) was instructed to agitate for its adoption.

(1888, p. 26) Endorsed bill in Congress confining sale of prison goods to states in which they are manufactured; also bill to prohibit sale of all foreign prison made products.

(1889, p. 26) Declared prison labor should be regulated or abolished in the interest of free labor.

(1890, p. 36) Condemned prison contract system as practiced in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee and pledged aid in repealing the laws.

(1891, p. 14) Tennessee miners were reported to have forcibly refused to permit convicts to work in the mines. The policy

of the state seems to be to provide work for the convict. The free man may be flung out of employment, pauperized and demoralized in too many instances beyond the hope of redemption, for the mere sake that a few paltry dollars may be "saved" to the state and that it and its corporate favorites may make fortunes at the expense and of the honor of the people. Vulture-like, the fallen and degraded are their prey. Under the constitutional provision of Congress regulating interstate commerce the product of convicts should be prevented from being sent from one state into another. (p. 51) Convention endorsed the following. "The employment of convicts on such public works as the Nicaragua Canal, the improvement of waterways, the reclaiming of waste lands, or any other public improvement—county, state or national; that would not be done by free labor—and our state and national legislatures be required to devise such reforms as will place convict labor in such relation to free labor as will release it from the competition and degradation that now prevails." Law recommended forbidding transportation of products of convicts from one state to another.

(1892, p. 11) Tennessee miners being supplanted by convicts. Opportunities for an honest livelihood were being stolen from them under the garb of a public benefaction and economy. The miners had pleaded for relief but they had been scorned and defied. (p. 39) Demanded release of free labor from degradation of convict labor competition.

(1893, p. 39) Broommakers complained of convict competition and said only way to meet it was by organization. (p 47) Instructed Executive Council to appoint union men in every state to agitate against prison labor. (p. 51) Placed boycott on all prison made goods until laws were enacted removing convict labor competition, compelling prison products to be branded and payment of wages to convicts after deducting expense of their individual maintenance.

(1894, p. 45) Michigan abolished contract convict labor, but warden violated the law and case was before supreme court.

(1895, p. 54) New York after 30 years agitation secured a convict labor law prohibiting their employment on any work other than producing supplies necessary to the use of the public institutions, owned, managed and controlled by the state or any political division thereof. The legislature of 1894 proposed an amendment that would virtually restore the old system of convict labor competition with free labor. The 1895 legislature must adopt it to have it submitted to people. All unions were urged to secure defeat of the proposed law in the 1895 legislature, and if they failed, to fight it at ballot box.

(1896, p. 53) Ohio governor in letter advocated use of convict made goods in state institutions. (p. 76) Called upon Governor of Michigan to enforce convict labor law violated by warden Jackson prison.

(1897, p. 22) Reported that New York law was best obtained, as convicts manufactured only for its own use and the eleemosynary institutions of the state. (p. 76) Convention urged all affiliated unions to work for laws in various states along these lines: (1) The labor of any prisoner in any state prison, reformatory, penitentiary, or jail, shall be used for the manufacture of such articles as are required for use in the various state penal or correctional and eleemosynary institutions, and wherever practical, in the raising of such farm and garden products as are required for use in these above-mentioned institutions. (2) That the convicts shall be employed in productive labor for no more than eight hours per day. (3) That all industries undertaken in these several institutions shall be carried on by hand labor. (pp. 73-100) Endorsed protest Allied Printing Trades Council of New York against establishing a printing plant in any penal institution of that state with the avowed purpose of having convicts do all printing for state, county and municipal services. Protest sent to governor.

(1898, pp. 24-64-83) Bill to protect free labor reported favorably to house. Instructed Executive Council to do all in its power against convict labor competition. (p. 98) Bills presented in Congress prohibiting carrying of convict made goods from one state to another.

(1899, pp. 13-85) Petitioned all legislatures to enact laws prohibiting sale of convict made goods in competition with free labor. (p. 105) Where a state federation is meeting in any state capital the president of the A. F. of L. or a member of the Executive Board was instructed to attend to aid in securing anti-convict labor legislation. (p. 106) Favored introduction in all state legislatures of bills prohibiting the leasing of convicts.

(1900, p. 25) Prison labor bill forbidding transportation of convict made goods from one state to the other passed the federal house.

(1901, p. 153) Voted assistance to Tennessee labor to abolish leasing of convicts. (p. 218) Condemned the use of improved machinery in prisons.

(1903, p. 200) Condemned manufacture of mail bags in Trenton prison.

(1904, p. 30) While little progress had been made in securing federal legislation against convict labor competition the post-office department had been ordered by Congress to let no contracts thereafter for the purchase of material or supplies made by convicts.

(1905, p. 104) Urged state federations to agitate for anti-convict labor competition laws.

(1906, pp. 25-178) It may be necessary to repeat here briefly what has often been stated in regard to Labor's position upon the subject of convict labor. We recognize the economic wisdom and the humane purpose in finding employment for those confined in our penal institutions, but we protest against the labor of society's derelicts and unfortunates being made a source of profit for the state or its contractors to the detriment of the inmates of the state and of the people generally. We particularly protest against that policy being pursued by any one or more states for their own profit or the profit of their contractors by dumping the products of convict labor upon the markets of the states in which the people have either partially or wholly solved that problem for themselves. If states which now inconsiderately and inhumanely encourage crime for their own profit or for the profit of contractors were compelled to sell the product of their convicts within their own states, they would soon be confronted with the condition that would compel a better system to protect their own people from that evil.

(1907, pp. 40-176-208) Condemned leasing of convicts and demanded legislation abolishing the practice. Congress had failed to pass the bills forbidding transportation of convict made goods from one state to another; and instructed affiliated unions to urge incorporation of the convict labor question in political party platforms.

(1909, pp. 29-316) The House committee on labor failed to consider the federal convict labor bill. Representatives of such a plastic mold, who neither dare to do nor dare to openly deny, should be kept home among their neighbors, and labor should see to it that men from its own ranks go to Congress, men who understand what labor is and what laborers want, and who will have enough American grit to assert themselves for the bone, brain, and brawn of their constituents. The average congressman either does not know or he does not care, or he does not dare. Give us men who do know, who do care, and who will dare, and labor legislation will then come as a natural sequence.

(1910, pp. 36-312-344) The contract system of prison labor is inhuman, dishonest, and stupid. It is a disgrace to our highly trained scientific twentieth century and a blot upon our boasted civilization. It is deceptively presented to the representatives of a state as a device that will procure ample revenue to reimburse the state for the expense of caring for the convicts, allow the convicts to "earn something for themselves," and of late a more specious but not less transparent claim is made that the "poor convict" is being taught a trade so that when he is released he can procure honorable employment at good wages. Not one of these statements can be successfully maintained. They fall of their own weight when analyzed. In the first place, the largest part of the profit of the labor of the prisoners under the contract system does not go to defray his expenses to the state. It does not go to the convict himself. It goes to the third party, the contractor who has no interest whatever, either in the welfare of the convict or the interest of the state, other than to add to his swollen profits from the misfortunes of the criminal. Consequently, no reformation results. The prisoners are not deceived. They know they are robbed. They become hardened and learn to hate society for the crime society permits to be practiced upon them under the name of—law. Prisoners should be employed at useful and practical productive toil. The labor of the states' unfortunates and derelicts should never be exploited for profit and certainly never for the private profit of contractors. Let out states employ their prisoners in the production of the necessaries of life, for the maintenance of themselves and the inmates of the other state eleemosynary institutions, or else road building.

(1911, pp. 63-257) House Committee on Labor more favorably disposed to anti-convict competition bills. Of the enactment of wise legislation to protect society and under humane discipline adequately punish the offenders the convention said: "Prisoners should be required to work not for private profits of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the state, but for the benefit of their dependents and for their own reformation. We are unalterably opposed to the labor of convicts being let out to contract. We believe that the ultimate solution of the problem will come when the convicts are engaged in the widest possible diversity of industry by hand labor for the use of eleemosynary institutions. By this method both body and mind will be strengthened. Men are imprisoned supposedly for the welfare of society, and their labor which may be utilized thereby should never be so handled as to become a menace to any portion of society. For the accomplishment of this purpose, we recommend the endorsement of H. R. 5601, requiring convict made goods to conform to the laws of the state into which they are shipped, whether received in original packages or otherwise." This bill passed the house.

(1912, p. 44-346) On complaints from Labor the Governor of Iowa appointed a committee to investigate industrial conditions in the penal institutions of that state. It reported: "The system of private exploitation by contractors of the convicts is the main cause of the cruelty reported and of the absolute failure of the institution as a reformatory." The commission found that the contractors, as is always the case wherever the contract system prevails, had undertaken to control (and had managed to succeed) the Iowa prisons for their own profit. The most cruel punishments were inflicted upon those inmates who could not or did not accomplish the tasks set for them by the contractors. Good, willing workers among the convicts, who under ordinary circumstances, under more humane and just state requirements, would have been paroled, were detained in prison longer than others; their paroles were denied because they were too valuable to the contractors to be released. (p. 252) Endorsed bill before Tennessee legislature providing that prisoners sentenced to not more than three years be employed on the public roads.

(1913, p. 57) Although a bill requiring convict made goods to conform to the laws of the states into which they were shipped had passed the federal house, it had failed in the senate. All unions urged to call upon members of congress to pass the bill. (p. 312) President instructed to send a representative of the A. F. of L. to Nashville to aid in the development of a stronger sentiment in favor of employing convicts on public roads. (p. 311) Executive Council instructed to urge the enforcement of this clause in the tariff laws: "That all goods, wares, articles and merchandise manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor shall not be entitled to entry at any port of the U. S."

(1914, pp. 101-494) Unions were urged to secure this clause in state constitutions: "The sale of the products of convict labor, or the contracting or hiring of convicts to perform labor, by any officer of the state, is hereby prohibited; but this shall not prevent the authorized officers of the state to employ convict labor to furnish products for the eleemosynary institutions of the states, or the political divisions thereof, or the construction of state public roads, or the preparation of materials therefor." (pp. 85-494) Progress was reported of the bills in Congress.

(1915, pp. 105-478) Convict labor bill passed house and reported favorably to the senate but failed because unanimous consent was refused for its consideration.

(1916, pp. 104-272) We have made a survey of the prison laws of the country and we find that during our agitation of the last several years we have succeeded in hav-

ing the contract system abolished in the following fifteen states: California, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming and in Missouri restricted to 50 per cent of the convicts. We commend the activity of our friends and associates against the contract system in the states named and we trust that organized labor in other states will be as vigorously active in their efforts to abolish this mischievous competitive scheme for the employment of convicts. The survey also showed that the state use and the public works systems of convict labor are being extended in several states and we hope that these two most desirable systems of employment of convicts may become more general in all the states. State prison and penitentiary officials are becoming overzealous in behalf of the public account system, in which there is no intervention of outside parties as prevails under the contract system, but the employment of the convicts in all respects is directed by the state and the production of a convict's labor sold for the benefit of the state. If these products were confined and sold within the state there would be less room for complaint, but unfortunately the aforesaid zealous industrial speculators who pose as prison reformers are more eager to obtain a market outside of the state than in the state. The states having the public account system in whole or in part are California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin. We, therefore, commend and urge immediate action by the officers and delegates of state federations and city central bodies to exert themselves against the public account system, as well as the contract system of employment of convicts. There is no question but that the agitation which we have conducted during the last several years for the institution of valuable prison reforms has brought splendid results. The most lasting and most effective way, however, would be to take the profit system out of a convict's labor, and stop prison officials as well as prison contractors from obtaining the profits from a convicts's labor either for state or private use and to apply such profits to the dependent members of a convict's family, or in cases where there are no dependent families, for the benefit of the convict himself when released.

(1917, pp. 114-264-385) No federal legislation to protect free labor from convict competition was secured. The bills presented seek to remove the obstacles to an effective operation of the laws of the various states on the subject of the sale within their borders of convict made goods imposed by the interstate commerce laws.

(1918, pp. 114-225) A bill introduced in both houses provides: "That when an emergency exists or when war is imminent, creating a demand for supplies which can not easily be produced or supplied by privately owned or conducted factories not employing convict labor, that the purchasing agents of the government subject to the approval of the President, may contract for such supplies with the superintendent or other head of any federal, naval, military, state, county or municipal governmental penal institution willing to undertake the manufacture, production and delivery of such supplies." It is provided that the compensation to be paid for these supplies shall be fair and just, and, in so far as possible, be the prevailing price for like commodities in the vicinity of the institution furnishing them. The compensation and hours of labor for the inmates of these penal institutions performing this work shall be based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity, the pro rata cost of maintaining the prisoner to be deducted from his compensation. It is specifically directed that the product of the inmates of any penal institution shall not be contracted for or purchased from any private person or persons, using the labor of incarcerated men. This prohibition includes all goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced or mined wholly or in part by convict labor, except paroled convicts. The bill confers upon the federal government a special privilege in the manufacturing of products, in that they can be transported in interstate commerse without restriction, while the products of penal institutions not manufactured for government use, shall be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of the state or territory in which they are manufactured. This provision in reality is the crux of the bill; as it is an enabling act conferring upon the state and territories the power to prohibit the shipment into or sale within their jurisdictions of products manufactured in penal institutions. The bill authorizes the Secretary of War to establish, equip, maintain and operate in the United States Army prison and disciplinary barracks or its branches a factory or factories for the manufacture of equipment or supplies for the government; also to construct military roads and highways, and to supervise the work of county and state highway officials who may be charged with the development of the proposed roads. The Secretary of the Navy is also empowered to exercise the same authority with reference to the penal institutions under his jurisdiction. One of the interesting features of the bill is that the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to "equip, maintain and operate at the United States Penitentiary, located at Atlanta, Ga., factories for the weaving of textiles for mail sacks and other similar mail-carrying equipment for the use of the government; equip, maintain and operate at the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., a factory for the manufacture of furniture and office equipment for the U. S.; and also to establish at McNeil Island, Wash., a pulp and paper mill for the manufacture of print and other kinds of paper for use of the government." It is specifically provided that these factories are not to be operated so as to abolish any existing government workshop or curtail the production within its present limits of any such government workshop. In all of these operations it is clearly and specifically provided that compensation and hours of labor in all penal institutions furnishing supplies to the government shall be based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity in which the institution is located, while the actual cost of maintenance of the prisoner only will be deducted from his compensation. The penalty provision of the bill is to the effect that "Whoever shall order, purchase or cause to be transported in interstate commerce in contravention of the provisions of this law shall be fined not

more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than six months, or both, or for subsequent offense shall be imprisoned for not more than one year."

A bill was introduced providing for the equipment of a building in Atlanta for the manufacture of cottom fabrics such as enters into the production of mail sacks, etc. This bill passed the House on May 11, 1918. While these bills are designated as war measures, it has been exceedingly difficult to secure consideration of them by Congress from the fact that there is such a tremendous amount of war legislation pending. Every energy will be exercised to the end that a constructive convict labor law shall be passed and our historic Bill of Grievances coined into legislation. (pp. 117-331) Convict labor should be employed only by the state and for state use only, and that departure from this principle would be dangerous to public welfare, as well as the convicts, whose confinement is primarily for reformatory purposes. We are of the opinion, however, that such labor should be performed under conditions tending to assist in the convicts' reformation."

Convicts, Discipline of—(1904, p. 30) New York state adopted a rule that first-term convicts shall not be required to wear uniforms that indicates degradation. This wise, economic action tends to influence the public conscience to more humane consideration.

Convicts Made by Prison Methods—(1906, pp. 25-178) There always has been, and is now, proportionately to population, a larger number of men convicted of crime in those states which pursue the contract system of labor as compared to other states, where the convict labor system is fairer to the people and more humane to convicts. And it is additionally interesting to know that where a particular industry is carried on in a penal institution, a very much larger number of men are arrested, charged with, and convicted of crime of that particular industry. In other words, the system not alone makes convicts of men who would otherwise and under other conditions continue to be law-abiding, but the tenedency is also to make common misdemeanors, criminal offenses, in which long and unjust sentences are imposed, in order to furnish "convicts" to perform the particular labor in the prisons.

Co-operation—(1883, p. 8) One of the first subjects discussed was the bill pending in the Michigan legislature to encourage co-operative associations. In 1887, (p. 29) a bill was presented in Congress to aid trade union co-operative societies. In 1896 (p. 49) the convention believed a "credit system was dangerous, as it inculcates a careless method of business and the effect of buying without cash is found out too late." Affiliated unions were urged to carefully consider the co-operative principle. In 1901 (p. 192) it was proposed that the A. F. of L. "promulgate a system of co-operation, simple and comprehensive, which will cover general principles, analyze and safeguard the interest of the unions and members both in and out of co-operative enterprise." The proposition was considered too comprehensive and failed of adoption. In 1896 (p. 49) disproved of the credit system and urged unions to study the Rochdale system of co-operation. In 1916 (p. 339) a committee was appointed to consider the question and in 1917 (pp. 308-390) this plan was submitted and adopted unanimously:

1. That a qualified trade unionist co-operator be appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. to serve one year as lecturer and adviser on the practical work of Rochdale co-operation.

2. That this appointee shall have office room in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington, which shall be the center of information by correspondence and otherwise on the subject.

3. That he shall visit localities in which co-operative societies are in process of formation or have already been formed, and give practical information to the officers and members of such societies, making out routes of travel for this purpose so as to conserve his time and perform the work at a minimum of expense.

4. That it shall be understood that central labor unions and local trade unions as such shall not form co-operative societies, but shall appoint committees from their membership to act in co-operation with other citizens who are in sympathy with the trade union movement in assisting in the upbuilding of a general co-operative movement.

5. That every local trade union under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar ($1.00) in order to establish successfully the Federation bureau for promoting and advancing the cause of true co-operation in the United States and Canada.

Your committee believes the submission of this practical program to be of more value to the trade unionists of this country than an extensive survey of the co operative movements of the world or any exhaustive dissertation on the principles of co-operation, which might be made the subject matter of a report, except to say that we have found that protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations are alike without power to influence employers to pay the rate of wages they should pay; provide safe and healthful conditions of employment, or establish the relationship that should obtain between the employers and the workers or the reasonable hours that should constitute a day's work.

The only way we have been able to assure these conditions has been through the establishment of the trade union movement, a powerful organization of workers to enforce labor's just demands.

This is just as true of the merchants and business men as it is of other employers. Protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations will not enable us to obtain permanently the best articles which we use in every-day life for just prices.

There is nothing that will accomplish this purpose except organization, and the co-operative movement is the organization that is designed to protect the workers in their relations with the merchants and the business men in the same sense that the trade union movement protects them from the employers. The two movements are twin remedies.

If we had a thorough co-operative movement throughout America, comprising in its membership the workers thereof, there would be less need for official governmental food control agencies.

And without that kind of organization established permanently to deal with this question there is no guarantee to the work-

ers that the cost of living for them and their families will be permanently placed on the basis that should obtain, and it is for that reason that we believe that the A. F. of L. should assist in establishing, building up and strengthening in every way possible a legitimate organization of bona fide workers in our country and Canada as part of the great world's co-operative movement; so that after the trade union movement has secured for the workers the wages that they are entitled to for the labor they perform, they may be assured in spending those wages that they will get for them their full value.

We hold that it is just as essential that a working man should get ten dollars' worth of actual value for his wages when he spends them as it is that he should get the ten dollars that he is entitled to for the labor that he performs.

We would also recommend that the U. S. government be requested by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to take up the question of the co-operative movement in connection with its activities relative to the high cost of living, with a view to utilizing as far as possible, the existing co-operative organizations for immediate purposes and encouraging the creation of additional co-operative organizations where they are needed and conditions are suitable.

There has been assembled in the offices of the A. F. of L. a considerable body of literature on the subject, among which are the standard works, reports from various countries, and lists of recent publications.

Your committee has excluded from its consideration all forms of associated work which do not fall within the strict limits of the Rochdale co-operative system.

The simple principles of this system are:

1. A democratic organization.
2. One vote for each member with equality in share ownership.
3. Cash returns quarterly to members of the difference between the total amount they have paid for their purchases and the lesser total cost of these purchases to the co-operative society; including among the costs depreciation and a reasonable amount for a reserve fund to meet emergencies and extend the business.
4. Rejection of the principle of profits.
5. Current interest on loan capital.
6. Sales where possible preferably to members only.
7. Distributive co-operation to precede productive.
8. A sufficient number of retail stores to be established to assure a market before a wholesale department is created.
9. Observance of methods recommended by the International Co-operative Alliance.

All the members of your committee have made the subject of co-operation the study of many years, have had personal experience in conducting or investigating co-operative societies and are ecquainted with co-operation as a great world movement. In their judgment the co-operative principle and the trade union principle give rise to no hurtful interference with each other, but are mutually helpful, and each is in a degree beyond measure a factor in the economic, social, political and educational development of the wage-working masses.

(1918, p. 132) Executive Council reported the donations of $1 each from affiliated unions had not been sufficient to permit the appointment of a lecturer and advisor on cooperation. The special committee reported the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had decided that Rochdale Co-operative societies will not be required to pay income tax on returned savings (so-called dividends); that the only moneys they will be required to pay taxes upon will be the profit they make selling goods to non-members, which is a very small item. The convention approved of an amendment to the federal income tax law providing for the addition of cooperative societies organized under the "no profits" system to the exemption section of the law.

Cooperation in Related Industries—(1913, p. 274) Instructed Executive Council to "extend its good offices in the establishment of a federation agreement between all unions in a given industry to the end they shall act jointly in all matters offensive and defensive. (1914, pp. 61-361) Executive Council reported its members had given its assistance and advice wherever it might be of service in an endeavor to comply with the request to the fullest limit of their ability.

Coopers Fear Detrimental Legislation—(1903, p. 201) Instructed legislative committee to keep Coopers' International Union informed of detrimental legislative proposals.

Copyright—(1899, p. 137) Instructed Executive Council to use every effort to secure this amendment to the copyright law: Provided, that in the case of a book, photograph, engraving, etching, chromo, or lithograph the same shall be printed from type set within the United States or from plates made therein, or from engraved or etched plates, or from drawings made from stone, or from transfers made therefrom, and the importation of the same is prohibited. (1909, p. 254) Ordered investigation of complaints that art books are sent into the United States free of duty and to the detriment of the allied printing trades. (p. 327) Authorized appointment of committee to secure amendment to copyright law to cover "musical composition."

Coronado Coal Company vs. Miners—(1918, p. 93) A. S. Dowd, receiver for nine coal corporations brought action against the United Mine Workers of America, July 25, 1914, charging that the organizations since 1898 had been in a gigantic conspiracy with union operators to interfere with the production and commerce of the corporations that followed a non-union policy by means of strikes and attendant violence. The case grew out of a local strike of the Arkansas miners. The Bache-Denman Coal Company alleged that they were damaged by reason of the strike and that the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America conspired to prevent the operation of their mines and the shipment of their coal in interstate commerce. A demurrer was sustained to this complaint by the federal judge of the district court. An appeal was made to the Circuit Court of Appeals but that court held that the complaint was good and remanded it for trial. In its opinion, the Circuit Court of Appeals took the position that a labor union although unincorporated, could be sued in its union name. This opinion of the judge is without precedent. We reported this decision to the 1916 Convention. The trial took place before Judge Elliott. After the jury had

been out about forty-eight hours they were called before the court and instructed by the Judge:

"Now, gentlemen of the jury, this is a pretty serious situation and I want to say to you that the court has no thought at all of discharging you. You were sworn upon your oaths to do your duty as jurors. In the opinion of the court there is no reason on earth why reasonable men with due regard for right, and each having due respect and consideration for the other's opinion, should not arrive at a conclusion in this case. What would be a fortune to either of you or I has already been spent and a failure to render justice in this and others is what brings the courts into contempt. I say this to you that you may understand the seriousness of your situation. The facts in this case have got to be found by a jury. Another jury will have no better opportunity of knowing what these facts are or be in any better position to determine these facts than you, and it is your duty as jurors under your oaths to get together and return a verdict. Now the Federal Courts recognize the right of this court under these circumstances to say what this court believes in relation to the facts in this case, and you are advised that this court is of the opinion that the facts in this case justify you in the conclusion, overwhelmingly, that it was the policy and therefore the agreement for years of this national organization to prevent mining of non-union coal for the unlawful purposes named in this complaint that it might not come into competition with union mined coal; that there is no question in this court's mind but that the strike was ordered down there for that purpose to prevent the mining of non-union coal in these plaintiff's mines; that the strike was called by those who were the instrumentality of the greater organization, the general organization, the defendants, and their act was its act, and that they put into motion the force that destroyed this property, and that that force was put into motion for the purpose of preventing the mining of that coal, the shipping of that coal, the running of these mines. Why, this court has not a thought that there would ever have been any trouble there if it had not been for the prevention of the mining of non-union coal. Now, that is the judgment of this court and if it were my duty to decide it I would decide it here. Now you are not bound by my opinion. I have a right to give you my judgment, however, you are the sole and exclusive judges of the facts and it is for you to determine these issues of fact independent of my judgment and this court believes you ought to determine it and under your oaths as jurors agree upon a verdict. If there is any question about the law on the responsibility for this, responsibility of the greater organization, that is for the higher court to say, but you can not reach it until you have done your duty—you are the stumbling block in the way and this whole time is wasted. Now after I have said what I have, I am going to say that I have no thought of discharging you, you must return a verdict in this case. You are amply qualified to do the right thing as you see it, and as it should be done and the thought of the court is that no other jury will ever be better prepared to render a verdict than you and to separate without a verdict will be to have rendered all this expense of all this trial for naught—make it necessary to go all over the ground again with no better opportunity on the part of the jury in the box when it has all been done, to do the right thing than you have now, no advantage, none in the world. You see the importance of the situation and I now urge you with the idea of doing the right thing and putting this matter in that condition that a trial of the case with a legitimate end in which a verdict of the jury will place. And with a knowledge and feeling of responsibility and that that responsibility is with you, that you now return to your jury rooms and bring in a verdict."

The jury of the Federal District Court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, rendered a verdict of $200,000 damages against the United Mine Workers of America. Under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law this amount was automatically trebled. The United Mine Workers' officers appealed to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals from the verdict of the District Court. The court required an appeal bond amounting to $800,000. This requirement has been met, and the organization's appeal awaits the decision by the higher court. We have been advised by the counsel that judges in Federal courts have sometimes assumed the power as exercised by the judge in the case in point, and it will be observed that the judge used all the power and influence of his position to not only coerce the jury in finding a verdict for the plaintiff, but practically threatened the jury with imprisonment until they reached a verdict and of course a verdict as he desired they should reach. It is earnestly hoped that the higher court reverses the decision and award reached. It should be borne in mind that the case was brought under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and not as modified by the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust law.

The convention declared (p. 280):

There is involved in this case, not alone the right to strike—the right of the workers to combine for the purpose of dealing collectively with their labor power, and by reason of the control of labor, demand and command a voice in determining the working conditions which should prevail, but there is also involved in this case a direct attack and encroachment on the system of trial by jury—the fundamental guarantee to the rights and liberties of a free people. It is evident from a careful reading of the attitude and expressions, that Judge Elliott was determined to find the Miners' Union guilty, whether right or wrong. Never in the history of our land has there been such a flagrant and vicious disregard to the constitutional guarantee of our people to a fair and just trial. The threatened attitude by which the court in this case required the jury to find the Miners' Union in error is an attack as well on the right and freedom of the jurors to determine issues submitted to them. As American citizens, as lovers of freedom and fair play, we are in duty bound to resist to our fullest extent the encroachment of our courts upon the right to a fair trial by jury, uninfluenced, much less coerced in its judgment. We believe this attack upon this fundamental institution of our government to protect the rights and liberties of a free people by Judge Elliott, disqualifies him to be longer vested with any degree of judicial authority, and the Executive Council is authorized to

consider at the earliest possible time steps looking to the impeachment from office of one who has so flagrantly disregarded his oath of office, to maintain inviolate the constitutional rights, privileges and guarantees of our people. We direct attention to the dangerous extent to which the principles of agency have been invoked in this case, and upon the attack made upon the right of the workers to strike. If these principles are permitted to be used by our courts the trade union movement will be seriously hampered if not ultimately destroyed in its successful and effective operation carrying with it the possibility of substituting in place of a peaceful, orderly and responsible trade union movement, a movement violent in temper and irresponsible in character. The best interests of all citizens therefore demands that the principles devised and applied in this case must be repudiated and that the workers shall be unmolested by our courts and judges to deal with industrial problems and relations.

Corrupt Practices Act—(1914, pp. 99-494) We favor a federal statute compelling adequate publicity of the sources of campaign funds and contributions. The present laws are very defective. While a candidate for Congress is compelled to file his personal expenses, any amount of money can be expended to elect or defeat him by outside parties with no publicity required. Few workingmen can afford to make a campaign against candidates backed by huge campaign funds. This prevents Labor from being represented properly in the national Congress. The E. C. is authorized to carry forward this campaign and also to work for a complete and stringent federal Corrupt Practices Act, the object of which will be to put an end to the frightful corruption of the voters, the public press, and the ballot box, which is even yet going on in this nation.

Courts, to Curb Power of—(1917, p. 104) The power now exercised by the federal courts, both in the matter of injunctions and in overruling the legislative departments of the government, still remains a vital matter to labor and the American people. No law enacted by the Congress to meet twentieth century requirements is safe until it has been approved by a majority of the nine members of the Supreme Court. The exercise of such power is inconsistent with popular sovereignty. A resolution is now pending in Congress which will deprive the federal courts of this power. The resolution, in short, provides that since the Supreme Court can exercise appellate jurisdiction only "with such extensions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make," it is clearly within the power of Congress to order that the court shall have no jurisdiction in a case where the constitutionality of an act of Congress is questioned. Since the right of Congress to do this has been established by Supreme Court decisions, and since the vast bulk of the cases for the Supreme Court come up on appeal, it would seem clear that we have here a simple method to avoid many of the dangers to which we are now subject by the exercise of these powers by the court. The convention indorses that resolution and orders that proper steps be taken to acquaint the workers and all the people with its provisions.

Cuban Liberty—(1895, p. 81) Indorsed struggle of Cubans for liberty.

(1896, p. 50) Declared: "That the A. F. of L. tenders its hearty sympathy to all men struggling against oppression, and especially to the men of Cuba who for years have sacrificed and suffered to secure the right of self-government. That the example of the people of France, in giving recognition and aid to the Fathers in their struggle to secure the independence of the colonies, is worthy of imitation, and we hereby call upon the President and Congres to recognize the belligerent rights of the Cuban revolutionists." Convention approved statement of its president that "liberty, truth and freedom were the basis of the make-up of the world and must be obtained before the Cuban proletariat could be organized."

(1897, p. 84) Reaffirmed former action.

(1898, p. 86) After war policy: "Our duty towards Cuba and its unfortunate people is clear. America's sons fought and gave their lives to win for them their freedom and independence, and we mistake much the honor and good faith of our people if they will lend their countenance to any movement that will rob the Cuban patriots of that liberty which they prize so highly themselves. Organized labor's attitude admits of no question and is summed up in these words, "Keep faith." We share the apprehension of our President regarding the proposed disposition and government of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands. We see in them a departure from the time-honored traditions of our nation and a disregard of the warnings of the fathers of this country, who, looking into the future, saw and realized the dangers to which a policy of imperialism, such as that which is now proposed, would bring us. As citizens we protest against forcing our system of government upon an unwilling people; against the maintenance of a huge standing army, that has no place in a republic such as ours; we protest against the manifold dangers attendant upon European and Asiatic entanglements, and as workingmen emphatically protest against the unfair competition of the wretched peoples who would become, without voice or vote, our fellow citizens. We therefore urge upon workingmen to awake to a full realization of the dangers that confront them, and call upon their representatives with no uncertain voice to save them from the dangers of imperialism."

(1907, pp. 26-204) President reported that after a visit there the Cuban workmen had wakened to their condition and would devote their attention more to their material and economic interests than they had done, and this would bring them not only material advancement by also political, moral and social.

(1913, p. 88) Instructed Executive Council to give all assistance to Cuban workmen to organize.

(1914, pp. 52, 331-494) Owing to the industrial situation in Cuba after the war in Europe began the organization campaign was postponed to be taken up as soon as possible.

Day Labor System—(1892, p. 38) Government should provide for day work in all government shops and factories. (1894, p. 31) Petitioned Congress to empower Bureau of Labor to investigate question of municipalities conducting public work on the day labor system.

Daylight Saving—(1917, p. 387) Executive Council instructed to investigate the practicability of turning the clock forward an hour to give more daylight hours during the evening in the summer months, and if found to mean greater comfort and saving and helpful to the physical well being of the workers to approve the movement. (1918, p. 113) Executive Council approved plan and law was enacted March 19, 1918.

Dayton, Alston G.—(1914, pp. 95-365) June 12, 1914, H. R. Resolution 541 presented the following charges against Judge Dayton: "Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire and report whether the action of this House is necessary concerning the alleged official misconduct of Alston G. Dayton; whether he has unlawfully conspired with certain corporations and individuals to bring about the removal from office of the late John J. Jackson, judge of the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of West Virginia; whether he has shown marked favoritism to certain corporations having extensive litigation in his court; whether he has had summoned on juries in his court persons connected with certain corporations to which he has shown marked favoritism during his term of office; whether he has assisted his son, Arthur Dayton, in the preparation of the defense and trial of numerous cases against certain corporations for which the said Arthur Dayton is attorney, which cases were tried before him, the said Alston G. Dayton, and whether he has unlawfully used his high office and influence in behalf of said corporations; whether he has abused his power and influence as judge to further the interests of his son, Arthur Dayton; whether he has used the funds of the United States for an improper purpose; whether he has violated the acts of Congress regulating the selection of jurors; whether he has actively engaged in politics and used his high office as judge to further the political ambitions and aspirations of his friends; whether he has lent his services as judge to the coal operators of West Virginia by improperly issuing injunctions; whether he has shown hatred and bitterness toward miners on trial in his court; whether he has used his office as judge to discourage and prevent said miners from exercising their lawful right to organize and peaceably assemble under the laws of the United States and the state of West Virginia; whether he has wrongfully expressed his own opinions in charging grand juries in his court; whether he has conspired with certain corporations and individuals in the formation of a carbon trust in violation of law; whether he has unlawfully had an order entered staying a proceeding the object of which was the condemnation of a lot in Philippi, West Virginia, for a site for a federal building; whether he has publicly denounced the President of the United States from the bench and before a jury; whether he has unlawfully used the funds of the United States government for his own private use; whether he has wrongfully collected from the government funds as expenses not due or allowed to him under statute; whether he has wrongfully kept open the books of his court at Philippi, West Virginia; whether he has, in open court, and before a jury, accused witnesses of swearing falsely in cases then on trial before him; whether he has directed the marshal of his district to refuse to pay the fees of witnesses whom he has accused of testifying falsely; whether he has refused to enforce certain laws of the United States; whether he has openly denounced and criticized the United States Supreme Court; whether he has discharged jurors for rendering verdicts not agreeable to him; whether he has openly stated that he would not permit the United Mine Workers of America to exist within the jurisdiction of his court; whether he has refused to permit certain defendants in a case in his court to have an interpreter; whether he has stated in open court that the United Mine Workers of America are criminal conspirators; whether he is so prejudiced as to unfit him temperamentally to hold a judicial office and whether he has been guilty of various other acts of personal and judicial misconduct for which he should be impeached." Other investigations in recent times of a similar nature have resulted in removing unjust judges—notably the impeachment of Judge Archbald and the resignation of Judge Hanford of anti-free speech fame while the congressional investigation was in progress. The charges against Judge Archbald were concerned with corruption in office. Judge Hanford was charged with denying to citizens and especially to workers rights which were guaranteed to them by the laws of the land. There are others who have dealt unjustly with the rights of a free people. These, too, must learn to understand and have regard for the rights and welfare of humanity. Judges have great power. They must exercise that power with a corresponding degree of discernment, discretion and appreciation of the human side of the administration of justice. Failure to conform to this ideal unfits men for the office of judge.

(1915, p. 115) Three representatives to whom was referred the charges against Judge Dayton made reports to the Judiciary Committee of the House. Two had reached the conclusion that no further proceedings should be had with reference to the impeachment proceedings. The minority report said: "I do not concur with the recommendation that no further proceedings be had, as it is my opinion the evidence taken by the subcommittee, and finding of facts above made, warrant further proceedings looking forward to impeachment."

Day Work for Bakers—(1890, p. 39) Pledged aid to the bakers to change their employment from night to day work.

Deceptive Publications—(1901, pp. 170-233) A number of souvenir books have been published in which the name of the A. F. of L. has been used without authority or sanction of any kind from either the American Federation of Labor or its officers. The good name of our movement is thereby impaired, the interests of our fellow-workers injured, and fair-minded business men imposed upon and deceived. During the year we have endeavored to impress upon all that the only publication in which advertisements are received is our official monthly magazine, the American Federationist; and we have also endeavored to influence a more straightforward course by those who have transgressed in the direction indicated. In this particular we have not been as successful as we should be pleased to be enabled to report to you. However, we are more concerned with the future than with the past; and in order to be helpful in eliminating

this cause of grievous complaint, we make the following declarations:

First—That we shall insist that no body of organized labor, nor shall any person issue a souvenir book claiming that such book or any other publication is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

Second—That any city chosen by a convention of the American Federation of Labor to hold the convention following shall not directly or indirectly through its Central Labor Union or otherwise issue a souvenir book claiming that such book is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

Third—That in the event of any such souvenir book being projected or about to be issued, directly or indirectly, by the Central Labor body in the city in which the convention was selected to be held, in violation of the letter and spirit of these recommendations, the Executive Council may change the city in which the convention is to be held to the one which received the next highest number of votes for that honor.

Fourth—That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prosecute any person or persons in the courts who shall in any way issue souvenir books, directories or other publications in which the name of the American Federation of Labor is used as publisher, owner or beneficiary.

Fifth—That it be again emphasized that the American Federationist is the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, and is the only publication in which advertisements are received.

Decision, Division of a Question—(1911, p. 208) When attention has been called to the fact there are two distinct propositions in a subject, and a delegate raises that question, it is the duty of the chairman to direct a division if the sense of the matter will permit.

Decision, Must Comply With to Appeal—(1904, p. 177) Executive Council decided Chicago Federation of Labor could not appeal a decision to unseat a union or be recognized at a convention unless it had complied with the constitution of the A. F. of L. covering the particular case.

Decision on Authority of A. F. of L.—(1899, p. 65) Refused to penalize national, international or local unions that refuse to transfer workmen of other trades who had been accepted in their organizations as members.

Decision, Reorganizing Loyal Members—(1904, p. 243) When an international union has been expelled for violating the laws of the A. F. of L., the loyal members must not be reorganized into locals and then into an international affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Decisions, Date for Enforcing—(1905, p. 213) Deemed inadvisable to fix a specified time when all the decisions of conventions on jurisdiction disputes be enforced.

Deep Waterways—(1909, p. 213) We indorse the deep waterway projects throughout the country and heartily recommend to Congress to appropriate money to carry on their construction. (1910, p. 254) Congress should cease to appropriate money for the improvement of harbors, rivers or other internal waterways unless the states benefited shall have made provision for the public use of all wharves and landings free from discrimination, and that violations shall be punished by fine and imprisonment. (p. 265) Favored deep waterway from the lakes to the gulf to give work to the unemployed. Suggestion was made that constructing deep waterways was not simply to give employment but to further the purposes of commerce and the public good.

Defense Fund—(1901, pp. 53-210) The per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions to the A. F. of L. was 5 cents per capita. A recommendation of the secretary that it be made 10 cents, 5 cents to be set aside as a strike fund, was adopted.

(1902, pp. xvi-146) No local shall be entitled to strike benefits from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefits from said fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for one year.

(1903, pp. 17-184) All payments to local unions from the strike funds were ordered paid to the bonded officers instead of to the president and secretary. Each union was required to have the treasurer give proper bond.

(1905, pp. 15-206) It is a fact worthy of statement and repetition that the establishment of the defense fund and its availability to be concentrated at any given point to sustain our men in the defense and promotion of their rights and interests, has had a wholesome influence to secure them, without the necessity of resort to a strike. Employers have learned to hesitate to provoke a strike, conscious of the fact that their workmen are organized and have the resources to maintain themselves, or to be maintained by the Federation's defense fund. This fact in itself should be a valuable lesson to all our unions, local, national, and international.

(1906, p. 15) The laws governing the defense fund have been liberally interpreted and administered and aid given our directly affiliated locals in contests in which they were engaged. These have been of substantial benefit in aiding the members of these locals in maintaining themselves during contests, largely achieving the purpose for which these trade disputes were inaugurated.

(1907, pp. 19-202) We have had most excellent results attend the trade movements of the local unions directly affiliated by charter to the American Federation of Labor. These local unions, coming directly under the supervision of your President, are a constant source of solicitude as to their welfare. By persistent efforts their interests have been protected and advanced. It is true beyond question that the Defense Fund has been a potent factor in securing substantial improvement in their wages, hours and working conditions. It is equally true that by the timely advice given them they have obtained such betterment without the necessity of a cessation of work. Unless the greatest possible care were constantly exercised the Defense Fund would not only be depleted, but impractical and often unnecessary strikes would be inaugurated, resulting in defeat and injury to the workers themselves. This is cited as applying more to the years preceding the one just closing There is a better conception and understanding among the members of our directly affiliated local unions that their interests

will neither be neglected nor frittered away, but will be safeguarded by the best advice and direction which experience can give; that at all times, when necessary, the Defense Fund will be generously at their disposal, subject only to such limitations as the laws provide.

(1910, pp. 24-308) In regard to the struggles of our directly affiliated local trade unions and Federal Labor Unions, it is to be said that they have been unusually successful. A number have been engaged in protracted strikes, all of them but one proving successful. Even the one lost strike resulted in securing some improvement over former conditions and some relief from the conditions under which the workers suffered before the effort was made. With the experience and aid of our Federation's officers and organizers, these directly affiliated locals have been guided aright, and they have gained many advantages without the necessity of a strike. The fact that these locals have the advice and moral support of our Federation's officers and organizers, and if necessary the financial support of the A. F. of L., is regarded by the workers and their employers of sufficient potency to compel respectful consideration of Labor's needs and rights.

(1914, pp. 57-476) No local union will be entitled to any benefits of the strike fund unless it requires its members to pay 60 cents a month dues. Financial officers shall be bonded. Initiation fees shall be not less than $1 or more than $5. Traveling cards shall be accepted by all local and federal unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. Funds shall not be used for any purpose not provided in the constitution. Seven members can hold a charter, but upon dissolution all funds and property of any kind reverts to the A. F. of L.

Defense Fund, Should Use—(1904, p. 237) Money appropriated to pay expense of forming an international union of directly affiliated organizations of directly affiliated locals should be taken from the defense not the general fund.

Delegate Refused Seat—(1895, p. 60) Refused to seat delegate from a union which had refused to indorse a boycott and had done all in its power to offset it.

Department Councils—(1904, p. 242) Plan to divide the various trades in a city into department councils, to be chartered by the A. F. of L. and under the jurisdiction of the central body of the city in which it is located, was rejected.

Department of Labor—Plank 10 of the platform adopted in 1881 declared: "We recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created in the several states and we urge on our friends on Congress to enact a law establishing such a bureau, and recommend for its management the appointment of a proper person as its chief who is identified with the wage earners of the country."

(1883, p. 8) Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics created by Congress. It was some time before the President appointed a Commissioner of Labor and then only after repeated protests from officers of the Federation.

Department of Labor of U. S.—(1896, p. 73) Executive Council was instructed to formulate a bill for the establishment of a Department of Labor to be presented in Congress; all unions urged to appeal to their respective representatives to favor this proposed aid to peace, prosperity and patriotism. The reasons: A peaceful and prosperous future for the people of the nation is of primary concern—"Salus populi suprema est lex." The founders of the republic and their immediate successors did not anticipate an era of money power, with giant corporations in control of the products of the earth and of transportation, and in possession, through patents, of the utilized forces of nature. They did not contemplate that it would become necessary for American citizens to unite in order to protect themselves and oppose attempted control and regulation of skilled and unskilled labor by centralized wealth—corporations, combines and trusts. They did not intend that the regular army should be massed and state troops mobilized at industrial centers wherever and whenever a corporation suggested that "life" and "property" were in danger. They did not imagine that graduates of West Point, in the service of the regular army, would be assigned to constant duty as instructors of the art of military command in state colleges and universities where the scions of recent patricians are educated, while the more fortunate young plebeians were being prepared for non-commissions through a blessed course of sloyd, manual training and subserviency. They did not suggest a "stronger" government than they had established. They did not dream of the upbuilding of classes. They did not countenance, in any provision of the constitution, or laws enacted thereunder, any act that would emasculate the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. They spurned aristocracy, classes and military rule when independence was achieved, and they legislated for a republican form of government in accord with the definition of democracy. It is therefore necessary that a readjustment of the federal cabinet be made so as to include a department of labor, which will prove effective in perpetuating the purposes and intentions of the founders of the American Republic.

(1897, pp. 22-88) A bill creating a Department of Labor with the secretary a member of the cabinet was presented in Congress but was met with an opposition measure creating a Department of Commerce and Industries. From the foundation of our government up to the present day the representatives of business and commerce have had absolute and exclusive representation in the cabinet and in every department of our government. Since the wage earners of our country are so essential to its well being and since they form so large and overwhelming a number of the manhood and citizenship of the United States, it does seem as if the interests and the needs of labor require a direct representative in the councils of the president. For these reasons and numerous others we insist upon our original position on this measure.

(1900, p. 88) We oppose the creation of a Department of Commerce and Industries and reaffirm emphatically our determination for a Department of Labor, the secretary to be a member of the cabinet. (1901, pp. 27-187) Reaffirmed.

(1903, pp. 24-173) We regret the Department of Labor was absorbed in the new Department of Commerce and Labor. We believe labor statistics coming through any other department of the government, even

with the best intention on the part of its secretary, will be colored to a sufficient extent to lose its value.

(1909, pp. 28-315) This demand for a department of labor, independent of any other department under the government, with a secretary at its head, has been the unanimous declaration of the organized labor movement of our country time and again. It was at the urgent insistence of organized labor that the Department of Labor as it was primarily constituted was created, which was afterwards bereft of its individual function by the law merging it with the Department of Commerce and Labor. The labor forces and labor interests are of so vast and comprehensive a character that a department devoted entirely to the many questions and problems so intimately associated with it, the secretary at the head of that department having an intelligence of and sympathy for the duties involved, a secretary who will be at the council table of the President's Cabinet to give advice and counsel, and to speak the right word at the right time, is one of the growing, important necessities of our great industrial development.

(1910, pp. 40-312) Many Members of Congress seem to be favorably inclined toward the proposed Department of Labor, and it is within reasonable possibilities that the administration will favor it and urge its early passage. Continued demands, with pressure from the ranks of organized labor and other broad-minded citizens in behalf of this measure, are sure to meet with favorable response and action.

(1911, pp. 62-289) No organized opposition had become apparent to the Department of Labor bill.

(1912, pp. 257-355) Reaffirmed demand for Department of Labor and the appointment of a representative of labor as secretary when the law is enacted.

(1913, pp. 53-296) In the closing hours of the last Congress a bill creating the Department of Labor was passed, approved by the President and a labor representative appointed secretary. No provision was made for paying salaries, maintaining quarters or performing its specific duties. A special urgency appropriation bill for $42,300 was passed and approved May 1, 1913, which did not provide sufficient funds. The Department of Labor is the only department of the Government which deals exclusively with problems of human progress and the relations of man to man, including that of employer and employe. To have it thus handicapped in its initial work retards the progress of the great humanitarian purpose for which it was brought into existence. We can not too strongly condemn the niggardly, picayunish policy of Congress in dealing with the only department entrusted with promoting the welfare of the wage-workers.

(1915, pp. 95-174) We call attention to the splendid work of the U. S. Department of Labor in its efforts to enlighten the people as to the awful slaughter which is continually taking place among the workers in the industries of our nation. (p. 178) We cannot speak too highly of the valuable services of the commissioners of mediation and conciliation from the Department of Labor and the prompt attention given to our requests for the services of a conciliator when required. We fully realize the great value to both the employer and employe through the intercession of mediation as a means of bringing them together to find some mutually satisfactory basis of agreement.

(1916, pp. 153-156) Every request in the interest of international unions made on the Secretary of Labor has been granted and valuable service rendered in adjusting disputes.

(1917, pp. 118-317) Efforts were made to secure an appropriation of $750,000 for the Department of Labor to permit the Secretary of Labor to give such assistance in the employment of wage earners throughout the U. S. as may be deemed necessary during the period of the war. This failed and $250,000 was secured through an urgent deficiency bill.

Deporting Labor Officials—(1910, pp. 264-522-340) Protest sent governor of Florida against the deportation of officer Cigarmakers' International Union and demand made for his protection.

Detective Agencies—(1885, p. 15) Congress was urged to enact laws declaring illegal the armed organization known as the Pinkerton Protective Patrol or any body of men formed to act as spies and thugs for corporate monopolies, with the extraordinary privilege of moving from one state to the other in plying their nefarious trade of over-awing peaceful laborers into submission to degrading conditions of servitude.

(1886, p. 19) Condemned Pinkerton Protective Patrol, the Coal and Iron Police or any armed body of men acting as spies.

(1888, p. 27) Pledged aid to city and state federations to secure legislation preventing unfair employers hiring irresponsible persons armed for the purpose of overdriving the workmen on strike; also for preventing undue police interference in labor disputes. (1889, p. 37; 1890, p. 14) Reaffirmed.

(1899, p. 14) In one way or another we have been subject to the annoyance, misrepresentation and brutality of the detective agencies and private armed forces employed by corporations and unfair companies. We have known, too, that detectives have been employed to pry into the affairs of many organizations, information being given to employers as to who are the active men in the movement for the formation of unions, their discharge following frequently, ending in the terrorizing of the members of the organization; and personal spleen has largely entered into such information given to employers. We have known, too, that the supposed "secret" meetings of some organizations have been the means by which the detective agencies have been enabled to concoct stories, having no foundation in fact, to alarm employers as to the radical or revolutionary actions supposed to have been taken by the organization. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to understand that in the absence of facts upon which such reports to employers are based, the imagination of the detectives and the agencies is freely exercised, for, without alarming reports, the uselessness of the agencies is plainly discernible. Quite recently, a correspondence was made public by Mr. James Kilbourne, president of the Kilbourne-Jacobs Manufacturing Co., Columbus, Ohio, between him and J. K. Turner, manager of the "Manufacturers' Information Bureau," of Cleveland, Ohio, in which the offer was made by the latter to Mr. Kilbourne to fur-

nish a complete report of the "secret sessions" of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor now being held. It is to the credit of Mr. Kilbourne that he has given the correspondence to the public press, and in his letter the following language which he employs is worthy of your notice. He said: "The proposition it contains seems to be so infamous that I shall give the letter and my reply to the public press. We have never engaged spies in our business, and certainly shall not do so against the most defenseless class with whom we have to deal."

(1906, p. 228) Renewed opposition to employment of armed thugs for the purpose of defeating organized labor in its efforts to better conditions.

(1907, p. 317) Executive Council requested to take proper action to prohibit bands of armed thugs being sent into a peaceful community to intimidate the employes who are peacefully contending for their rights.

(1912, p. 258) Coal operators prevented organization by hiring large forces of guards, commonly called "Baldwin Detectives," whose inhuman and barbarous methods terrorized the different communities. Executive Council instructed to investigate whether peonage existed in West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Colorado and other states and to what extent federal laws are violated in the transportation of armed thugs under the guise of guards or detectives.

(1913, p. 319) Executive Council instructed to investigate by what laws armed men are permitted to operate in Missouri, and to prepare a bill to protect the workers from the ravages of irresponsible characters, which will cover advertisements for men during strikes and the regulation of private detective agencies.

(1914, p. 351) Instructed Executive Council to make an investigation of the activities of private detective agencies whose services are to prevent trade union organization, destroy it where it exists and serve as mercenaries during industrial disputes.

(1918, p. 227) Resolution showing by government reports that the Western Union Telegraph Company had for years maintained a spy system to defeat organization among its employes was ordered sent to President Woodrow Wilson. (p. 230) Executive Council was instructed to consult with federal authorities with a view to introducing a bill in Congress to rid the country of this spy menace, which is working under the guise of private detective agencies.

Detective Agencies Exposed—(1915, p. 77) Patience is a virtue. But wrongs, injustice and denial of rights deserve neither patience nor tolerance. The working people of the United States—organized and unorganized—are wonderfully patient; they have been blacklisted, jailed, robbed, and killed. Unscrupulous employers have mistreated them in every way ingenuity can devise. The lust for more profit and power has ruined mentally, physically, and morally many men, who unfortunately for themselves and others are known as employers of labor. Large employers of labor and many small employers have during recent years delegated part of their own legitimate functions to other concerns. They have surrendered the actual management of their affairs to outside parties. They have been deceived and robbed through impositions upon their credulity by scheming agencies labeled "information bureaus," "secret service companies," "detective agencies," "auditors and inspection companies," and other concerns representing themselves as employment agencies. At the thirty-fourth annual convention the International Seamen's Union introduced Resolution No. 7; and the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union introduced Resolution No. 68. The purpose of both those resolutions was to secure the enactment of state and national legislation, limiting the activities of detective agencies to the tracing of crime and criminals and preventing them from furnishing strike-breakers and armed guards to employers during labor disputes. The Committee on Resolutions in its report offered the following as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 7 and 68, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, instructed to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to prepare and submit to the Executive Council a report upon the activities of private detective agencies whose services are secured by employers to prevent trade union organization, destroy it where it exists, if possible, and serve as mercenaries during industrial disputes, and that upon receipt of this report the Executive Council shall cause to be prepared a measure or measures to be introduced in Congress and in state legislatures, which will prevent the granting of federal or state licenses to any private detective agency whose employers can be secured in any effort to disrupt or prevent trade union growth, or serve in any capacity as strike-breaking agencies." Through the American Federationist, publicity has been given to the machinations of several detective associations, including the close relations of the National Manufacturers' Association and other employers' organizations with such detective concerns. In the American Federationist for January, 1909, under the caption "Labor Secrets Exposed," page 49, the close alliance between the "Manufacturers' Information Bureau" of Cleveland, Ohio, with the late president of the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. J. W. Van Cleave, was shown. This same subject was continued in the March, 1909, issue of the American Federationist, page 230, entitled "Turner, Van Cleave's Detective, Exposed;" and again, on page 429 of the May, 1909, issue, replicas of President Van Cleave's, correspondence with the Manufacturers' Information Bureau were given. (This concern being more generally known as the Turner Detective Agency.) During numerous hearings before the House and Senate Committees on the Judiciary, the President of the A. F. of L. has several times offered as evidence material which showed the character of the private detective agencies fostered and supported by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Founders' Association, the National Metal Trades Association, the National Erectors' Association, and other similar organizations of employers. The president of the International Molders' Union, the editor of the Iron Molders' Journal, and the President of the A. F. of L. on August 13, 1912, before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, offered incriminating evidence, compiled from court records, showing the lawless methods of employers connected with the Founders'

Association. On January 6 and 10, 1913, at another hearing before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, the President of the A. F. of L. introduced official evidence from the United States Department of Justice, showing the close alliance between the Burns Detective Agency and the employers, and incorporated in his statement copies of the original letters from the Bergoff Detective Agency to railroad officials, and the personal correspondence which passed between J. K. Turner, of the Manufacturers' Information Bureau, Cleveland, Ohio, and Mr. James W. Van Cleave, late president of the National Association of Manufacturers. Similar material also had been placed in the hands of Senators and Representatives for use when making speeches on labor measures in which this material would be appropriate. On January 22, 1915, before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations in New York City, President Gompers submitted detailed testimony concerning activities of the employment and detective agencies. Particular attention was called to the R. J. Coach Secret Service Company of Cleveland, Ohio, and many passages were read into the record from an advance copy of the booklet issued by that secret service concern.

Strike-Breaking Detective Agencies—Waddell-Mahon, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Bergoff Brothers, 1451 Broadway, New York City; the Ascher Detective Agency, No. 1345 Broadway, New York City; the Lawrence Secret Service Agency, No. 1232 Twenty-third Street, New York City; the Universal Secret Service Bureau, 80 Wall Street, New York City; the Drummond's Detective Agency, New York City and Chicago, Ill.; the Burns Detective Agency, New York and Chicago; Pinkerton Detective Agency, New York and Chicago; the Standard Secret Service Agency, No. 697 Canton Avenue, Detroit, Mich.; the B. and N Secret Service Company, Manager W. J. McMichael, 403 Chamber of Commerce Building, Detroit, Mich.; the National Detective Agency, No. 54 LaFayette Building, Detroit, Mich.; the Toronto Detective Agency, No. 62 McGraw Building, Detroit, Mich.; the Murphy-McDonnell Secret Service Company, 320 Free Press Building, Detroit, Mich.; Western Construction Company, Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill.; Seagrove Christianson Company, Chicago, Ill.; the International Secret Service Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.; the Thiele Detective Service Company, Chicago, Ill.; Mooney & Boland, D. A., Chicago, Ill.; Burton Detective Agency, Cleveland, Ohio; the R. J. Coach Agency, of Cleveland, Ohio. (This is sometimes printed as "Coats," and sometimes as "Koch"); The Secret Service Company, Columbia Building, Cleveland, Ohio; Consolidated Manufacturing Company, Geo. Schoenbach, Manager, Cleveland, Ohio; the Manufacturers' Information Bureau Company, J. K. Turner, President, Cleveland, Ohio, known as the Turner Agency; the Sherman Detective Agency, 16 State Street, Boston, Mass.; the Bradford Detective Service, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.; the Railroad Auditors and Inspection Company of Philadelphia, Pa.; Hamilton Detective Agency, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Baldwin-Feltz, Indianapolis, Ind.; National Founders' Association, National Metal Trades Association, National Erectors' Association, National Association of Manufacturers. At the Norfolk, Va., Convention of 1907, the President of the A. F. of L. made a special report concerning the efforts made by the agents of former President James Van Cleave, of the National Association of Manufacturers, to corrupt or destroy him personally. That statement was afterwards corroborated during the Mulhall investigation by committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, in 1913. Men have been sent by these agencies to watch every movement of the President of the A. F. of L. at conventions, and while attending to other special duties of the Federation, in the same way in which they have harassed the activities of officers and other representatives of affiliated organizations. Subtle efforts have been made by men who have represented that thy were discharged employes of certain detective agencies and certain manufacturers' associations, hoping that by exposing the machinations of such organizations to be able to secure employment with the A. F. of L. or some of its affiliated organizations.

Methods Employed by Agencies—Organized strike-breaking aggregations are quite resourceful, but most of them follow similar methods. Appealing letters and craftily worded circulars are addressed to employers. The fear of employers is touched in an effort to convince them that they are being cheated and robbed by all their employes, including even their most trusted foremen, superintendents and general managers. These detective agencies prey upon the weakness inherent to human nature. They play especially upon the "terrors of the unknown" latent suspicions, trade jealousies, and personal envy. They endeavor to persuade employers that their "expert detective agencies" can discover leaks in business—waste of material—inefficient management—irregular personal conduct and habits of trusted employes. They vouch for the infallibility of the eagle-eyed agents they persuade employers to engage—for a price. They adroitly phrase appeals to engage their service so as to arouse the fear that awful possibilities will follow the alliance of their employes with the labor organizations. They undertake to ferret out the active spirits in the shops and factories who show an independent trend of mind, or who in an unguarded moment, might talk too freely concerning the rights of a citizen. Of course, such men are instantly spotted for discharge. Employers on many occasions have been credulous and thoughtless in discharging some of the most expert help in their employ after receiving reports from the spies and spotters placed in their establishments by the detective agencies. Of course, in very few of these instances of discharge is there any opportunity for the outraged employe to obtain a hearing. It is useless for him to appeal. The spotter's word is taken for granted without question. In their circulars they always picture the organizations of labor in the vilest language, and attribute to them the most outrageous lawless conduct. If the employer would use the common sense with which the ordinary human being is endowed, he would know that the employes whom he had in his service would not instantly change from decent civil citizens to become property destroyers after they had shown a disposition to organize. The detective agencies play a double game. They work upon the sensi-

bilities of many innocent, honest workingmen whose services they secure. They keep constant but ambiguous advertisements in the cosmopolitan newspapers. When they are in need of men for service in special trades they specify the occupation. Frequently they will boldly advertise for men and include "none but union men need apply." When applicants answer they are given the address of an office where they are met, ushered into a private office before a superintendent or a general manager, who questions them in various ways, almost always to impress upon such applicants the idea of taking advantage of the "exceptional opportunity" to advance their position in life, or, a great honor it is for them to be selected to be entrusted with such responsible duties, and how prospective employers will give the applicant special personal attention. Every flattering appeal is made to the weakness or necessity of the person seeking the advertisd job. These agencies have by this means secured the services of many innocent men and, not infrequently, men who have records of faithfulness and honor among their associates. After they secured control over these poor fellows, they made their lives miserable by insisting upon daily reports from the shop in which they are sent to work among fellow-workers and, of course, all such reports must contain statements showing the alertness of the now victim agent in his ability to see errors of management, of conduct, of workers, and other supposed "irregularities" in the place where he is employed. The members of unions they succeed in engaging are urged to become boisterous and radical in expression; they urge them to hold office in the local unions, so as to be able to get access to the complete records, and the financial accounts of the unions, as well as to the finances themselves. They instill into them a fault-finding spirit so that they can harass and annoy the honest, earnest worker in the union who is trying to make progress steadily and rationally. They exert their agents to provoke and incite strikes. During such strikes they play the part of agents provocateurs, that is, to advocate loudly that the men on strike use force and resort to unlawful conduct; and secretly offer to lead in any such efforts. The mere fact that such a course has been "talked" at strikers' meetings, though it be by the detective agent alone, is enough for his secret report to the agency and the employers. By such means they open up another opportunity to have "more detectives" employed as sluggers and gunmen in case a strike ensues. It is, therefore, patent to any ordinary observer, that these mischief-making, strike-breaking agencies take the meanest advantages of employers and workers. They arouse fears and incite unnecessary troubles—all for the purpose of obtaining money from the employers themselves, as well as to create confusion among, and hardships for, the workers.

Political Activities of Strike-Breaking Agencies—In many cities where industrial troubles have arisen these detective agencies have apparently made in advance some satisfactory arrangements with mayors, sheriffs, chiefs of police, and city attorneys. It has been the experience of Labor's representatives and members that they could not secure fair, impartial treatment or protection from the city officials. Sluggers and gunmen have freely carried their weapons of assault without let or hindrance by city and sometimes by state officials; whereas, striking employes or associates and sympathetic neighbors are immediately hauled into court and subjected to penalties if they carried any instrument for self-protection. These matters are well known. Everybody seems to know that these conditions prevail, but it has been impossible to have any proper exposure through the public press, unless, perchance, some poor union man should in a moment of extreme provocation defend himself, and then the newspapers teem with appeals for "law and order," which in their vednacular mean nothing but brutal suppression of a strike no matter how lawfully it may be conducted. Well-known resident labor men have been frequently arrested in many cities without warrants, but thugs and sluggers may go to cities as absolute strangers and are permitted to roam at will, armed to the teeth, and when residents of the cities insist upon such men being disarmed or arrested the officers often refuse even to search such disreputable characters.

Remedies—The time has arrived when this wrong to working people can no longer be endured. We must secure remedies to abate, abolish or regulate the detective nuisance by effective state and national legislation. Before presenting any propositions, attention should be called to the fact that nine states and one territory have enacted laws restraining the hiring of armed guards by employers. Those states are: Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Washington, Wisconsin, and the Territory of Alaska. These laws are generally similar in character. The first state to enact such a law was Illinois. The section relating to armed guards being 51:

"Any person or persons who shall, in this or another state, hire, aid, abet or assist in hiring, through agencies or otherwise, persons to guard with arms or deadly weapons of any kind other persons or property in this state, or any person or persons who shall come into this state armed with deadly weapons of any kind for any such purpose, without a permit in writing from the governor of this state, shall be guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than one year nor more than five years: Provided, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to interfere with the right of any person, persons or company, corporation, society, association or organization in guarding or protecting their private property or private interests as is now provided by law; but this act shall be construed only to apply in cases where workmen are brought into this state or induced to go from one place to another in this state, by any false pretenses, false advertising or deceptive representations, or brought into this state under arms or removed from one place to another in this state under arms." A bill to prevent the transportation by interstate carriers of certain persons and articles for the alleged prevention of so-called labor troubles was presented in the House. A bill making it unlawful for individuals, corporations, or associations to employ armed men or bodies of armed men on their premises for any purpose was introduced in the Senate. During consideration of the Alaska Coal Land bill in the United States Senate,

the following amendment to that act was offered: "No lessee of any coal or other lands in Alaska shall employ, hire or permit on their premises or lands so leased, armed bodies of men commonly known as 'mine guards,' under penalty of $5,000 and two years imprisonment in jail." The Senate rejected it. During the 52nd Congress (after the Homestead strike in which the Pinkertons were notoriously active) a select committee of seven Senators was appointed on August 3, 1892, to investigate and report upon "what legislation, if any, is necessary to prevent further unlawful use or employment of such armed bodies of men or other similar armed bodies for private purposes." That committee reported to the Senate on February 10, 1893. Among other things, it stated that "there were at that time in the city of Chicago at least fifteen different detective agencies and firms. Some of them confine their operations to detective business, others furnish patrolmen to protect private property during the night while a few of them add to that kind of work the business of supplying armed men on occasions of strikes on railroads, in mines and in manufacturing establishments." Detective Robert A. Pinkerton testified that his agency did not ask the right to send armed men from their offices in New York or Chicago to the scene of a strike, because it "would be illegal at common law to send armed bodies of men through any particular state, or from one state to another because of the tendency of such armed bodies to terrorize the community." Further, during his testimony he contended that it was, however, entirely legal and proper to send arms and ammunition ahead, as was done at Homestead, arm the men at their destination, put them in control of the property which they are to gard, subject to the orders of the men in command. By this method openly admitted by Pinkerton in 1892, the detective agencies have taken their cue. The Senate Committee making this investigation stated that "it becomes a nice question whether they (the detective agencies) can legally accomplish by indirection what they can not directly do; whether the transportation of arms in one car and the men in another is less violative of the spirit of the law than the transportation of the men with the arms at their side." The committee reached conclusions on nine points upon the general subject of their investigation. The conclusions dealing with the questions of private armed bodies were as follows:

"Whether assumedly legal or not, the employment of armed bodies of men for private purposes, either by employers or employes, is to be deprecated and should not be resorted to. Such use of private armed men is an assumption of the state's authority by private citizens. If the state is incapable of protecting its citizens in their rights of person and property then anarchy is the result, and the original law of force should neither be approved, encouraged, nor tolerated until all known legal processes have failed. As to the matter of legislation. The states have undoubted authority to legislate against the employment of armed bodies of men for private purposes, as many of them are doing. As to the power of Congress to legislate, that is not so clear, though it would seem that Congress ought not to be powerless to prevent the movement of bodies of private citizens from one state to another state for the purpose of taking part, with arms in their hands, in the settlement of disputes between employers and their workmen. The probabilities are that all of the states will soon enact statutes on the subject, in which event action by Congress, even if constitutional, will be unnecessary." Twenty-two years have passed since that report was made. Congress has given no serious attention to the Homestead committee's investigation and report. Nine of the states, as has been already reported, have made some efforts to correct the evils connected with the dual service of detective agencies. We have no desire or intent to interfere with the legitimate occupation of detective agencies, namely, that of searching for criminals and detecting crime, but, the later and more disreputable method of using detective agencies for the purpose of breaking strikes and interfering with legitimate industrial activities of employer and employe must be stopped. The Illinois law could be used as a general model for state legislation of this character after some appropriate changes had been made in it to suit the present industrial conditions, and by the addition of suitable amendments governing the granting of state licenses to all detective agencies and all private employment offices, with centralized state authority to see that such laws are properly enforced. Last, but not least, it is the duty of organized labor to commence a determined and vigorous campaign in municipalities and in the states for the purpose of electing tried and true trade unionists to positions of authority, requiring proper enforcement of law and order. We should go further and see to it that sheriffs of counties, chiefs of police of cities and all other officials of counties and municipalities should be carefully selected for the prime and righteous purpose of having the laws rigidly and impartially enforced. The wage-earners have been wronged by the misdeeds of strike-breaking agencies. If they undertake to grapple seriously with this problem and its attendant evils, many good citizens in other walks of life will undoubtedly co-operate with us in behalf of a proper, wholesome regime of law and order, equally and impartially administered and enforced. Attention is called to one of the necessary functions of democratic forms of government that is frequently either ignored or misapplied. Americans with their free and easy going way of doing things through political officeholders, have frequently fallen into grave errors of sometimes dividing responsibility and sometimes permitting political schemers to usurp power not vouchsafed to them by any legal tenet. The A. F. of L. hereby declares a fundamental principle should be urged and established which is essential for good management and good government. Responsibility and power should always go together. Responsibility without power can never be justly enforced. Power without responsibility can never be properly controlled. Every public officer and every public agent should have clear, definite authority to do the acts required of him; a clear and definite limitation should also be put upon the extent of his authority. Finally, the people themselves must hold responsible the highest elected officers for the work of their offices and insist that they perform their full duty to the people, and nothing but their duty. State alliances of executive

officials with strike-breaking, gun-toting detective agencies must cease, if these United States are to be free in spirit as well as in letter. If the above line of reasoning is correct—and we believe it is—it is imperative that we suit the action to the word. We believe that police power and responsibility for the maintenance of peace within the borders of a state should be properly and specifically granted to the governor of the state. He should be vested with authority necessary to preserve life and property. No other power (industrial or political) in the state or beyond its borders should be permitted to interfere with his full responsibility. He should be clothed with full authority, answerable only to the legislature—to the people. The governor must be made in fact as well as fiction the chief peace officer of the state. We propose therefore that the following easily understood law be urged for enactment in all states by our members, friends and sympathizers:

"No person or persons, company or corporation shall conduct temporarily or otherwise any employment or detective agency in this state without procuring a license from the governor who shall be vested with full authority to grant such licenses during his term of office under such rules, regulations, fees and penalties as may be prescribed by the legislature to safeguard the rights and welfare of the people: Provided, That no license shall be granted to any person or persons, agency, company or corporation to conduct the business of an employment office or detective agency within this state unless bonds are furnished in the penal sum of not less than $10,000, to be approved by the governor and specifically stipulating that such bonds shall be forfeited to the state if such person, persons, agency, company or corporation furnishes supplies or attempts to furnish or supply arms, ammunition, or armed guards to any person or persons, employer, firm, company, or corporation under any circumstances whatsoever. It is further provided, that the governor is hereby vested with full authority and the duty to judge in times of disturbance, whether armed forces are required to maintain the peace, and when in his judgment such an emergency exists he and he alone shall personally order any part or parts of state militia to the scene of the disturbance, and he shall personally direct the operation of such state troops. All acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed." (p. 331) Convention favored laws that would wipe out the nefarious system.

Diamond Workers—(1891, p. 44) Pledged aid to diamond workers in the effort to prevent violation of the laws which may operate to their injury.

Dick Military Law—(1914, p. 475) Convention postponed action on a resolution condemning the Dick military law and all others having a tendency to further the spirit of militarism within our land. Executive Council was instructed to investigate and in 1915 (p. 86) this report was presented and endorsed:

"Investigation reveals that a variety of opinions exist in the public mind relative to the Dick Military Law. Some of these opinions are grounded upon fears and suspicions. Some of our people are impressed with the idea that the law in question was enacted for the main purpose of fostering militarism in the United States, with all its baneful consequences. Others have seen the spectre of a military force created by the U. S., aided and abetted by the several states, wholly and solely as a weapon to be placed in the hands of employers on call to coerce and intimidate the lawful aspirations of the workers. Others profess to see hidden within the lines of this law a huge profit-making scheme for manufacturers, dealers and speculators in ordnance and ammunition supplies. It may be possible that all or more of such undesirable consequences lurk somewhere within the purview of this statute. The law has been in existence since January 21, 1903; it was amended in 1908, and again in 1910. During that time, covering a period of twelve years, it has not been apparent to us from our investigation of the subject, that the law has been wrongly applied. We find, after careful inquiry, that the enactment of the Dick Military Law was deemed necessary as a result of the experiences growing out of the Spanish War. When the people of the U. S by practically unanimous vote, demanded intervention in behalf of liberty and justice for the oppressed Cubans, it was speedily discovered that the military provisions of the U. S. were not adequate for either defensive or offensive service. As a nation, we possessed little or no military skill, practically no ammunition, inadequate equipment, and the hospital and commissary service of the U. S. Army was inefficient and incapable of performing their functions. Some measure of reform was manifestly imperative. Our American traditions are wholesomely positive against the maintenance of a large standing army. We think it can be safely and emphatically stated that only a very small percentage of the American people favor the maintenance of a large standing army. It is our opinion that this small percentage will never be able to have their schemes adopted in the U. S. The Dick Military Law was therefore offered, considered and finally enacted, to render our nation better prepared to do exactly what the title of the act describes, namely, 'to promote the efficiency of the militia.' This means, in short, the practical application of the theory underlying the traditional military policy of the U. S.; the intention being that the army, such as we have shall be adequately and properly equipped and its personnel shall be of the highest possible efficiency—our American concept being the maintenance of a skeleton army to which men, properly developed, mentally and physically, may be quickly added when the country may be endangered. For the maintenance of such an army for conquest we would not pay one penny, but for defense we would gladly give our all. We again express our belief in the need of a small standing army to be supplemented by a citizen soldiery, democratically organized and controlled, so as to prevent either the small standing army or the larger supplements and its units to be used for or by any special privileged class, either at home or abroad. The American labor movement is thoroughly justified in feeling proud of its efforts in the past, in its proclamations for peace and against autocratically controlled military forces. We think we would be short-sighted did we agree with that part of the resolution which recommended the repeal of the Dick Military Law. The sec-

ond 'whereas' of the preamble contains the kernel of the whole resolution, and may be a well merited and justifiable warning. It reads: 'Whereas, the existence of the Dick Military Law is * * * a weapon that can be used at any time against the interest of the toiling masses.' This expression voices the fear, suspicion and opposition to the Dick Military Law, and upon this feature we make the following observations: Up to the present we have received no complaint nor have we learned of any act in which the military arm of the government has misused the Dick Military Law to offset or curb the efforts and aspirations of the working people of our land. Long before the Dick Military Law was enacted, U. S. troops were used through direction of Presidents Cleveland and McKinley in 1894—first during the Great Northern Railroad strike; again in 1894 against the railroad strikers who sympathized with the oppressed Pullman employes; and again in 1899, during the industrial troubles in the Coeur D'Alene metalliferous fields and mines of Idaho. On all of those occasions the charges were openly made that the U. S. troops took sides in favor of employers as against the workers. Last year (in 1914) U. S. troops were again sent into regions where industrial conflicts were under way. We refer particularly to the situation in Colorado. We believe that on this occasion the presence of the U. S. troops as differentiated from the Colorado militia, was instrumental in stopping strife and bloodshed and establishing peace. We do not make this statement with any degree of satisfaction; we regret that such a step should ever have been taken in the use of the military, but law and order in the state of Colorado were seemingly beyond the power of the state officials to maintain and enforce. Private armed forces in the pay of wealthy private corporations were used to subdue the workers and to control industry. The corporations had practically coerced and intimidated the officials of the state and had over-ridden the laws of the state. As a consequence the President was called to intervene.

"We, the workers, have never succeeded in obtaining any redress from state-entrenched wealthy employers by assuming a submissive attitude. We can see the evil results that come to the workers whose spirit of protest is dormant. We who have participated in the struggles of the labor movement during the last third of a century know that only to the strong, well disciplined, well financed organization has success accrued. Employers soon learn to know whether a man or a number of men are willing to contend and make sacrifices for their rights. When once they learn that the workers will fight, at least one-half the fight is won for those disposed to struggle for better working conditions and higher standards of life. Our organization throughout the length and breadth of our land must realize their responsibility for taking a more active interest in public affairs. By asserting our civic rights we can prevent the Dick Military Law from being manipulated so as to menace the rights and liberties of the struggling workers. Neither should the Dick Military Law be permitted, under any circumstances, to become a pawn in the hands of the large trusts, corporations and railroads to use the military strength of the state and nation against the interests of the workers. There is not nearly so grave a danger in the Dick Military Law as there is in the menace threatening our institutions through the private detective agencies and the private army of gunmen. We feel, therefore, that the Dick Military Law up to the present has not been a menace to the interest of the workers, and we recommend and urge that our organizations become active in their several communities and use all of their local and state influence to let the administrators of the law in such communities thoroughly understand that they will not brook at any time unwarrantable interference of the citizen soldiery in their efforts to procure better and more profitable conditions of work."

Diplomacy Needed—(1914, p. 488) Best interests of the workers is not served by use of inflammatory and extravagant language in presenting grievances to the public. Greater good can be accomplished by dignified, rational expression.

Discipline—(1911, p. 211) Refused to give central bodies the right and power to discipline any affiliated union for acts contrary to a majority decision.

District of Columbia, Franchise For—(1891, p. 33) Right of self-government taken away from District of Columbia eighteen years before, and without their consent a government was forced on its citizens that is unrepublican, un-American and controlled by corporations, real estate rings and millionaire residents in which the masses have neither voice or influence. American Federation of Labor joined in request of organized labor of the District of Columbia for a "government of the people, for the people and by the people." (1897, p. 37) Executive Council instructed to investigate why franchise was taken away from the citizens of the District of Columbia after exercising it for a century. (1898, p. 58) Council reported political jugglery had robbed the ctizens of self-government; this permitted employers to pay low wages and refuse to deal with union labor. One-third of the public schools of the juvenile and primary class hold only half-day sessions while the higher grades are offered every facility for studying Greek, German and trigonometry. Executive Council was authorized to use its every effort to secure laws placing citizens of the District on an equality with all others in the United States. Endorsed a bill submitting to a referendum of the citizens of the District the question of the right to vote. (1902, p. 231; 1906, p. 235; 1909, p. 251; 1910, p. 265; 1912, p. 251; 1913, p. 389; 1914, pp. 89-493; 1915, p. 113; 1916, p. 354; 1917, pp. 120-417; 1918, p. 116) Reaffirmed.

District of Columbia, Minimum Wage for—(1918, p. 211) Endorsed establishment of a minimum wage board for the District of Columbia for the benefit of women and minor workers.

Drama for Labor Agitation—(1909, p. 277) Refused to donate $500 as a prize for the writing of a "drama or stage production that will fittingly set forth the value and importance of the trade union form of organization." Subject referred to Executive Council.

Drunkenness Denied—(1915, p. 309) Constant parading by moving pictures be-

fore the people the untrue charge drunkenness is common among workingmen is condemned, as it is unfair to the vast army of sober, industrious men who comprise the ranks of labor unions of the United States.

Dues, High Union—(1883, p. 15) We recommend to all unions the necessity of increasing their dues to an extent that will enable them to accumulate a fund sufficient to cope successfully with concentrated capital. Also to adopt beneficial and benevolent features.

(1891, p. 17) Those unions that have a good financial system have increased their membership. Reductions in wages have been prevented and the influence, power and growth of the unions kept ever onward and forward. This principle was declared: "Trade unions should have benevolent and protective features."

(1893, pp. 12-42) During the industrial depression the unions having a system of high dues and beneficial features maintained their ranks unbroken. Beyond all doubt the superficial motive of continued membership in unions organized upon this basis was the monetary benefits the members are entitled to; but be that as it may the results are the same; that is, membership is maintained, the organization remains intact during dull periods of industry and is prepared to take advantge of the first sign of an industrial revival. Nor is it amiss to direct attention to another fact which the labor movement teaches in connection with the introduction of the system of high dues in unions, that the greatest success attends the effort when inaugurated during "dull times."

(1894, pp. 17-28) This report of the President was endorsed: "Time and again in my reports and through other avenues I have called attention to the fact that the greatest means to the success, and particularly the permanency of the trade unions, lies in the establishment of beneficial as well as protective features. I commend this matter to your consideration in the hope that our affiliated trade unions may take advantage of the opportunity presented, and at the earliest time within their power establish the payment of higher dues, giving the members in return more and greater benefits, while at the same time saving the organizations from the fluctuations inseparable from unions based upon low dues. During the crises from which we have been suffering since the summer of 1893, there is but one National trade union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which has had a continuous growth in membership and that organization is the one which has the system of high dues and benefits more generally established than any of the others. I merely mention this fact as a demonstration of the general proposition and in the hope that it may be taken advantage of by our fellow trade unionists. The growth in the unions adopting the system suggested may at the first be somewhat slower, but it will be accelerated in time and be continuous and permanent."

(1895, p. 85) We most urgently recommend and shall ever insist on the national and international unions and the local unions connected therewith incorporating in their respective constitutions and laws provisions for payment of sufficient monthly dues to sustain members in all cases in strikes and lockouts and to establish sick, funeral, disability and out-of-work benefits.

(1896, p. 55) We recommend to all A. F. of L. local and federal unions to change their laws so the dues of members shall be not less than 50 cents per month, and as much higher as may be necessary, preferably 25 cents a week. Any local union failing to raise its dues within six months after being notified shall have its charter revoked.

(1897, pp. 16-87) Unions that have established high dues have experienced the greatest success and maintained or improved wages, decreased hours and obtained other concessions in the interests of their members.

(1899, pp. 8-147) We urge on all unions the necessity of creating a fund in time of industrial peace to avert the disastrous results to their interests in periods of industrial depression.. There is no power outside of organization so potent to prevent reductions in wages and to obtain improved conditions as a well organized union with a good fund at its disposal.

(1900, pp. 22-112) During the present industrial era, it is not so difficult to organize and to extend organization; but with the periodically recurring eras of industrial crises, stagnation and panics, the maintenance of numerical strength should cause us concern. Apart from the benefits referred to being of such necessary value to the members of our respective trade unions, and the advantages which come with the permanent membership in the organization, there has been no process thus far demonstrated which will so effectually prevent the loss of membership during dull periods as the payment of high dues in the unions, the building up of large treasuries to be held by the organizations themselves, available for the protection of the members in all casualties which may befall them. Besides, the benefits to which the members are entitled convince them that their interests are furthered by remaining members, while at the same time their continued membership and unity are a constant check to the tendency during such periods to force reduction in wages, and other obnoxious conditions. It is gratifying to note the large increase in organization during the past year, and it is a guarantee of what may be hoped for in the future, as the underlying and guiding principles of the trade union movement become better and better understood. We trust that but a small part of the increase partakes of the nature of the dew, to be found on the grass in the early morning, and which vanishes with the heat of the day. Members of organized labor must learn that this is a work-a-day world, in which there is nothing for nothing, and that progress is in proportion to burdens willingly borne, and to sacrifices loyally made. Organizations whose members refuse to pay sufficiently high dues, in times of peace, to assist those who are suffering on the march and to provide the means to care for the wounded during the struggle, usually vanish during industrial panics, leaving their wounded helpless on the field, to be cared for by the employers, and then temporarily used by them. Organizations which have learned that we must bear each other's burdens, whether we will or not, and which act upon this principle, thereby prove their fitness to survive, and from the contests, as they come and go, emerge with mutual confidence in-

creased, hence, a stronger and more active life.

(1901, pp. 14-186) Were it not so serious, it would be amusing to note the peculiar notions which obtain among some of our fellow-unionists, particularly those whose membership is of recent date, or whose experience is brief, as to their demands for financial assistance when they are confronted with, or engaged in, a strike, or are locked out. They are evidently under the impression that there is some mysterious source from which unlimited funds can be drawn at their mere beck and call, and are much chagrined when informed that if the workers expect to have a fund upon which to draw in times of need, it is essential for them to contribute toward it while they are employed during the periods of industrial tranquillity. There are no means so potent to the permanency of organization, to constant betterment in the condition of the workers, to the maintenance of industrial peace, that is, the prevention of strikes and lockouts, and yet with all the gradual economic, social, political and moral improvements of the whole wage-working class, to instill the spirit of fraternity and solidarity among them, as to demand the payment of higher dues in the unions, coupled with the protective and benevolent features of which they admit and of which they are a corollary. Indeed, there is no factor so calculated to maintain organization during industrial stagnations, crises, or panics, or to survive even defeat in contest, as is the possession of a substantial fund raised by the membership prior to the stagnation or conflict.

(1903, p. 115) We recommend that all unions require members to pay at least 25 cents a week dues.

(1904, pp. 83-236) When unions have no accumulated funds, they are often imposed upon by employers who undertake to calculate to a nicety how long the workmen can resist aggression and hold out to enforce a demand, no matter how reasonable it may be. The fact that men can and do economize, and live on less than usual during a contest, is not considered when the employers take an aggressive position, and strikes are thereby prolonged to a greater period than calculated upon by the employers. But the presence of a good fund would have the effect of moderating the employers' attitude and persuading them to a more reasonable consideration of labor's rights. The issuance of appeals for financial assistance is immediately considered by employers as a sign of weakness and as a token of distress, that influences them to take an obstinate position, in their supposed confidence that in a very brief time hunger will weaken the ranks and break the backbone of the strike. In view of these absolute facts, demonstrated beyond doubt, we desire strongly to impress upon the minds of fellow-unionists, and to recommend and urge upon our international unions the absolute necessity and advantage to them, to their members, and to all labor, that the dues of the membership of their local unions should not be less that $1 per month. Funds accumulated from the contribution of such dues would not only admit the payment of benefits of several kinds to the members, but would be the greatest preventive of the deterioration of the condition of labor, would be the easiest and most practical method of obtaining improvements in the condition of the workers, and accomplish these beneficial results without the necessity of strikes or lockouts.

(1905, pp. 18-206) Much progress has been made in the establishment of general beneficial features, the accumulation of funds and the requirement for higher dues, but the advance is not satisfactory. It is not general. It is the duty of all to make it so and thus insure the success, permanency and continuity of our movement, make of it a constant increasing advantage to our fellow workers and a still greater benefit to all mankind.

(1906, pp. 66-178) A well-filled treasury is a much surer guarantee of genuine unionism than a lofty declaration of principles based on a bargain counter system of dues. A unionism that is not worth 25 cents a week had best be sent to the junk heap.

(1907, pp. 22-203) The importance of ample funds to protect members during strikes cannot be overestimated or neglected without serious danger to the life of the labor movement. (1909, pp. 67-241) The prestige and power of the A. F. of L. is growing each year. It is recognized by all members of society as voicing the hopes and aspirations of the organized workers of America, yea, the organized and unorganized workers of the world. Twelve years ago but 67 international unions, 10 state bodies and 82 city central bodies were affiliated, with an annual income of $21,-808.27; today there are affiliated 119 international unions, 39 state bodies, 595 city central bodies, and four departments (Building Trades, Metal Trades, Railway Employes and Label Trades), with an income of $232,377.64 for the fiscal year. Nearly every international organization has greater power today to protect its membership than 12 years ago. That still greater success has not been achieved by a number of international unions is due in a great measure to the fact that they were organized and continued on the basis of a cheap per capita tax, a form of organization which fails to provide funds necessary for organizing work to hold and increase membership. In many instances when the organizers of the A. F. of L. have formed unions of various crafts and callings in affiliation with these international unions, the internationals failed to retain the members, because, they did not have the necessary funds to support them during a prolonged strike or lockout. Nearly all the secession movements have occurred in the international unions having a low per capita tax. Continued success of an international organization can only be achieved by a per capita tax that will enable it to protect its members, and those dependent upon them, in all exigencies. High dues, weekly strike benefits, out of work benefits, sick benefits, and old age pensions will hold members in good standing no matter how distressing may be their condition. International organizations without funds have no resources other than spasmodic efforts by strike to secure improved conditions, and for success, even then, must depend on voluntary contributions of other organizations to sustain their members.

Dues, Low—(1909, p. 67) Nearly all secession movements have occurred in international unions having a low per capita tax.

Earthquake, San Francisco—(1906, pp. 34-177) An appeal was issued to organizer labor for financial aid for the relief of

the sufferers. There are in San Francisco twenty-five local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. From the fund contributed by our other directly affiliated local unions we made donations to the local unions and the central body of San Francisco, as well as to the organizations in Santa Rosa and San Jose which suffered loss by the earthquake, of an amount proportionate to the membership upon which they had paid per capita tax to the A. F. of L. We also appropriated a sufficient sum from the general fund of the A. F. of L. to place these organizations in good standing up to August 1st, and, wherever it was necessary, furnished to them free of cost new charters and supplies. The fortitude with which the people there conformed themselves to the awful surroundings occasioned by the calamity, the bravery with which they endured privations, the zeal and energy and enterprise with which they are rebuilding a greater and a more beautiful city by the Golden Gate, manifest the attributes of the highest civilization and heroism. No little credit is primarily due for the order maintained during that great trying time, and for the Phoenix-like rehabilitation, to the men constituting the well organized labor movement and to the chief executive of the stricken city of San Francisco, a trade union mayor whom the concensus of opinion accords to have been the man of the hour.

Eastland Disaster—(1915, p. 303) Resolutions adopted and ordered sent to President of United States and the Illinois members of Congress urging them to insist upon the selection of an impartial commission to conduct investigation into the Eastland disaster, and to oppose creation of an alleged investigating body having in its membership any official of the inspection department.

Economic Justice—(1914, p. 475) We declare that war and its attendant horrors, want, privation, misery, suffering and death, fall most heavily upon the workers, and that in this present European war as well as in any which may follow, we hope for speedy peace—peace with honor and justice. While an expression of deep sympathy is extended to our fellow trade unionists embroiled in the present war with its awful carnage, for the making of which they are not responsible, let us not forget that sordid greed which profits by lack of proper safeguards, sanitation, low wages, etc., here as elsewhere on the industrial field and in transportation, takes more human lives, maims more human beings, causes more sickness, want and privation than have resulted from any previous war or may result from this war. The trade-union movement stands for honorable peace between nations and is the greatest force for the protection and the advancement of the best interests of the workers in the economic field of endeavor and must not be subordinated, neglected or forgotten. We stand for honorable peace on the economic field, but we demand justice as the fundamental condition for all progress. If denied we hold ourselves in readiness to fight for justice. When justice is established, peace will follow.

Economic Platform—(1906, p. 238, 1907, p. 342) The aims, desires and aspirations of trade-unionists comprise all that is necessary or possible to the well-being of the human family and in the pursuit or accomplishment of which we cheerfully accept and, in fact, desire all the assistance which can be given our movement by all forces which stand for the betterment of mankind. In this position we are in close relationship to other reform bodies and with them agree, that not only should the burdens of toil be made lighter, but that each worker has an undeniable right to enjoy the full benefit of that which he or she produces. As trade-unionists we stand for greater liberty, and are determined so to act that the future shall be more congenial to the whole human family, and especially more bright and enjoyable to men and women bread-winners of North America, whom we directly and indirectly represent. We unhesitatingly announce that the trade-union movement herein represented is the most practical, safe and legitimate channel through which the working men and women of North America should continue not only to seek redress for their wrongs, but by which they can strengthen their economic position until it will place labor in full possession of its inherent rights. We declare that since the inception of our movement inquiry into the best form of government has been its guiding motive, and will so continue while there is a high moral desire to gratify, or an injustice to correct. Our meetings, local, national and international, are now and always have been, free to the discussion of any legitimate economic or political question, but, on the other hand, are as equally pronounced against partisan politics, religious dissensions, or race prejudices, and as success has followed these meritorious conclusions, we would be unfaithful to the duty we owe to mankind to do other than strongly recommend a continuance of the methods, the inculcation of which means the greatest amount of safety to our movement, with the least degree of danger. In furtherance of our claim, namely, that our principles comprise the fullest and highest scope of human activity, and from time to time will be enhanced and advanced in accordance with the demands to satisfy human needs and desires, we recommend the following as a partial statement at this time of the economic demands of the American Federation of Labor:

1. The abolition of all forms of involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime.
2. Free schools, free text books and compulsory education.
3. Unrelenting protest against the issuance and abuse of injunction process in labor disputes.
4. A workday of not more than eight hours in the twenty-four hour day.
5. A strict recognition of not over eight hours per day on all federal, state or municipal work and at not less than the prevailing per diem wage rate of the class of employment in the vicinity where the work is performed.
6. Release from employment one day in seven.
7. The abolition of the contract system on public work.
8. The municipal ownership of public utilities.
9. The abolition of the sweat shop system.
10. Sanitary inspection of factory, workshop, mine and home.

11. Liability of employers for injury to body or loss of life.
12. The nationalization of telegraph and telephone.
13. The passage of anti-child labor laws in states where they do not exist and rigid defence of them where they have been enacted into law.
14. Woman suffrage co-equal with man suffrage.
15. Suitable and plentiful play grounds for children in all cities.
16. The initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate and right of recall.
17. Continued agitation for the public bath system in all cities.
18. Qualifications in permits to build of all cities and towns, that there shall be bathrooms and bathroom attachments in all houses or compartments used for habitation.
19. We favor a system of finance whereby money shall be issued exclusively by the government, with such regulations and restrictions as will protect it from manipulation by the banking interests for their own private gain.
20. We favor a system of United States Government Postal Savings Banks.
(1918) Several of these demands have been accomplished.

Economic Power of Labor—(1906, p. 35) As time goes on the concensus of opinion is agreed that the exercise by labor of its economic power is, after all, certainly the greatest power which can be wielded. It is the possession of this power and the consciousness of its possession and the wisdom, care and reponsibility in its exercise, that have made the trade union movement as understood and expressed by the American Federation of Labor the tower of strength it is, earning and deserving as it does the confidence, respect and well wishes, not only of the wage-workers, but of so large a part of our people. Thinking men now realize that which we have always contended, that labor's economic, corrective and constructive policy makes for the uplift of all the people.

(1908, pp. 36-225) The trade union movement, true to its history, its traditions and aspirations, has done, is doing, and will undoubtedly do more in the interest of mankind to humanize the human family than all other agencies combined. Devoting primarily our efforts to the membership of our organizations, yet there is not a declaration which we can make, or an action we can take for their protection and their advancement but which will have its correspondingly beneficent influence upon the unorganized workers and upon the masses of the people. Resistance to wage reduction by union workers is the check upon still further encroachments upon the unorganized. To secure an advance either in wages or to prevent a reduction in hours of labor by union workers, is to correspondingly bring these advantages to the unorganized toilers. We can not obtain legislative enactment to protect the rights and interests of the organized but that it must equally include all our people. Our movement is the barrier and check to aggression and tyranny on the one hand; on the other, it is the leaven for the common uplift for all. It is therefore that the economic power and influence of the labor movement is the most potent. We have exercised, and we shall continue to exercise, our political power; and that, too, without becoming politically partisan. We shall aim to elect to our law-making bodies, national, state, and municipal, men from the ranks of labor; men who are earnest, honest, intelligent, and sincerely devoted to the cause of the toilers and the people generally. In whatever form or shape the men of labor may exercise their energies and activities, in inception and result, the effort is for the common uplift of all, though our political activities must of necessity now be primarily devoted to acquire for our economic movement its freest and fullest natural development. Our movement has not asked and will not ask at the hands of government anything which the workers can and should do for themselves. The movement of labor is founded upon the principle that that which we do for ourselves, individually and collectively, is done best. It is therefore that the exercise by the workers of their economic power is, after all, the greatest and most potent power which they can wield. The possession of great economic power does not imply its abuse, but rather its right use. Consciousness and possession of economic power bring with them responsibility, wisdom, and care in its exercise. These have made the labor movement of our country a tower of strength inspiring the confidence and respect of the masses of our workers, as well as the sympathetic support of students, thinkers, and all liberty-loving people. The labor union movement as understood and expressed by the A. F. of L. is the historic struggle of the toilers; it has brought light and hope into the factory, the workshop, into the lives and homes of our workers; it has borne the brunt of battle and bears the honorable scars of past battles. It embodies Labor's hopes and aspirations for a brighter and a better day, not only for the future, but for today, tomorrow, and tomorrow's tomorrow, each a better day than the one which has gone before.

(1910, pp. 46-313) Essential to the welfare and independence of the masses is the free exercise of certain of their rights and powers in the economic field. This truth becomes clear to our minds when we consider it as applied to the individual possessing those rights and powers. Let a man have the right to decide when he is to work or is not to work, and let that decision be backed by his power to keep himself from being obliged by immediate necessity to offer his labor to an employer, and the consequence must be that he will not sell his labor-power until the terms offered him are the best that the industry can warrant. Similarly, when a number of associated persons may freely decide as to whether they shall work or not, and uphold that decision, they have in their hands the economic power to secure to themselves from the products of industry a share restricted only by industrial success. In the mere statement of the conditions indicated there are suggested the reasons why Labor is compelled in present circumstances to engage in the political struggle. It is, in a word, in order to set itself free. Labor is bound by the fetters of unjust laws. It is Labor's task to break those fetters one by one. The first to be removed are necessarily those which are the most painful, binding, and destructive of Labor's rights and powers. There must in justice be no law, formulated by judge or lawmaker, which can deprive a wage-earner of his own exclusive ownership of himself, or, in other words, of those rights over his

own labor power which are guaranteed by the Constitution and the concepts of liberty implied in the fundamental principles of our republic. There must be no law which can deprive the laborer of his right over his power to purchase or to refrain from purchasing whatever is legitimately on sale in the community. There must be an end to the untenable doctrine that a right pertaining to an individual singly becomes a wrong when exercised by him in combination with other individuals legally enjoying the same right singly. These examples illustrate points at which the labor movement comes into contact with politics, since only by force of law-making can present laws be abrogated or the limits of law-making itself be outlined. As the defense of rights, manifestly varying in their scope with respect to men, women, and children, and in times of peace or war, is the legitimate domain of government, so the defense of those rights which peculiarly bear upon the wage-worker is inevitably the especial concern of the labor movement. We are impressed with the conviction, however, that with the free exercise of the rights which will leave untrammeled the regular and recognized functions of trade unionism, the workers of this country will move forward by leaps and bounds to a general condition of unexampled welfare. With those rights in full play they will be possessed of the economic power to enable themselves to push forward to greater successes, to justice, freedom and a better humanity, the goal of Labor's aspirations. Trade unionism is self-help. The possibilities of self-help by its means have never yet been reached nor with certainty foreseen by any authority however prescient. The dividends thus far declared in its history by trade unionism have been immeasurably the highest ever known to any movement of the unprivileged and deprived classes. Every trade or calling in each year since the formation of our Federation has moved its members upward from the state in which they previously lived. In every walk of life the men of this continent recognize the benefits worked through trade-unionism. By far the greatest of its benefits have come through the exercise of its economic power. Let that lesson be taken to the hearts of all workingmen. Let that thought be kept uppermost with any of them when in danger of being lured away from union work by any political party, whatever its name or its pretenses or its promises.

Education—(1881, p. 3) The first convention declared in its constitution: "We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands then it is also the right of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

(1888, p. 27) "We recognize education of the people is the fundamental principle upon which the success of every proposed plan of social reform depends. Therefore we favor legislatures enacting laws compelling parents to send their children to school.

(1894, p. 30) Education should be the watchword of the labor movement in order that the masses may fully realize the importance of unity of action regardless of color, creed or country. (p. 31) Compulsory education laws should be strictly enforced in every state in the union, and where there is no such law efforts should be made to secure their enactment.

(1903, pp. 184-215) Provided for a Committee on Education. (pp. 29-259) Executive Council directed to secure the introduction of text books that will be more in accord with modern thought upon social and political economy, books that will teach the dignity of manual labor, give due importance to the service that the laborer renders to society, and that will not teach the harmful doctrine that the wage-wrokers should be content with their lot, because of the opportunity that may be afforted a few of their number rising out of their class, instead of teaching that the wage-earners should base their hopes upon the elevation of the conditions of the working people. We appreciate the tendency on the part of some educational institutions to give more attention to the study of the trade union movement and the collecting of literature; that colleges should be encouraged in giving lectures on the subject of trade unions at which representative unionists are invited to present their views. Political influence so often required of school teachers to retain their positions should be eliminated. We also believe the labor movement would be benefited by the organization of the teachers and that justice required teachers should be compensated commensurate with the value of their duties. The subject of manual training and technical education to be given by trade unions is of such a general character that this Convention could not very well recommend any plan or policy that would apply equally to all unions on account of the diversity of condition and difference in skill required. We therefore recommend that the respective unions affiliated consider the question of instructing its members in the higher branches of the respective trades and the promotion of the efficiency of its members and the adoption of an apprenticeship system that will give the youth of the country the opportunity of learning trades for which they are best fitted.

(1911, pp. 136-360) The time has arrived when compulsory education must be had. The different states should provide by proper legislation that all children between the ages of six and sixteen years should be provided with at least a common school education and given at least the ordinaary opportunities for preparation in childhood to meet the duties of life. We know from experience that existing economic conditions make it impossible for a large number of families among the workers to give their children the education they should have, and which they would like to give them, and also that a small number of our population are not sufficiently alive to parental duty to educate their children and, on the contrary, rather lean against same and prefer to use the physicl efforts of their children for their own support rather than educate these children for the children's good in after life. This position or negation arises from three causes: 1st, lack of equitable economic conditions; 2d, lack of appreciation of parental obligations, and 3rd, remuneration received by said parents for child labor. We recommend that free books in public schools be endorsed and the legislatures of the country be and they are hereby requested to provide that in all public schools books shall be furnished the children at the expense of the states. We also favor public night schools for children over 16.

(1913, p. 352) American Federation of

Labor demands in the name of the coming generation that a sufficient number of school teachers be employed to give a reasonable degree of personal attention to each of the children intrusted to the care of the authorities, thereby enabling teachers to qualify as a real teaching force and as conservators of the greatest wealth of our nation—our children.

(1915, p. 321) General educational studies and requirements of school children are of more importance than to the future welfare of the workers than industrial education. (pp. 159-321-324) Endorsed these recommendations of United States Industrial Relations Commission: "1. Compulsory day-time continuation schools for all children in industry between the ages of 14 and 18 years, for not less than five hours per week at the expense of their employers. 2. Night schools for all persons over 18 years of age desirous of further educational opportunities either cultural or vocational. 3. Standards of efficiency for teachers." A comparison of the various countries of today shows that the country that has the greatest power is the country that has the best control over its material and natural resources, and whose citizens have the deepest and fullest earth-knowledge.

(1917, pp. 104-419) We believe the national crisis requires increased emphasis on the value of our schools and should lead to a co-ordinated, genuinely national and democratic system of education. Child labor and school attendance provisions should not be suspended. Conditions also in higher education are not reassuring. Those on the point of graduation, the country may perhaps use now. But it is reported that in some colleges 80 per cent of the students have been permitted to enlist. This enthusiasm is admirable but in many lines of work an additional two years of training would double or treble a student's value to the nation, even from a purely military point of view. May we not hope that this shortsighted waste of human ability will be checked? Against this misguided diversion of our boys and girls and young men and women from the schools and colleges to the industrial and military field, the President of the U. S., the Secretary of War, and Commissioner of Education have vigorously protested. But in many sections a headstrong public opinion has overridden their protests and appeals. We declare for this principle: "Educated manhood and womanhood is the nation's greatest asset in both peace and war. And we must not sacrifice, even to an emergency, the increased national efficiency which can be attained only through organized educational training." This convention urgently calls upon international and local unions, state and central bodies, to work actively for adequate representation of organized labor on all Boards of Education. The free text book system should be extended to such states as have not adopted it. Teachers should be secured tenure of positions during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without a full and fair hearing. And, in this connection, it is timely to insist that while actual disloyalty to our country cannot be tolerated in our public schools or anywhere else, the public must carefuly asure itself that charges of disloyalty or of any other nature that may be peculiarly effective at the time, are not cloaks under which official superiors may attempt to secure retaliation for a self-respecting lack of subserviency on the part of teachers under them. Through the Committee on State Organizations, the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. have been instructed to aid in securing immediate increases in teachers' salaries. We urge on all affiliated bodies active co-operation. One of the most flagrant injustices and most dangerous weaknesses in our national life is the continued neglect of these valuable public servants. We are alarmed by the lack of democracy in the conduct of our schools. Our American school system is administered autocratically, the teachers actually on the job in the class rooms having a negligible voice in the determination and carrying out of policies. Self-governing school and district councils of teachers should be established for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools and the recommendations of such councils should be made a matter of official record. When consideration is given the effective part played by the Prussian school system in the development of the habit of instinctive, unthinking obedience on the part of the masses of the people, the vital importance to American institutions of breaking away from Prussian methods in our school system is driven home. We believe the most effective guarantee of democracy in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers of the country with the great democratic force of organized labor. The A. F. of L. urges all affiliated bodies to give every support to the American Federation of Teachers in the work of organizing the teachers.

(1918, pp. 116-317) Indorsed federal bill requiring Commissioner of Education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the U. S. Declared: "Organized labor always has been the avowed enemy of illiteracy whether among immigrants or our own people." (pp. 95-320) It is a well-known and generally accepted fact that the public school system of the United States was created because of the insistent demands of our pioneer trade unionists in the early part of last century. Since the public school system has become completely established and thoroughly ingrained in the hearts and brains of our people, it has been with the greatest pride that our membership in every local community of our country assumes it to be a paramount duty to protect and advance the interest of education through the public schools and to do whatever is permissible and possible to protect and advance the interests of the teachers. Organized labor can justly claim another credit. Compulsory educational laws have been enacted in all of the states of the union but one—Mississippi being the only laggard. (pp. 97-320) This convention urges re-organization of our common schools in the interest of the children of all the people. Labor played an important part in securing the establishment of our free public schools, but from the beginning they have been designed especially for the few who could go on to high school and college. They must continue to offer preparation for high school and college, and labor heartily approves, and helped to secure the tremendous expansion of high school and college facilities during the last fifteen years. We especially endorse the tendency toward the establishment of junior colleges.

the addition to high schools of two years of collegiate work without tuition, so that young men and women who cannot afford to leave home, can secure the advantage of additional training. (p. 321) We favor: The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people, and the utilization for this purpose of the foreign language press. The requirement that all our children shall be taught in the English language, in both public and private schools, a foreign language to be taught only as a subject in the curriculum. The provision of ample playground facilities as a part of the public school system. Continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools. The organization and equipment of special classes for children who are subnormal, either mentally or physically; and also special classes for children who are found capabe of making more rapid progress than is possible in a standard school. Better enforcement of Compusory Educational Laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 16 years. The establishment of complete systems of modern physical education. The establishment of a federal department of education, headed by a Cabinet officer. The wider use of the school plant, securing increased returns to the community through additional civic, social, and educational services to both adults and children. The extension of a free textbook system to the District of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it. The establishment of self-governing school and district councils of teachers for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools, the recommendations of such councils to be made a matter of official public record. The securing for teachers of tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full and fair hearings. A thorough-going revision upward of teachers' salary schedules, to meet the increased cost of living, and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services. The liberal, ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues on a war-emergency scale, as the only basis upon which to secure the expansion of our schools along these lines. England and France, with their resources strained by the past four years, and facing unprecedented immediate demands, are making huge increases in the appropriations for their schools. Surely the people who gave the world conception of free, democratic education must not longer loiter behind.

Education—Agricultural Extension Act—(1914, pp. 90-347) The Agricultural Extension bill became a law. It contains many industrial educational features advocated and supported by the A. F. of L. in behalf of agricultural and urban labor. The passage of this act is a signal sucess to the credit of the organized workers in industry and farmers.

Education, Boards of—(1918, pp. 96-320) We herewith offer a desirable section to be included in a state law so as to insure a well balanced representative state board. We urge that immediate steps be taken by our State Federations to secure this necessary and essential legislation.

I. Proposed amendment to state education laws:

"That a State Board of Education is hereby created, to consist of five members to be appointed from the state at large: two members to be representative of education, one to be a representative of the manufacturing and commercial interests, one a representative of the agricultural interests, and one a representative of labor. The Governor shall appoint the members of the board for a term of five years. In the first instance, one member shall be appointed for one year, one for two years, one for three years, one for four years, and one for five years. The Governor shall fill all vacancies of the board for the unexpired term, and each member shall serve until a successor shall have been appointed and qualified."

Salaries and duties of Board members to be prescribed as local conditions warrant.

II. Legislation to require local Boards of Education conducting vocational education to appoint advisory committees composed of representatives of trades.

"Boards of Education or township trustees administering approved vocational schools and departments for industry, agriculture, or domestic science education shall, under a scheme to be approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, appoint an Advisory Committee composed of members representing local trades, industries, and occupations.

"It shall be the duty of the Advisory Committee to counsel with and advise the board and other school officials having the management and supervision of such schools or departments."

Education, Industrial—(1907, pp. 46-319) We favor the best opportunities for the most complete industrial and technical education obtainable for prospective applicants for admission into the skilled crafts of this country, particularly as regards the full possibilities of such crafts, to the end that such applicants be fitted not only for all usual requirements, but also for the highest supervisory duties, responsibilities and rewards; and the Executive Council is directed to give this subject its early and deep consideration, examining established and proposed industrial school systems, so that it may be in a position to inform the A. F. of L. what in the Council's opinion would be the wisest course for organized labor to pursue in connection therewith.

(1908, pp. 98-234) Industrial Education is necessary and inevitable for the progress of an industrial people. There are two groups with opposite methods, and seeking antagonistic ends, now advocating industrial education in the United States. One of these groups is largely composed of the non-union employers of the country who advance industrial education as a special privilege under conditions that educate the student or apprentice to non-union sympathies and prepare him as a skilled worker for scab labor and strike-breaking purposes, thus using the children of the workers against the interests of their organized fathers and brothers in the various crafts. This group also favors the training of the student or apprentice for skill in only one industrial process, thus making the graduate a skilled worker in only a very limited sense and rendering him entirely helpless if lack of employment comes in his single subdivision of a craft. The other group is composed of great educators, enlightened representatives of organized labor and persons en-

gaged in genuine social service, who advocate industrial education as a common right to be open to all children on equal terms to be provided by general taxation and kept under the control of the whole people with a method or system of education that will make the apprentice or graduate a skilled craftsman, in all the branches of his trade. Organized labor has the largest personal interest in the subject of industrial education, and should enlist its ablest and best men in behalf of the best system, under conditions that will promote the interests of the workers and the general welfare. Executive Council directed to appoint a committee of at least fifteen members to make an investigation of the methods and means of industrial education in this country.

(1909, p. 35) The subject of education, industrially, concerns not only the wage-earners, but every inhabitant of the nation. It is, therefore, necessary and eminently proper that it be administered by the same authority and agency which administers our public school systems and such other institutions as are concerned in the public welfare. Already reference has been made to the false position in which some elements of employers would place our movement upon this subject. All we ask of fair-minded men is a comparison of the utterances of our opponents with our own. We contend that education in America must be free, democratic, conducted by, of, and for the people, and that it must never be consigned to, or permitted to remain in, the power of private interests where there is sure to be the danger of exploitation for private profit and wilful rapacity. Under the pretence of industrial education private agencies for personal profit have perverted the term, resulting in a narrow and specialized training to the detriment of the pupils, the workers, and people generally. (pp. 133-275) The committee apointed by direction of the 1908 (p. 234) convention made a report and the convention declared: The demand for supplemental technical instruction is measured by the necessity for training in particular trades and industries. The chief aim of such instruction should be to present those principles of arts and sciences which bear upon the trades and industries, either directly or indirectly. The economic need and value of technical training is not to be disregarded, and cognizance should be taken of the fact that throughout the civilized world, evening and part-time day, technical schools enroll twenty pupils to every one who attends the other types of vocational schools. There should be established, at public expense, technical schools for the purpose of giving supplemental education to those who have entered the trades as apprentices. We favor the continuance of progressive development of supplemental trade education, as inaugurated by trade unions, and call special attention to the work undertaken by the International Typographical Union in the establishment of a school for the higher education of its members. It is a practical application to a trade union of a necessity that exists, and admitted. It is administered by Printer-tutors who never have been afflicted with pedagogical cramp, and never expect to be; is within the reach of every man within the industry, and has succeeded in developing the latent talents and of widening the sphere of usefulness among its students, and ought to appeal to every ambitious printer. A significant fact in connection with this school is that educators, as well as others of wide experience, believe that, for the adaptation to an end, this school has no equal. It also marks a new era in education, and one of its chief assets, other than the education of its students is that public and private interests are emulating its example. These unions have taken an extension of education for their members: International Typographical Union, Electrotypers and Stereotypers, International Photo-Engravers of North America, Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, International Granite Cutters, International Horseshoers' Union, Pattern Makers' League of North America, and the Carpenters of Chicago and Cook County. We favor the establishment of schools in connection with the public school system, at which pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 may be taught the principles of the trades, not necessarily in separate buildings, but in separate schools adapted to this particular education, and by competent and trained teachers. The course of instruction in such a school should be English, mathematics, physics, chemistry, elementary mechanics, and drawing. The shop instruction for particular trades, and for each trade represented, the drawing, mathematics, mechanical, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining. This will serve to prepare the pupil for more advanced subjects and in addition, to disclose his capacity for a specific vocation. In order to keep such schools in close touch with the trades, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industries, employers and organized labor. Any technical education of the workers in trade and industry being a public necessity, it should not be a private but a public function, conducted by the public and the expense involved at public cost.

(1910, pp. 40-273) Conservation is one of the topics uppermost in the mind of the American public today, but there is one base of conservation which is not receiving the attention which it deserves; I refer to the conservation of the brain and brawn of our American youth. Our school systems are giving only a one-sided education; the boy may go to school and prepare himself for professional or commercial life, or he may drop out of school and enter a trade with no particular preparation and become a mediocre workman. Training of brain and muscle must go together for the complete preparation of men. While the public schools and colleges aim only at teaching professions, the greatest need of America, educationally, is the improvement of industrial intelligence and working efficiency in the American youth. We need an educational uplift for the work of the boy who will work with his hands, and we not only need to give an educational uplift to craftsmanship, but the school needs the help of the workman and his better work in education. (p. 274) Labor bill for vocational education is on the calendar for early consideration. The secretary of Commerce and Labor agreed with a committee of the A. F. of L. for a comprehensive investigation throughout the U. S. to cover all phases of trade and vocational training. (pp. 124-277) Special committee continued.

(1911, pp. 136-270) Favored appointment

of a national commission preliminary to securing educational legislation. Such legislation should emphasize the necessity for continuation schools, both of the part time day type for the younger boys and girls, and of the evening type for more mature workers and for the all-day trade preparatory school for boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age.

(1912, pp. 137-269) Reaffirmed declarations of 1909 (pp. 133-275) convention and added: Regarding the action of the 1910 (p. 274) convention for a federal investigation we urge a greater interest in the education of the 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States, 50 per cent of whom leave school by the end of the sixth grade at approximately 14 years of age. Not only are we confronted by this state of affairs, but of the 50 per cent who remain in school only one child in three finishes the eighth grade; only one in five enters the high school, and only one in thirty finishes the high school courses. Some idea of the extent of this vast problem can be gleaned when it is realized that the cost of maintenance of the common schools of the country is $500,000,000 a year. In addition to this sum there has been expended for the equipment in these school plants $1,000,000,000 and the benefits of this enormous expenditure are enjoyed by only 50 per cent of the children of school age. The passage of a vocational education bill by Congress had been hindered by the activities of certain Senators who are in favor of another bill much narrower in scope and relating only to colleges and experiment stations.

(1913, pp. 58-299) Executive Council commended for its efforts for legislation for industrial training and instructed to continue the work. (p. 312) Deprecated the practice of country high school instructors who are arranging so-called short courses in mechanic arts and crafts, to be taken by the student in connection with the cultural training that is provided by the high school course, thereby depriving the student of the benefit possible to be obtained through the application of full time to the cultural studies and giving him worse than nothing in return for the time expended in taking the so-called short course in manual training.

(1914, pp. 90-347) Resolution passed Congress and signed by the president providing for a commission to consider the need and report a plan for federal aid to vocational education and trade and vocational training: This commission made its report to the Senate and House of Representatives as directed on June 1, 1914. The report is a valuable comprehensive document and has been widely distributed among our officials and among educators and others interested in industrial education and kindred subjects.

(1915, p. 110) In connection with the subject of industrial education and vocational training, we submit that the federal government should afford generous financial aid to this matter fraught with so much value to the workers, to the people generally, and to the stability of our country. In our judgment, there can be no better preparation of the United States than intelligent understanding and effective work in industry. Our movement has already established the system of educating the men and women engaged in agriculture and horticulture, and affording the best opportunity for the sons and daughters of the farmers of our country so that they may become more intelligent and efficient workers in agriculture. We submit that an introduction of that system, so that it will apply to the mechanic, artisan and laborers of the United States is the opportunity of wisdom, foresight, economy and broad-minded self-interest and betterment to extend the federal plan of operation to industrial education, vocational training, civic rights, duties and responsibilities. (p. 321) A careful review of our industrial conditions will further evidence that there are many industries which formerly offered the workers opportunities far more than a sustenance or physical existence, which have been divided and subdivided until the vocation itself, in some instances, is becoming a lost art. The ever-increasing specialization in industrial pursuits, due to existing industrial practices, which limit the workers to but one form of automatic work, or confines them to a highly specialized branch of work, is a very serious evil confronting the workers and society today. As specialization increases, this evil will logically and proportionately increase unless stringent measures are adopted to prevent the evils of monotonous and automatic work. What good will come in imparting industrial education in our public schools, if our children are permitted to be fastened to a machine, requiring but the repetition of a few muscular motions? Vocational education is not enough; extreme specialization must be abolished. The future industrial life of our children demands that their immature years are spent in a proper physical and mental upbuilding. Then, too, industrial education should not be allowed to co-ordinate itself with any arrangement which will bring trained and experienced workers into any trade without regard to the demand for labor in that particular trade or calling. A proper apportionment of the supply of labor to the demand for labor must be maintained. What good will industrial education serve; what benefit can be derived, if by such teaching we are to produce a greater number of trained and skilled workers than is required or is possible to be employed in the respective trades or callings? Industrial education under such conditions can only increase the existing economic pressure upon the workers. Industrial education must, therefore, be based on a careful survey of industrial conditions and trade requirements, and should meet the needs and requirements of the workers, as well as those of employers and of the industry. Ever since the establishment of our public school system, there has been a constant and persistent attempt by large commercial interests to control our public system of education, and to do it for their own selfish purpose. These interests have tried time and again to control the courses of preparation and of training our children solely for the purpose of using them in turning out a maximum amount of articles of exchange and commerce at the lowest possible cost to themselves. In substantiation of these assertions we need only reflect upon the effort made a few years ago in Cleveland, Ohio, and more recently in Chicago, Illinois, where the commercial interests succeeded in influencing the respective Boards of Education to adopt rules which denied our public school teachers the freedom of expression and the right of association. To that degree at least, the teaching force of our public schools has been rendered submissive to the will of these commercial interests.

These and other manifestations on the part of the employing and commercial interests to dominate our public schools' affairs, impel your committee to utter a word of caution and to fully advise you that the future of our public schools and the character of teaching our boys and girls, depend largely upon the attitude and exercise of the forces of labor. It is for labor to say whether their children shall receive a real education in our public schools, or whether they are to be turned out as machine-made products fitted only to work and to become part and parcel of a machine instead of human beings with a life of their own, and a right to live that life under rightful living conditions. Perhaps the most vicious element threatening to divert the movement of industrial education in our public schools from our American ideals of democracy in education, is the continuous effort made by the commercial interests to place industrial education under the direction of a distinctive board of management, separate from the board of administration governing the general education of the children. A division and separation of authority in educational studies, we believe, will establish a division of educational systems in the minds of the school children and their parents, wherein industrial education instead of proving supplementary to our general education, will be looked upon as the main and most important public system of education. Vocational school courses should at all times be under guidance and control of school authorities having control of the general education of the children. The unit system of administration is best adapted to educating our children properly for their future guidance as citizens and as workers. We declare: 1. That in approving industrial education, equal attention should be given to the general educational studies and requirements of the school children. The A. F. of L. believes the latter of greater importance to the future welfare of the workers than the former instructions. 2. That industrial education shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the various industries and industrial pursuits being taught, their historic, economic and social bearings. 3. That all courses in industrial education shall be administered by the same Board of Education or Trustees administering the general education; that no federal legislation on this subject shall receive the approval of the American Federation of Labor which does not require a unit system of control over all public school studies, general and industrial. (pp. 159-321) Vocational training and industrial education are an indication of the character and direction of the dynamic forces underlying twentieth century civilization. Power now consists in control over materials. Men no longer dominate by political or religious controls, but because of their superior ability to coordinate physical forces and material resources. Power, whether national or individual, is commensurate with the extent and the intensity of economic control. The true function of education is to develop personal powers and to give the individual control over himself so that he may have confidence in himself and may use his ability to the best advantage. The previous educational methods which have not by any means been replaced by the newer ideals, dealt primarily with abstractions. That education dealt altogether with the ideational. It ignored the daily experiences of the girl or boy, or man or woman. It appealed to that small percentage of people who desired truths for their own sake, to whom only the esoteric appeals. The ideals for the schools of the future, the movement for the new education, includes even more than vocational and industrial education—it begins with the very fundamentals of mental training. This education begins with those things which apeal to the child and arouse his curiosity in the daily life, the actual material things with which he comes in contact. These things the schools of the future are to explain to the child in order that he may have full and complete understanding of his daily life and thereby be master of himself and his environment because he knows how to coordinate his own powers. Flowers, fruits, animals, pieces of furniture, are all marvelous and wonderful objects to the child; they appeal to his curiosity; they stir him because he knows they are real. These should be the first things with which education deals; abstractions should be introduced in connection with realities. Arithmetic, reading, spelling and knowledge of the forces that have created the earth and its present geological stage can all be reached by using materials and the surroundings of every-day life as starting points. As the child grows older these objects of study naturally lead up to productive activity and the next stage is reached which is industrial and then vocational instruction. The effect of this sort of education will be to lay the basis for economic democracy, a democracy in which each individual will have equal opportunity. It will develop the highest ability of which the individual is capable and will enable him to approach a realization of that ideal self that always urges the individual on to greater progress. We therefore favor: 1. Continuance of the effort to secure the highest and best form of education—academic, industrial and vocational. 2. That education is a public function to be borne at public cost. 3. The passage of a law by the federal Congress embodying these principles. 4. The right of teachers to have the fullest opportunity for self-development and mutual aid. 5. The right of teachers to self-expression by association for their individual and collective protection and welfare.

(1916, pp. 102-348) The Senate passed a bill providing for a federal board for vocational education, consisting of the Postmaster General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and Secretary of Labor. It is specified that the Commissioner of Education shall be the executive officer of the Board. The Board is instructed to work in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture on studies concerning agriculture and agricultural education. On subjects concerning trades and industries, trade and industrial education, etc., the Board must cooperate with the Department of Labor. On subjects concerning commerce and commercial pursuits and commercial education, the Board must cooperate with the Department of Commerce. It is not mandatory for a member of the Board to work in cooperation with the Bureau of Education on courses of study and instructions in vocational subjects. The Senate bill also specifies that: "There shall be selected by the Board, among other assistants, a specialist in vocational education to be general director of all the vocational educational

work, at a salary of $7,500 per year; a specialist in agricultural education, at a salary of $7,000 per year; a specialist in education in trades and industries, at a salary of $7,000 per year; a specialist in education in home economics, at a salary of $5,000 per year; a specialist in commercial education, at a salary of $7,000 per year, who shall be paid out of the appropriation provided for in this section." In addition, the Board is instructed to obtain auxiliary assistance from an advisory board as follows: "The Vocational Educational Board is authorized to select an advisory board to be composed of seven men, one from the mechanic arts, one from agriculture, one from commerce, one from labor in general, and three from the field of general education. The said advisory board may be called together from time to time, but their entire service shall not exceed more than thirty days in one year. They shall receive no compensation, but shall be paid their traveling expenses and shall be allowed $10 per day for subsistence, the expenses of the advisory board to be paid out of the appropriation provided for in this section."

(1917, pp. 119-413) The federal Vocational Trade Training bill became a law. The convention declared: We urge: 1. All affiliated bodies to see their respective states qualify under the act to receive the federal appropriation for vocational education, but only under safeguards that will adequately guarantee this federal money shall benefit genuinely democratic education and not be used to reinforce any interests which may attempt to pervert industrial education to the purposes of exploitation. The chief safeguard is the equal representation of organized labor and employers on all boards which control the expenditure of such funds. 2. Increased facilities in public normal schools for men and women in the trades who desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects. 3. Vocational and pre-vocational training whenever given shall be for educational purposes only, and under no circumstances shall it be commercialized through the manufacture of products for sale. 4. We insist that in all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught more vigorously and effectively than has been done in the traditional civics. And we further insist that at least in all vocational and industrial courses, an unemasculated industrial history must be taught, which will include an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, and will also include a summary of all legislation, both State and Federal, affecting the industries taught.

(1918, pp. 97-320) If labor men will undertake campaigns in their communities and work in active cooperation with representative school people, representative merchants, rereresentative employers and, wherever possible, representative agriculturists, temporary voluntary systems and methods may be adopted and put into practice pending authorized statutory legislation by the state legislatures. We call attention to this need because of another situation which confronts us. The Federal Child Labor Law very wisely prohibits the transportation of goods in interstate commerce if children between the ages of 14 and 16 are employed longer than eight hours per day. It is not always possible, especially during the present war times, for employers to conform to this requirement for which our organizations were mainly responsible. If, therefore, the part-time education and part-time employment system could be introduced in our schools, generally, the children between the ages of 14 and 16 could follow an employment for a part of the day and continue their studies for a part of the day, thus keeping such children in contact with the schools for a longer period. Where children above 14 years of age are as yet under the laws permitted to be employed in intrastate occupations, the schools and the employers might adjust their programs so that children could alternately attend school or follow their employment either week by week, bi-weekly or bi-monthly, as the best and most practical arrangements could be made. The chief feature which we emphasize here is to spread the representative idea of school control in all communities so that our school people will feel a more intimate touch with the activities of the trade unionists of their community as well as with representative employers and merchants. The more diligently we press this method, the better off every community will be, and the better understandings will be reached by all the active elements of society in the study and solution of weighty social and economic problems that will press upon us in the future. The Federal Board for Vocational Education will, no doubt, have charge of the rehabilitation and vocational reeducation of our wounded soldiers and sailors. The unqualified success and general popularity of this great law has inspired others to draft legislation, specifying federal aid on what is known as the fifty-fifty financial basis and calling for a separate, independent Federal Board for administration of such laws Caution should be exercised on all new educational proposals. Two definite proposals are now under consideration. The first is to authorize or enable public school authorities to bring about a better type of physical edueation and better physical care of children of school age while such children are attending school. Another emanates from the National Child Labor Committee, the proposal being to extend federal aid to elementary school education, both in urban and in rural schools, and a disposition is expressed by some to add these duties also to the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

(Pp. 95-320) Three distinctive features of the act under which the federal government furthers vocational education are: It contains a practical scheme of cooperation in behalf of practical education by the federal government and the several states, leaving each state free to accept or reject the federal financial aid, and at the same time leaving the states, which accept the law, free to develop and expand their own system or systems without dictation from federal authorities, the only control in this direction being that state plans must meet the approval of the federal administration. The second conspicuous feature and which is preeminently original with us in the United States is the form of administration of this great public educational trust. The Federal Board for Vocational Education is a composite board of all the active elements in society, and is independent of other government departments. The statute prescribes that a representative of agriculture, of education, of industry, and of labor shall be

selected to administer the Vocational Law. In the third place, is the fact that certain members of the President's Cabinet and representing the specific elements in society of agriculture, labor, commerce and education are also designated as members of the Federal Board. This third feature, therefore, links up representative civilians with representative cabinet administrators. We are proud and justly so, of the part we played in cooperation with progressive citizens in other walks of life to secure this legislation of so much potential value to the youth of our nation. We are glad to report that within six months after the appointment of the Board, every one of the forty-eight states had accepted the provisions of the Vocational Education law, either by act of the legislature or by permissive acceptance by the governor pending the next session of the state legislature. This ready acceptance has convinced us all that the measure is popular, and that the people as a whole were eagerly waiting for its enactment.

(1918, pp. 97-320) Vocational and Industrial Education has been a subject of bitter controversy between the Manufacturers' Associations and Labor, and in the days of the reconstruction it will be still more of a storm center. Labor, and it should not be necessary to add that labor includes the teachers, must not permit more dramatic phases of the war situation to blind them to the importance of the kind of training the children of the people receive. This convention approved the three model laws providing well-balanced representative State Boards of Education and Advisory Local Committees, and a Part-time Compulsory School Attendance Law. All State and local central bodies are urged to make every effort to secure the enactment of similar legislation. These model laws are carefully drafted to avoid duplication of administrative machinery, and to secure unity in our school system; and we would warn against any attempt to modify the legislation to afford an opening for a dual system. Our public school system must remain essentially a unit if we are to be a unified people. The upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who cannot go on to higher schools, will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a role they will never play. These diversified courses should be so flexible that a pupil would be able to transfer from one to another whenever changes in his desires or economic situation made is possible to continue in school for a longer period than he had anticipated. We must not compel a child to pay the penalty throughout life for a mistaken decision made during childhood. Your committee believes that organized labor should demand and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education so that a democratic equality of opportunity for preparation for the callings of their choice may be offered the children of our people. As additional points in labor's industrial educational program we declare for: The development of vocational guidance and industrial education in both urban and rural communities, in proper relation to each other and to the needs of our democracy. The provision of increased facilities in public normal schools for men and women in the trades who desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects; and the expansion of both state and federal educational facilities, so that we will be decreasingly dependent on private endowments in the educational field. In this connection we call your attention to the movement in one state to introduce into the state university in co-operation with the State Federation of Labor a course designed to prepare young men and women of labor for intelligent and effective leadership in the labor movement. The insistence that in all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; and that at least in all vocational and industrial courses, an unemasculated industrial history must be taught, which shall include an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught.

Education, International Agricultural—(1905, p. 79) Conference held at Rome to discuss more practical and scientific methods of agriculture, and incidentally the migration of laborers, was reported a success. President of A. F. of L. received letter from King of Italy thanking him for assistance given in launching project.

Education of Workers, Broader—(1895, p. 60) Executive Council directed to encourage broader education of mechanics by municipal establishment of institutions where young men learning a trade could in leisure hours attend lectures pertaining to his life work; reading rooms and gymnasiums where he could find healthy amusements and build himself up as intelligent and moral citizen as well as a master of his trade.

Education, Part Time—(1918, pp. 97-320) Our country stands badly in need of judicious, practical part time education and part time employment state legislation, and the organized labor movement must take the initial and original step in this direction. Some of our states, such as Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, and Wisconsin, have already upon their statute books some form of legislation intended or expected to help or control children who have reached certain ages or certain school grades, and who contemplate undertaking some employment. It is our belief that a model state part-time law should be prepared and urged for enactment by the several state legislatures at the earliest posible date. We urge this legislation so that the children leaving school may not be deprived of all their opportunities to improve their education and secure more knowledge. The longer we can keep the children of the nation in contact with our public schools and our public school teachers the safer our civilization will be. The following is suggested as a model Part-Time Education Law for State use:

"Any city, town, or district establishing vocational, trade and industrial schools, departments, or classes shall provide as a part thereof part-time classes for the education of minors over fourteen years of age who are engaged in regular employment; and the Board of Education or trustees or other like body of such city, town, or district school shall require all minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years employed within such city, town, or district, or minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen

years residing within such city, town, or district and employed elsewhere, who are not otherwise receiving instruction approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, to attend such part-time classes not less than four hours per week, between the hours of eight A. M. and five P. M., during the school term. The time spent by any such minor in a vocational school or class as provided herein shall be reckoned as a part of the time or number of hours that minors are permitted by law to work. Any minor attending a vocational school or class in the city, town, or district of his residence in preference to attending such school or class in the city, town, or district of his employment shall file, or cause to be filed regularly, at least once a month, with the superintendent of the city, town, or district at which such minor is employed a report of attendance, certified by the superintendent of the city, town, or district in which such minor is attending school.

"The employer of any minor between fourteen and sixteen years of age who is compelled, by the provisions of this act, to attend vocational schools or classes, shall cease forthwith to employ any minor when notified, in writing, by the superintendent having jurisdiction over such minor's school attendance that such minor is not attending school in accordance with the provisions of this act. Any employer who fails to comply with the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense."

Eight-Hour Day—

Our banners wave, not o'er a slave,
But over men who dare.
The wealth we make is our's to take,
Each man his equal share.
Eight hours our song, its notes prolong
From shipyard, shop and mill.
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest,
Eight hours for what we will.

Agitation for the eight hour day began in the first convention (1881, p. 14), which declared: "Grasp one idea, viz., less hours and better pay."

(1882, p. 14) "The eight hour day will furnish more work at increased wages. We declare it will permit the possession and enjoyment of more wealth by those who create it. It will diminish the power of the rich over the poor, not by making the rich poorer and the poor richer. It will create the conditions necessary for the education and intellectual advancement of the masses. It will not disturb, jar, confuse or throw out of order the present wage system of labor. It is a measure that will permanently increase wages without at the same time increasing the cost of production of wealth. It will decrease the poverty and increase the wealth of all wage laborers. And it will after a few years gradually merge the wage system into a system of industrial cooperation in which wages will represent the earnings and not (as now) the necessities of the wage laborer."

(1883, p. 14) Recommended to international, national and local unions the necessity of reducing the hours of labor to eight (p. 16) Declared the "question of shortening the hours of labor is paramount to all others.

(1884, pp. 8-14) Recommended all unions to direct their laws to conform to this resolution: "That eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor after May 1, 1886." This means all unions refused the shorter workday should strike.

(1885, p. 9) K. of L. had been requested to cooperate with the A. F. of L. in the eight hour strike but no answer was received. (pp. 11-12-14) Workmen who, in their endeavor to reform the prevailing economic conditions must rely on themselves and their own power exclusively, have found an echo in the hearts of all organized men of the country who are fighting for a principle and are willing to make sacrifices to secure improvements for themselves and their fellow countrymen. All unions under jurisdiction of the federation are called on to report before March 1, 1886, what action they have taken to introduce the eight hour day; that all unions not yet having determined to demand the shorter workday are requested to assist those that have with all the power at their command; provided, that, together with the reduction of the hours of labor, they do not ask for an increase in wages. Provision made for the questioning of employers for the purpose of securing a reduction in hours by agreement.

(1886, p. 6) Results of the universal strike May 1, 1886, were reported by the Executive Council: "While we are not able to record the general adoption of eight hours (with the exception of two or three industries and some of the building trades in certain localities) we nevertheless claim the eight hour agitation was the means of reducing the daily working time of no less than 200,000 workers in industries working ten hours or more a day to twelve, ten and nine respectively. The tremendous advantages obtained are plainly apparent. Much hostility has been met from employers, although the reduction in hours was accompanied by a corresponding reduction in wages. But sufficient has been gained for an incentive to renewed efforts, and we recommend still further reducing of the working time." (p. 9) Urged all affiliated unions to take action that will be binding on every member so that harmonious and joint action may be secured, the "primary object to be the recognition of the eight hour system, and that the question of wages is for the time being of secondary importance."

(1887, pp. 9-25) Called attention to the rapidly increasing number of unemployed because of the introduction of machinery. Is it not time something be done to reclaim from misery the many thousands of good and true union men whose only fault is they have stomachs to fill, with ready and willing hands to supply their wants, but continually receiving the stereotyped reply in answer to their appeals for work: "No jobs open." This evil can only be met by reducing the hours of labor and this answer is suggested to be given all opponents of the shorter workday: "That so long as there is one man who seeks employment and cannot obtain it the hours of labor are too long."

(1888, pp. 9-25) It is true, as many say, the eight hour movement in 1886 was not entirely successful. It is also true no movement that has for its object the improvement of conditions of a whole people ever could succeed in the first, aye, even in the second attempt. It is always a hard struggle to achieve any improvement, but the benefits we gained in 1886 and since then by reason of the eight hour movement are sufficient to encourage us to make the venture again. We should not lose sight of the

fact that as a result of the movement in 1886 a number of trades have reduced their hours from ten and twelve to eight; others from twelve and fourteen to ten and nine, and many thousands of workmen who before that time worked fourteen to eighteen hours a day have had their hours of labor reduced to twelve. May 1, 1890, was selected as the date for another general demand by all trades for the eight hour day. The program for agitation adopted provided for mass meetings Washington's Birthday, Fourth of July and Labor Day by all labor organizations to agitate for the shorter workday. The Executive Council was instructed to gather statistics of the hours worked by the various trades and to send circulars to all employers requesting them to meet representatives of labor so the reduction of hours could be brought about by friendly arrangement.

(1889, pp. 14-15-19) The eight hour movement had reached tremendous proportions In the whole history of the labor movement there had not been any question upon which the thoughts of the civilized world had been so thoroughly centered. In 1888 the combined forces and influences of the employing and speculative classes so thoroughly held the master hand over labor, they had become so overbearing, had so thoroughly awed the working people into submission that every meeting night of labor organizations was but the repetition of the various notices of a reduction in wages, the imposition of obnoxious rules, the presentation of ironclad obligations to sign away the right to organize for self-protection, propositions to increase the hours of labor—in a word, labor seemed to have no right, economic or political, that capital was bound to respect. It was at that time the proclamation to the world was made to enforce the eight hour day May 1, 1890. From that moment a change took place. Hope was instilled into the hearts and minds of the workers to supplant despair. The rallying cry of eight hours was sounded. The working people again stood erect and staunch in their manhood. The tide had changed. This refutes the idle talk of failure and to assert our movement already has been fraught with good results. To further organization and the agitation for the eight hour day 60,000 copies of pamphlets written by the best economic thinkers were distributed. They were: "The Eight Hour Primer," by George E. McNeil; "The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight Hour Movement," by George Gunton, and "The History and Philosophy of the Eight Hour Movement," by Lemuel Danryid. Executive Council was instructed to select one or more trades to make the struggle for the shorter workday. (pp. 29-30) An assessment of 10 cents a member per week was levied to support the trades that would enter the shorter workday struggle. To all who love liberty and are loyal to the principles of free government; to all who look forward to an increased wealth more widely distributed; to all lovers of the human race everywhere; to union men and those not now under the banner of organized labor, we appeal in the name of justice and humanity, of increased wealth and diminished poverty, to concentrate their energies upon the single issue of reduction of the hours of labor. The agitation for the shorter workday spread to Europe. The International Labor Congress at its convention in Paris in 1889, in sympathy with the labor movement in the U. S., voted to hold simultaneous meetings in every city in Europe May 1, 1890. The carpenters were selected to make the eight hour struggle May 1, 1890.

(1890, pp. 13-42) The carpenters' eight hour strike was successful in 137 cities, benefiting 46,197 workmen directly and countless others in every branch of the building industry. The establishment of the eight hour day will not be the end of the efforts of the working people for economic and social improvements and reforms. Yet the great good a substantial reduction in the hours of labor will bring to the toilers of our country, the hundreds of thousands it will save from poverty and degradation, will clear and prepare the working people to see the wrongs and injustice practiced on them in subtle and ingenious ways. (p. 42) To all who have aided in the triumph of organized labor the A. F. of L. tenders its most hearty thanks and summons them anew to grander fields of action. Eight hours is the voiced instinct of the human race. It means the scientific, economic, peaceful solution of the labor problem along the line of industrial development. It means more wealth today and more tomorrow, the added wealth keeping pace with the increased value of each hour of toil. The miners were chosen to make the next fight for the shorter workday May 1, 1891. (p. 36) An eight hour day means a 48 hour week.

(1891, pp. 12-46) Agitation to aid the miners' struggle was continued until May 1, 1891, when they notified the A. F. of L. officials it had been postponed. The International Typographical Union had previously postponed a shorter workday strike because the miners had been selected. Executive Council requested to select another trade to make the eight hour campaign May 1, 1892.

(1892, pp. 13-29) Declared for an aggressive movement for the eight hour day. The agitation had stirred up the country. From a defensive stand the labor movement had assumed the aggressive, which had brought improved conditions. Affiliated organizations urged to set aside a portion of their per capita tax to be ready for action. There is no movement or demand in the interest of the toilers which the efforts of all can be so thoroughly united and concentrated or on which there is such unanimity of thought.

(1893, p. 11) Since August of this year we have been in the greatest industrial depression this country has ever experienced. It is no exaggeration to say that more than 3,000,000 of our fellow toilers throughout the country are without employment and have been so since the time named. This lamentable industrial condition is attributed by many to various causes. From the time industry began to emerge from the panic of 1873-79 there began the introduction of vastly improved machinery, tools and methods of production. The inventions in electricity, the general application of this force as well as steam to industry was indeed displacing labor faster than new industries could be founded. Production, production, production, faster, greater, was the impulse, the thought and motive of the capitalist. That in the end the great body of workers comprise those who must of necessity consume the production was given

no consideration whatever by our "Captains of Industry." As a result the great storehouses are glutted with the very articles required by the people without their ability —or rather their opportunity—to obtain them. Does it require more than ordinary observation to discern that from conditions so abnormal and abominable industrial stagnation must issue? We, the representatives of the organized toiling masses of our country, have offered the only reasonable, practical and tangible solution to meet the changed conditions of industry. It is unnecessary to repeat the lamentable incident which frustrated the eight hour movement in 1886. But in 1890, true to its mission, the A. F. of L. resolved to engage in the movement to gradually enforce the eight hour workday in which we were partially successful. Had we been met by less antagonism of the capitalists and by those who should have been our friends, it is safe to say the panic of 1893 would have been averted, certainly less intense.

(1894, pp. 15-28) Selected May 1, 1896, for a universal demand for the eight hour day, the details to be left to the next convention.

(1895, p. 61) Decided magnitude of the interests involved made unwise a universal demand for the eight hour day May 1, 1896. But affiliated unions should begin at once the preparatory work to secure the shorter workday for the members. The whole power and force of the A. F. of L. will be centered on a shorter workday. The moral forces that sway society, the economic law that dear men produce cheaper things than cheap men, establishes the claim that laborers should control the measure of time devoted to production.

(1896, pp. 22-63) Mass meetings are recommended in the interests of the eight hour day to be held on all legal holidays except May 30, and that every means be used to give publicity to the principle. We earnestly seek the sincere cooperation of all fair-minded men and women of our time and declare openly and unequivocally our purpose to demand the general enforcement of the eight hour workday May 1, 1898, and to that end we will bend our efforts.

(1897, pp. 18-86) The daily improvements in machinery, in methods of production and distribution, the extension and application of the forces of steam and electricity, the improvement in the tools of labor and the intense desire of the employing class to utilize machinery to their fullest possible extent, that is the longest number of hours per day, must of necessity, unless met by another counteracting influence, tend to supplant labor and throw numbers of fellow workers out of employment. This counteracting influence is logically and of necessity the organized effort of our fellow workers in trade unions. That movement being the reduction of hours of labor so that the evil of long hours of labor on one hand and a lack of employment on the other may both be remedied at one and the same time. We realize the hardships and poverty of the wage class, but we believe that there is no safer or more practical plan to deal with the great question of the unemployed than in such a distribution of labor as shall work to the advantage of those at work and out of work. The strong power of the organization of wage workers has been felt so that in civilized communities something of leisure has been gained. It has been, and is, a slow and tedious pathway up the mountain of our hope; hard battles have been fought and must be fought; sacrifices, even unto life, have marked the way; we have been driven backward, but have rallied again and again, each time with increased numbers and greater earnestness; the feudal Baron of the old world has been dethroned and the new Barons of the mill, the mine, and the workshop will fall before our onward march. We cannot fail! Already the ground-work of the false political economy has been undermined; a new and better philosophy is taking its place in the minds of thinking men. The folly of the competitive wage system is becoming manifest.

(1898, p. 21) Owing to the threatened war with Spain and the strike of British engineers the machinists and other unions abandoned the general strike for the eight hour day set for May 1, 1898. (p. 122) Every trade unionist should do what he can to discourage the working of overtime. Every infringement on the eight hour limitation, whether in the post office or other government departments, should meet with unqualified opposition. If "extraordinary emergency" does make it necessary in some departments that the employes work more than eight hours per day we emphasize the opinion already expressed by this convention that overtime should be paid for at the rate of time and a half. Action of the granite cutters in amending the constitution to provide for eight hours after May 1, 1900, is commended.

(1899, p. 6) Gratification at the revival of industry after several years of an unusual business depression was expressed. The panic, which began in 1892, had been of great severity. During this period wages had been reduced and the workday lengthened in many industries. When industrial activity first manifested itself after the panic employers generally sought to increase the hours of labor. Had it not been for the stand of the union men as large a number would have ben unemployed in 1899 as during the industrial depression. (p. 154) We deprecate the assertion sometimes made that workmen will produce as much in eight hours as in nine, for if this were true the eight hour workday would be shorn of half its beneficial results, and the very purpose for which we strive would be defeated. For one of the first duties of labor organizations is to bring about such a condition as to enable all who wish to work to find remunerative employment.

(1900, p. 135) Executive Council shall bend all its energies and concentrate all the forces of the organization in an effort to secure for at least one trade each year a shorter workday.

(1902, p. 18) The philosophy as well as the stern necessity for a reduction in the hours of labor is underestimated and too little understood. There are some who believe, or pretend to believe, that a reduction in the hours of labor carries with it a curtailment of production. As a matter of fact every reduction in the hours of labor that has occurred in industry has been followed by a vast increase in production. New machinery, new tools of labor, have invariably followed, while at the same time increased leisure and opportunity for the workers have made them larger consumers and users of productive labor, giving to in-

dustry and commerce an impetus obtainable by no other means. (p. 226) Elaborate plans for eight hour propaganda were adopted.

(1904, pp. 21-180) A. F. of L. approves and indorses the movement under way by the International Typographical Union for an eight hour day after January 1, 1906, for the book and job printers of the U. S. and Canada, and pledges to the support of this movement both moral and financial assistance. Executive Council is authorized to levy the constitutional assessment, to be continued for such time as may be necessary. A special committee of five to act with the Executive Council in furthering the movement of the printers is authorized.

(1905, p. 24) There is no field of action upon which if we concentrate our greatest activity there will result so great advantages to all, with the least possible injury to any, as the movement to reduce the working day to eight hours. From the inception of our federation we have voiced the demand of labor for a shorter workday. In 1884 we called upon all labor to endeavor to establish the eight hour day by agreement with employers. It is untrue as our opponents assert, that wealth production would diminish with the enforcement of eight hours as a normal working day. In no instance where a fair test has been given do employers vary in their favorable attestation of its economy, wisdom and practicability. In the construction of the battleship Connecticut under the eight hour plan and the battleship Louisiana on the ten hour basis the advantage has been to the former. (p. 25) Strikes called by the International Typographical Union to enforce eight hour day proved largely successful. The general strike was to have begun January 1, 1906, but was precipitated in September, 1905, by the employers in several cities locking out the printers. The printers paid a weekly assessment of 10 per cent of their earnings and the A. F. of L. levied an assessment of 4 cents per capita. (p. 189) The utility of the eight hour day demand has been established with mathematical certitude. The establishment of the eight hour workday is not alone a substantial good in itself but contains potential possibilities in future advances. Leisure is opportunity, opportunity is the gateway to a new world of thought and action. This new world is whither our union pilgrimage marches. (p. 32) The New York bakers were enforcing a ten-hour day by their economic power. A state ten hour law had been declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court after the New York courts had declared it constitutional.

(1906, p. 17) The printers' strike was successful. In the inauguration of the strike they adopted this watchword: "We propose to sell to the employers eight hours out of twenty-four and we will do as we please with the remaining sixteen." This has been changed to: "We are selling to the employers eight hours out of twenty-four and we are doing as we please with the remaining sixteen." (pp. 251-2) All affiliated unions urged to give full aid to the Lithographers' International Protective and Benevolent Association in its eight hour strike. Bookbinders and pressmen gave notice they had determined to establish the eight hour day. Large defense funds being raised by them. Concerted action for an eight hour day declared highly desirable. The secretary was instructed to secure data as to the unions willing to engage in a concerted movement and their financial arrangements. This declaration was made: "While organized labor can be uniformly depended on to support both financially and morally shorter workday movements it is not a wise or safe policy for an organization to depend wholly on such support. The history of the labor movement has demonstrated that reductions of the hours of labor can be maintained with less difficulty than can increases in wage rates, while it is also true that increases in wage rates can be more readily secured after the workday has been shortened.

(1907, p. 286) We are not in favor of universal aggressive action for the establishment of the eight hour day at this time because there are trades and callings now working ten hours a day and in some instances longer. The agitation to gradually reduce the hours of labor should be effectively maintained and that organizations prepare for action by the accumulation of sufficient funds in order they can sustain contests in the event the effort is resisted by employers. (pp. 30-286) Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest and eight hours for recreation and improvement is not only a scientific but a natural division of the day. It is a slogan and a watchword with which we can go not only to our fellow workers but to all people and secure their cooperation and sympathy. The street railway men toiled sixteen to eighteen hours a day prior to organization. In New York less than twenty years ago a law limiting the hours of street railway employes to ten was declared unconstitutional. Since being organized they work from nine to ten hours. We regard the reduction of the hours of labor as paramount to all other considerations, even to an increase in wages, except in such occupations where the earnings are so meager as to make it difficult to maintain a fair standard of living. But in those trades in which the development of machinery is making such wonderful strides it is absolutely necessary that the hours of work be shortened in order that the opportunity for employment be shared by all members.

(1913, p. 284) Resolutions favoring agitation for a six hour day are considered inopportune. While in sympathy with the proposition we feel that organized labor should strive for a more general application of the eight hour workday in all trades, and occupations before devoting energies to introduction of six hour day.

(1914, p. 421) Rejected proposal for depending on the legislative instead of economic power of the labor movement for securing the eight hour day. The American Federation of Labor as in the past again declares the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity and not to be made subject to laws through legislative enactment excepting insofar as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals, and employment by federal, state or municipal government.

(1915, pp. 67-484) It is an accepted principle that the shorter workday is a fundamental step in the betterment of the workers. The shorter workday affects the length of life, the health, the standards of life, and in fact every phase of the lives of the workers. The wage earner whose hours of la-

bor are decreased goes to work and comes from work at a different time than before, consequently comes in contact with people whose habits of living are different. From contact with these people of greater leisure he establishes new ideals. He has a greater number of hours in which to rest, to revive his energies and to devote to recreation or the development of his mind. Thus the shorter workday makes of the worker a different person, a person of greater physical endurance, greater vitality, higher ideals, and consequently a person who will not be satisfied with the old standards of the long hours of work. Great prosperity in some parts of the country came this year following the depression after the declaration of war. The machinists took advantage of the conditions and established the eight hour day in Connecticut for many thousands of workmen. They were followed by other trades. From there the agitation spread to many parts of the country, the eight hour movement reaching tremendous proportions The women of Connecticut joined with the men and secured the benefits of the shorter workday. Workmen in industries not directly benefited by the war found the time opportune to secure the eight hour day. During a few months greater gains were made for the eight hour day than in any previous period of equal length. Anthracite miners announced they would demand the eight hour day. It is significant that the gains made in shortening the workday in private industries throughout the country have been fundamentally due to the influence of the economic power of the trade organizations and have been secured through economic action. Miners of West Virginia secured the eight hour day after investigation made by the United States Senate. This was considered a big economic victory. (p. 68) It is significant that the gains made throughout the country have been fundamentally due to the influence of the economic power of labor organizations and secured through economic action. It is also significant that this recommendation was made by the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations: "The regulation by legal enactment of hours of work of adult workmen is not generally practicable or desirable except for public employes." The economic strength of the organization determines its bargaining power. It cannot be over-emphasized that the wage earners must depend on their economic organizations for securing a shorter workday.

(1917, pp. 94-408) The principle of the maximum workday of eight hours has been indorsed by society and officially by the United States government. The eight hour workday represents a standard of productivity, of living, of conservation. Support is pledged to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen to secure the eight hour day for 100,000 employes of the big packers in nine cities. Also for the timber workers in the Northwest.

(1918, pp. 79-223-4) Since war was declared the President of the U. S. in every executive order issued waiving the eight hour law specifically stated that compensation shall be not less than time and one half for overtime in excess of eight hours, basing his authority on the law of 1912. There should be no exigency in connection with the government work that would warrant the abandonment of the basic eight hour day; that where the work has been placed at a shorter period than eight hours that should be made the basic day in those departments or in industries which have secured or may secure these lesser hours. (p. 79) An award was made granting the timber workers of the North west the eight hour day, provided for such organization of the workers as is necessary to mobilize labor power and for standards of life and work more in accord with the needs of the men. Another great gain was the establishment of the eight hour day for the employes of the packing industry. Women in the Bureau of Engraving were granted the basic eight hour day with time and a half for overtime and Sunday and holiday work. (p. 224) A word of warning to laboring people may not come amiss. Our country is engaged in a terrible struggle. While we do not like to acknowledge that there are people who take advantage of this fact for financial gain, it is nevertheless true. To their shame there are business men who under the guise of patriotism make the claim that the necessities of war demand a return to the ten or twelve hour workday. If they are not strenuously opposed they may in some instances succeed in inaugurating it. Organized labor must stand firmly and unalterably for a continuance of the shorter workday. It will not tolerate any attempt to increase the basic hours of labor. Our members are sacrificing their lives in order that a free people may live and democratic principles be continued and extended. If those who return find that while they have been fighting the battles in the war, their employers have taken from them the advantages which they had gained before the war started, they will be justified in deciding that their interests were not property safeguarded. and that the boasted freedom of the laborer is but a myth. We must be eternally on guard and see that while one portion of our membership is fighting for the freedom of the people of the world, another portion shall not be enslaved.

Eight-Hour Day by Law—(1914, pp. 421-444) Resolutions favoring the securing of the shorter workday by legislation were rejected and this principle adopted: The A. F. of L., as in the past, again declares the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by Federal, State or municipal government.

The arguments upon which the principle was declared were: "The question raised is not one of an eight-hour or of a shorter workday, but is instead the announcement of the policy of the American trade-union movement as to how we will endeavor to secure a shorter workday. There are but two methods of securing conditions that affect our lives as workers. One is through legislation, State and Federal, and the other through the activities of our trade-union organization. The policy of the American trade-union movement in the regulation of wages, in the regulation of the other terms of employment always has been to endeavor to secure them through the strength of our unions and through negotiations with employers. The experience of our movement and of trade-union organizations in Europe has led the American trade-union move-

ment to believe that is the most effective and that it is the safest method of procedure. We have tried in this country, as workingmen have endeavored to do in others, to secure through legislation a guarantee that our rights to organization and to trade-union effort should not be interfered with. That has been one form of legislation which the trade-union movement has most heartily and effectively applied. We have endeavored through legislative enactment to have our rights as freemen guaranteed so that we could then apply our trade-union method to regulate the terms of employment. There are workmen in this country and in other countries who do not believe the trade-union method is most effective and they have placed their reliance upon the legislative method; and it is the results that have followed their efforts to establish a regulation of wages and hours of labor that have convinced the trades unionists that it is not a safe method. I do not want to weary you with reference to those conditions we so often hear mentioned. Every one of you will recall the reference of the old English Courts of Quarter Sessions, that, after the Black Plague in the fifteenth century not only regulated the workman's wages but his hours of labor. It has been the effort of the workmen in Australasia in recent years to secure by legislative methods a regulation by law, or through the machinery established by law, of their wages, their hours of labor and the other terms of employment. And every one of you who has studied what has occurred in that section of the world realizes that through their efforts, which at first seemed so full of promise, they shackled their trade-union movement so that today the trade unionists in Australia and New Zealand work for wages and under the hours of labor a court of arbitration tells them they must; and when they rebel they are put in jail. And there are trade unionists in jail in New Zealand today because they refused to work for wages and hours fastened upon them by the legal machinery which the trades unionists had succeeded in securing. It was my good fortune to have represented this organization in Great Britain at the British Trades Union Congress in 1909, and at that time I found the minds of the delegates enthused because they had the prospect of Parliament enacting a bill which would establish a minimum wage rate for women and children in the sweated trades. We do not need to discuss the terrible conditions that prevail where women and children are employed; we do not even need to discuss the conditions that apply where men are employed in our own and other countries—they are terrible and we are trying to cure them. The British trades unionists were enthused with the hope that Parliament would enact a minimum wage law. I said to the leaders: 'Is there no danger, if you endeavor to regulate wages by law for women and children, that you will establish the principle that it is proper for Government to regulate wages?' They said there was no danger, there was no possible chance for Parliament ever to dare to regulate their wages, that they were organized and were looking after themselves. Parliament enacted a minimum wage law for women and children. Recently one of the most magnificent organizations in the British Isles, the miners of Durham and Yorkshire, desired to improve their conditions and made a demand for a wage rate they thought was commensurate for the work they were doing. They failed to reach an agreement with their employers, and did the only thing freemen can do —they struck. And the strike inconvenienced the public of Great Britain; it inconvenienced the manufacturers. There was a popular sentiment that Parliament should do something, and Parliament enacted a minimum wage law to apply to the miners of Great Britain. Boards were busily occupied there under the law, with the legal sanction of Parliament, regulating miners' wages. In many instances the awards of these boards handed down were not satisfactory and the miners struck. And if my information is correct, the miners of those two great unions were preparing for a general strike to secure conditions they thought they were entitled to. Is there anywhere in the experience of our industry, in the experience of workmen organized into trade unios, where they have every secured anything determining the terms of labor for themselves through legislative enactment that it did not return as a boomerang, that it did not establish the machinery that gave the courts an opportunity to render decisions that created an obstacle in the path of the movement it required years to overcome? Only eighteen years ago that 'wonderful' system was adopted in Australia and New Zealand. The men there are about as well organized as in any of our countries. Although they control the Parliament at the present time, they have been unable to repeal any legislation they enacted and have since discovered only put brass bands around their movement they could not burst, and have held them backward instead of allowing them to go forward. It is not a question of an eight-hour day, a shorter workday, but the method our trade-union movement is going to sanction that will be used to regulate and determine the conditions under which we are going to work for our employers. Federal laws governing private employment would be one of the greatest interferences with the liberties of the people. We have been asked, or advised, to go for all the laws we can get. Save the workingmen of America from such a proposition! There are numbers of laws we can get, but prudence and defense of the rights and the liberties of the toilers are much more important than the effort to secure all the laws we can get. There are some men who fail to understand this one thing; that the labor movement of America is still in its infancy, and that in the cycle of time 50 or 100 years count as but a minute. The question of what was law and what was the interpretation of law, and what was the administration of law, so far as they governed labor—it is only within the past half century that there has been any effort to take the grip of tyrannical government from the throat of labor. It is less than a month ago the Congress of the United States declared that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. It required a third of a century to work for the accomplishment of this one declaration, and in spite of that, one of the delegates said: 'Why, pass such a law as the maximum eight-hour law and no court would dare to enforce anything like compelling men to work eight hours or more.' Is that so? Since the passage of the labor provision in the Clayton bill,

signed by the President of the U. S., the ink upon that act scarcely dry, a Federal judge, sitting in Indianapolis, has issued an injunction forbidding the men of labor to quit their work. I haven't any doubt, with the aggressive, earnest, militant A. F. of L., that Judge Anderson will have to swallow his own injunction. He is not the first judge who has had to walk the plank. May I call your attention to this fact, that I am trying to express the views of the men of labor, not only in their own interest for to-day, but for tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow? When reference was made to the arrest and incarceration of labor men in Australasia under a labor government, so-called, a labor Parliament so-called, men were dragged through the streets over cobblestones by the police, one holding one leg and another holding another leg of a poor devil of a striker, and he had to, with his head down, try with his hands to keep his head from striking the cobblestones with every step the policemen took. And that under a so-called labor radical Parliament! One delegate said, 'Why, if you are opposed to the eight-hour workday for men by law, did you ask for a law regulating and limiting injunctions?' And it discloses the gentleman's discernment of actual facts! In the law to limit and regulate injunctions we propose to clip the power of the court in so far as labor is concerned, and in an eight-hour law for men it is to give the courts still greater power than they now have. Is there no difference? It is a fact, admitted not only by lawyers, but by every thinking, earnest labor man, that once you give a court jurisdiction over any matter the court will find a way to exercise that jurisdiction. Place it in the power of the courts to take jurisdiction, to assume jurisdiction, to acquire jurisdiction, or to have jurisdiction accredited to them, and they will leave no stone unturned to exercise it to the detriment of the men and women of labor, who, after all, in all times have been compelled to suffer the tyranny and oppression of an oligarchy, under whatever name it might be known. Early last week pamphlets were placed on the table in front of every delegate. They were distributed as part of an educational campaign among we benighted trade unionists, so that we might be convinced of the error of our ways. They did not put one on my desk, but passing along I happened to see this picture on the title page. You cannot all see it now, but I will pass it around so that you can. There are two pictures. One of them, below, is a ballot box, beautifully carved, with a padlock. On the top is what is described as a strike scene, and the strike scene is in an industrial town with factories and chimneys all in flames; workmen en masse engaged in conflict with the militia; some wounded lying around; some women and children on the side looking on and apparently bewailing the whole scene. That is the idea of the proposers of this measure as to what constitutes a strike and a strike scene! Unless a man is well grounded in his understanding of the history and philosophy of the trade-union movement, the subtlety of the sophistry is very dangerous to honest men. I venture to say that not the worst enemy of labor, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Erectors' Association, ever painted a picture of a strike scene more lurid and more untruthful than was published in this pamphlet. The worst conditions that could be conceived are described by those who advocate a labor measure as a typical strike scene. This pamphlet is: 'An Eight-Hour Day by Strike or Ballot—Which?' As if they were the only alternatives—strike or ballot! I venture to say that the eight-hour workday has been enforced and introduced in more trades and industries without strike than with strike, and even if it should be a strike, it ill becomes the men of labor to publish a picture of this character and say it is a typical strike scene, and urge the men to work for an eight-hour workday law rather than to go on strike. There are some people who don't know really that, after all, even in a strike, there is developed more character and more independence and more intelligence and more cogent solidarity among the working people in a short time than in any other movement of which you can conceive. 'Which Way? Ballots or Strike?' I agree there is so much one can say in regard to this, because though superfically it may appear it is simply a matter of difference of judgment and difference of opinion, it is not a difference of opinion. If we can get an eight-hour law for the working people, then you will find that the working people themselves will fail to have any interest in your economic organization, which even the advocates declare is essential in order that such a law can be enforced. Why, it is with considerable difficulty you can make non-union workingmen understand that it is only about twenty years ago that the old 'pluck-me' stores were found generally; when you had to board with the employer or where the employer directed; when barbers had to live with their employers or they could get no jobs, and single life among them was the rule because they had to live with their employers. It is a difficult thing, I venture to say, for the officers and organizers of the barbers to get the young workmen in their trade to realize that that was a fact. In the mining industry, I cannot for the life of me understand how and why the United Mine Workers' delegates can consistently advocate the doing by law that which they did themselves. It is difficult to make the cigarmakers of today understand that at one time the tenement-house system prevailed to such an extent that the entire trade practically was operated under it. It is difficult to make young men in that trade understand that at one time the men would work from early morning until late at night. And in 1886 we established the eight-hour day for every union cigarmaker on the North American continent. It is difficult to make these young men understand, these men to whom we shall have to at last yield this movement, and it is only by helping to keep our heads erect, to keep the movement going on, and on, and on, in a logical, sequential and naturally developed order, so that the ranks of organized labor may be augmented, moving forward and preaching the gospel of unity and self-help and mutual help, mutual responsibility to bear each other's burdens, and not to mimic and mock and repeat the abuses and the misrepresentation of what is underlying the great labor movement of our time. If we keep our heads, if we move along the charted road, we will make progress and have no setbacks; we will continue to grow in numbers, in influence, in the confidence of our fellows, deserving as well as earning the respect of our fellow-citizens,

and constantly as we grow make our impression upon the public conscience. It is not today so much political statesmanship which is required; it is the industrial, humanitarian statesmanship which the times demand of us."

(1915, p. 484) Refused to endorse plan to secure eight-hour day by legislation, declaring: One of labor's greatest victories was the winning of industrial freedom through the repeal of those laws through which the workers' terms of employment has been largely determined by legislative and judicial authorities and the establishment of the workers' privileges to organize on the industrial field and through their collective strength enforce their right to have a determining voice in their terms of employment.

(1916, p. 366) Resolutions providing for securing a law making eight hours a universal workday in all mechanical, industrial and mercantile establishments was referred to a committee to be appointed by the Executive Council.

(1917, p. 407) Reaffirmed former position.

Eight-Hour Day Legislation—(1881, p. 3) The national eight-hour law enacted in 1868 never had been enforced and this plank was placed in the platform of the Federation: "That the national eight-hour law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens; that evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation; we therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers."

(1882, p. 18) In the name of our constituents we demand the immediate and impartial enforcement of the national eight hour law by the President of the United States, as its provisions are so plain no further legislation is necessary.

(1883, p. 10) Legislative Committee instructed to send a letter to both political parties demanding incorporation in their platforms of their position on the enforcement of the eight-hour law.

(1884, p. 10) The chairman of the Democratic committee replied that no expression on the law had been adopted. No answer was received from the Republicans. Convention contended the workers must depend on themselves for enforcment of the shorter workday.

(1886, p. 6) The previous convention had directed an appeal be made to the President of the U. S. to enforce the federal eight-hour law, but before it was sent an order to that effect was issued.

(1888, p. 10) Eight-hour law extended to postoffice department employes.

(1889, p. 30) Petitioned Congress to enact a law enabling government employes to recover pay denied them because of the violation of the law.

(1891, p. 37) Complaint was made that the law was subject to the whims of those having power of enforcement, which had been "only spasmodical, briefly and within narrow limits." Demanded that Congress amend the law to compel its enforcement.

(1892, p. 14) Congress had enacted a much better law, which provided for the shorter workday for all mechanical labor on public work whether employed by the government or by contractors. Attempts had been made immediately after its enactment for its nullification.

(1893, p. 12) The Attorney General had decided the law applied only to work performed by or on behalf of the government and did not have a binding effect on any sub-contractor. The Secretary of the Treasury was inclined to coincide with the interpretation by the American Federation of Labor, but violations continued.

(1898, p. 21) House passed a bill providing for the enforcement of the eight hour law, whether the work was done by the government direct or by contractors or sub-contractors. Defeated in Senate.

(1899, p. 12) Secretary of the Navy ordered the law enforced in the navy yards, the plea that material might deteriorate being held as not good ground for violating the act.

(1900, p. 67) Postoffice department ruled postal clerks did not come under the eight-hour law because "they are neither workmen, laborers or mechanics." Protest was made.

(1901, p. 26) Eight-hour law enforced in Hawaii and Cavitte, with 50 per cent additional wages for overtime. (p. 28) Colorado adopted amendment to constitution empowering legislature to enact an eight hour law for workers whose occupations for a longer period would be injurious to health.

(1902, p. 18) Manufacturers' Association was making desperate efforts to hinder the passage of the eight-hour bill in Congress, and had issued a virulent denunciation of it and all who stood sponsor. Employers had been urged to donate $50 each to be placed "where it would do the most good in order to defeat the bill." The opposition was composed of only a few employers, but they feared the influence it would have on the spreading of the shorter workday agitation in this and other countries.

(1903, p. 173) We hope the President of the U. S. may find it consistent with his duty to issue such instructions to the different departments as now seem necessary for a uniform and proper enforcement of the eight-hour law by all departments. As the Senate again has failed to pass the eight-hour bill we petition the government as an employer and request that in all work done a provision shall be incorporated in the contracts for an eight-hour day.

(1904, p. 29) Committee on Labor of the Senate was accused of "shiftiness," as it had submitted a list of ambiguous questions for the purpose of shirking its duty or burying the bill.

(1905, p. 31) Declared the Committee on Labor of the House had been appointed with the especial purpose in view of sidetracking or killing any legislation in the interest of labor.

(1906, p. 21) President of the U. S. issued an order that it was the duty of officers of the government to enforce the eight-hour law and to prosecute its violators, thus endorsing the contention of the A. F. of L.

(1907, p. 38) Fewer violations reported and through the Commissioner of Labor a number had been rectified, while some of the violators had been convicted and fined.

(1908, p. 26) The Supreme Court declared the eight-hour law as it applies to dredgemen unconstitutional.

(1909, p. 211) Directed increased efforts to secure the eight-hour law.

(1912, p. 34) The general eight-hour bill was enacted into law, to become effective January 1, 1913. It applies to work

done by the government and by contractors and sub-contractors. (p. 35) Through efforts of the A. F. of L. postoffice clerks and letter carriers secured mandatory eight-hour provision. Executive Council directed to continue to urge eight-hour clauses in appropriation bills.

(1913, p. 56) Bills presented in Congress prohibiting employment of women in mills, factories or manufacturing establishments longer than eight hours in any one day or the transportation of their products in interstate commerce. Dredgemen's eight-hour bill becomes a law. Bill limiting hours of interstate railroad telegraphers to eight presented. (pp. 67-375) State federations urged to seek amendments to state constitutions giving legislatures power to make eight hours a day's work in all state, county and municipal work. The amendment was to read: "Not more than eight hours shall constitute a day's work in all cases of employment by the state, county or municipality, or by or on behalf of any contract for supplies for the state, county or municipality." (p. 273) Favored legislation directing the Postoffice Department to employ teamsters direct to handle the mails. (p. 260) Federal eight-hour law had been so interpreted that it applies to only a few articles and materials contracted for by the government and should be amended.

(1914, pp. 100-493) This amendment to state constitutions was recommended: "In all cases of employment by and on behalf of the state, or any political division thereof, or in any contract for labor or for supplies, by or on behalf of the state, or any political division thereof, not more than eight hours in any twenty-four consecutive hours shall constitute a day's work."

(1915, p. 88) A further advanced opinion was secured from the Attorney General: "The eight-hour law applies generally to all contracts on behalf of the government requiring the employment of laborers and mechanics, either those contracting with the government or by sub-contractors. (American Federationist, August, 1915) It follows that if you find that marble cut and finished for use in building construction is a material or article which is usually manufactured in standard forms for the general market and which producers or dealers usually offer for sale in the course of their business, the sub-contractor should be excepted from the operation of the statute. If on the other hand you find it is not such a material or article, but a material or article usually made to order or manufactured in a particular manner, shape or condition, according to the specifications of the person for whom made, then the sub-contractor is subject to the operation of the act and you should compel compliance with its provisions on the part of the contractor." (p. 170) The Navy Department decided an engine manufacturer who as sub-contractor furnished engines for submarines must obey the eight-hour law. (p. 91) Eight-hour law for women and children in the District of Columbia declared constitutional.

(1916, p. 96) Successful efforts were made to secure increases in wages for compositors in the Postoffice Department; also office and railway mail clerks, letter carriers and laborers.

(1918, p. 224) Resolutions favoring prohibiting transportation of products made by women over 16 who worked more than eight hours in interstate commerce was referred to the Executive Council with instructions to bear in mind that the A. F. of L. stands firmly in favor of a maximum working day of eight hours and at least time and a half for overtime, and double time for all work over six days. (pp. 119-224) Condemned federal bill increasing the hours of government clerks who were working seven hours a day. (pp. 75-223) Great stress was laid on the multiplicity of decisions on the eight-hour law of 1912. From the Attorney General's opinion it was evident the application would depend in a great measure on the mental attitude of the heads of departments concerned with the letting of contracts. Those who were convinced of the economy and the justice of the eight-hour workday would naturally give the law the widest possible application. Those with little industrial experience or vision would find all the technical limitations of the law. No one issue is the cause of greater discontent and feeling of injustice than the disparity of the application of the eight-hour law to war production. While the technical distinctions observed by lawyers in interpreting the application of this law may satisfy their sense of justice they in no way satisfy the workers engaged in doing actual work. No one policy which this government could inaugurate would do more to convince the masses of people of this country that the purposes of the war in which our government is engaged are genuinely humanitarian and democratic than the establishment of the basic eight-hour day for all government work and war production. Such a policy would be incontrovertible evidence that our government had gotten far away from the old commodity theory of labor and was genuinely and practically trying to establish the paramount claims of human beings. (pp. 77-224) The naval appropriation act and the executive order of the President make eight hours a basis for computing a day's work. This cannot be changed to a provision permitting 48 hours work per week. (29. Opinion of Attorney General, 371) It may well be that the custom of working only one-half day on Saturday an eight-hour basic day will be a 44-hour week. Overtime, however, must be paid for all hours worked in excess of eight hours in any one day. The day and not the week is the unit for determining whether overtime should be paid. There should be no exigency in connection with the war that would warrant the abandonment of the basic eight-hour day, and where the work has been placed at a shorter period than eight hours the shorter period should be made the basic day in those departments or in industries which have secured or may secure these lesser hours.

Eight-Hour Day Victory by Railroad Men —(1916, pp. 78-9-263) The eight-hour day has demonstrated wherever it has been established that it results in more efficient and more productive workers, makes them better men, a better citizenship. The railroad men's demands for the eight-hour workday presented no new idea. They were based upon a well established principle of human welfare, a principle that cannot be disputed, and therefore it is properly not a matter for arbitration. Because of the railway men refusing to arbitrate this principle, which involved a principle of personal relations, they brought a halt to the efforts of

the railroad managers to force them to submit all of the issues to arbitration and brought their conferences to an end. The President of the United States then intervened, requesting conferences with both sides. As a result the President recommended the eight hour day should be conceded as a right that ought not be arbitrated, but that all other issues should be submitted for investigation and arbitration. In taking this position in regard to the eight-hour workday neither President Wilson or the railway brotherhoods rejected the principle of arbitration as the railroad presidents have wrongfully claimed. They took the position the eight-hour day was a principle not subject to arbitration. In this they were in harmony with that demand of all the most ardent advocates of arbitration of conceding there are certain fundamental rights that are not arbitrable or not justiciable. When an industrial matter is the subject of dispute all personal relations must be excluded from the purview of arbitration. Those matters are arbitrable which concern property and property rights. When the railroad presidents refused to agree to the President's recommendations the brotherhoods had only one alternative, to strike. The strike order was issued. Then the President presented this program to Congress:

"1. The immediate passage by the Senate of a bill, which has already passed the House of Representatives, reorganizing the Interstate Commerce Commission and enlarging its powers.

"2. The enactment of an eight-hour day law for all railroad operatives of trains engaged in interstate commerce.

"3. The establishment of a commission, appointed by the President, to investigate and report upon the working of the eight-hour day system.

"4. Explicit approval by Congress of any increase made in freight rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission which is rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day law.

"5. A provision making illegal any railroad strike or lockout prior to the investigation of the merits of the case.

"6. Provision for the government to take any necessary action to keep trains running that may be needed for military purposes."

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor pledged assistance and cooperation with the brotherhoods at a conference in Washington. The President of the A. F. of L., with the brotherhood officials, appeared before the senate committee August 31 and presented the demands of organized labor in connection with the Adamson bill. The "compulsory investigation" feature of the bill was not incorporated in the law enacted. This effort to again subject wage earners to involuntary servitude has aroused the determined resistance of wage earners generally. To their declarations against involuntary servitude the proponents of the legislation have replied a strike would be illegal under the proposed law and strikes criminal, yet individual workers were not deprived of the right to quit work. This is a curious kind of reasoning that may make an appeal to those who have no definite knowledge of industrial conditions. But wage earners know that individuals have ceased to exist from the standpoint of modern industry. The individual worker is a mere cog in the industrial machinery without voice in determining conditions that affect his work or his relations with his employer. For an individual to quit work would have no effect at all except to leave him without employment. The individual worker has neither the power or the opportunity to secure redress for his industrial wrongs or to establish justice. He is voiceless. Such a law would make strikes illegal and strikers criminals. It would revive the old conspiracy laws. The only protection wage earners have is the right to withhold their labor power—the right to strike. To deprive them of this protection in the name of industrial peace would only result in increasing their feeling of injustice and converting governmental agencies and institutions into agencies that bind them powerless against employers however rapacious or inhumane. Involuntary and compulsory labor once enforced, even for an hour, will not halt at its temporary enforcement but will go on and become permanent. Men and women cannot be forced to work for an employer against their wills without reducing them to the legal condition of slaves.

(1917, pp. 100-103) The recommendations of the President in regard to the railroad brotherhoods' eight-hour campaign were incorporated into the Adamson law. The railroads challenged its constitutionality and all appealed for injunctions restraining its enforcement. Delay by the Supreme Court of the U. S. in delivering its opinion caused great unrest among railroad employes and early in March, 1917, a strike order was sent out to take effect March 17. If war were declared in the meantime the brotherhoods pledged the government they would furnish men for the operation of trains. March 16 the President of the U. S. appointed four members of the National Council of Defense as mediators in obtaining a settlement and thereby averting a strike. One of the mediators was the President of the A. F. of L. The brotherhoods agreed to postpone the strike for 48 hours pending negotiations for a settlement. The railroad officials agreed to accept the services of the mediators and granted the eight-hour day and all other demands made by the brotherhoods. Seven hours later the Supreme Court gave an opinion by a cote of five to four the Adamson law was unconstitutional. Executive Council instructed to urge legislation bringing all railroad employes under the Adamson law.

Election Day Legal Holiday—(1906, p. 228) Favored making election day a legal holiday to permit the laboring man to have sufficient time to vote and work for "our candidates."

Election of All Public Officers—(1903, p. 205) Favored election of President, Vice-President, members of the Cabinet, Supreme Judges, Attorney General and United States Senators by vote of the people.

Election of Officers—(1896, p. 70) Refused to adopt amendment to constitution providing officers of the American Federation of Labor should be elected for a term of two years and not be eligible for re-election.

Elections Must Be Honest—(1916, p. 367) Powerful influences of the southwest were charged with expending hundreds of thousands of dollars to defeat a candidate for governor of Arizona who had refused to

permit the importation of gunmen to break a strike. Convention insisted upon a fair count of the ballots.

Embargo on Wheat—(1916, p. 342) Urged placing an embargo upon export of wheat and other foodstuffs as far as our international legal or treaty rights will permit until the cost of living is reduced to normal, meaning not higher than before the European war began and much lower than said rates as the supply will warrant; also to urge prompt, rigid and full investigation by Congress of the holding up of prices to the detriment of working people and those dependent upon them.

Employers by Divine Right—(1902, pp. 11-143) The great miners' strike brought out into full public view the real spirit of the employing class, when Mr. Baer claimed that he and his colleagues held the absolute industrial power, by the grace of God. The temper is the same as that expressed by Louis XIV in the expression, "I am the State." Trade unions stand for the extension into the industrial field, of the idea of human equality, of human brotherhood; and the trade union movement is a protest against the idea that any one man, in any field of human activity, industrial as well as political, should have the power to determine the conditions of others. It is so much more necessary today, than at earlier periods, because the combinations of capital under such conditions, as to give but one employer in an entire trade, this employer to be able to determine the wages, the hours of labor, and by so doing the home life and the education of the children of all those who are employed by him, numbering in some instances from one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand men, and thus to determine the every-day life of a half million of people. At no time in the history of the Gotho-Germanic race was such power ever given to individual man. It is against such power, and for the establishment of industrial democracy that organized labor stands. This strike also brought out the fact, which has not been fully recognized, that voluntary organizations are capable of resisting assaults from without, and of giving mutual assistance within themselves, to a greater degree, than was ever believed or acknowledged by advocates of other systems, having less of freedom in their make-up.

Employers in Unions—(1911, p. 211) Constitution amended to permit employers who are working for wages to join federal labor or local unions directly affiliated subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings, have a vote in controlling the affairs of the union and must comply with scales of wages and rules adopted by it.

Employers Organizing—(1900, p. 142) Advent of associations of employers in the same line of industry has made it possible where the workmen are well organizd, to negotiate agreements affecting wages and conditions of employment of a most beneficial character; also made it possible to apply principles of conciliation and voluntary arbitration in trades disputes and decrease the number of strikes. Endorsed plan for making national agreements if they did not embody in their terms forfeiture of union recognition nor relegate to the employer sole power to determine competency of workmen.

Employment Agencies, Free—(1894, p. 30) Free employment agencies similar to those in Ohio should be established everywhere.

(1900, p. 88) Favored state public employment bureaus so unemployed can secure employment without intervention of private agencies.

(1909, p. 209) Directed Executive Council to prepare bill for proper supervision of employment agencies.

(1914, p. 356) Declared for state and federal employment bureaus with branches in every city to aid unemployed secure employment at the prevailing rate of wages, abolish shark employment offices and gather statistics of value to labor. Notice was given that the Secretary of Labor was preparing to use the postoffices to advertise labor conditions in different localities similar to the work of the Weather Bureau. Commission on Industrial Relations was also giving the question consideration.

(1917, p. 263) Executive Council instructed to study problem of private employment agencies with a view to their abolishment by law and that all labor shall be employed through the National Free Employment Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

(1918, p. 80) When our nation began changing from a peace to a war basis of organization, it became evident that the supply of labor power was of fundamental importance in order to insure the necessary number of workers to maintain continuous production. Because of cessation of immigration and the draft, the situation had changed so that only through efficient distribution of workers could we make such use of our labor power as to insure necessary war production. For years there had been in this country such numbers of workers to be employed in any trade or calling that the new condition resulted in a persistent and general cry of scarcity of workers. Even the most casual investigation disclosed the fact that there was no real scarcity of workers; that in some localities there existed an insufficient number of employes for a particular trade, but almost invariably there were workers out of employment and seeking a chance to earn a living. It was evident that the trouble was not scarcity of workers but the absence of proper employment agencies and ways and means for effective allocation of workers. Many conferences between representatives of wage-earners and representatives of the government, who had to do with employment and production, helped to focus attention upon the necessary remedy. There existed in the Department of Labor, under the Immigration Bureau, an employment bureau. The Department had asked Congress for an appropriation of $750,000 to enable this division to meet the existing problem. Congress refused to vote the appropriation asked and set aside $250,000 for this work. The conferences held and the arguments presented by those vitally concerned, convinced the President of the U. S. that there was an immediate need for permitting this government agency to operate on an adequate scale. He therefore turned over to the Department from the war fund, in his keeping, a sum of $825,000. The employment divi-

sion was then taken from under the Immigration Bureau and made a separate bureau. The administrative organization of the service is described by the Department of Labor as follows: In addition to these regular officers, newspapers in towns of 25,000 population and larger, have been requested to nominate a farm labor agent each, and 100 of these newspapers have complied. Under this arrangement the newspapers appointed farm labor agencies are using portions of their own publication space in efforts to obtain farm labor to meet their local needs, and report to the nearest office of the U. S. Employment Service. By agreement with the Postoffice Department, all third and fourth class postmasters are authorized also to act as farm labor agents and report to the nearest offices of the U. S. Employment Service. Excepting the offices last described —newspaper and postal farm labor agencies —the services of the offices of the employment service are at the disposal of all employers, whether engaged in war work or ordinary and "non-essential" industries. Because of the war needs, however, the offices generally have been rather driven to specialize upon a supply of labor for such needs. In addition to the employment offices there is the Public Service Reserve, which is engaged in obtaining enrollments of men in advance of war labor needs, in each enrollment the kind of need and the sort of occupation wanted being stated in advance. The Reserve has so far conducted three enrollments: one of the engineers and technical men for Army needs, one of ship workers, and the last for men to work on farms. In all these special enrollments the assistance of organizations of workers has been solicited and freely given. More than 2,000 agents selected by labor unions throughout the country worked with the Reserve under commission as its enrolling agents and supplied a very large number of skilled workers, who were enrolled, classified, and made available to the shipyards. The Reserve does not place men directly in employment and it is not intended that it shall do so. It is the purpose to first place men seeking employment through the employment offices, and such employment offices have been authorized whenever they have a call for war industries for a kind of worker not applying for work, to thereafter call upon the Public Service Reserve registration to supply from its files the necessary worker. The reason for this arrangement is that those registered in the Public Service Reserve files are men already having employment and if they were called on first, it would remove them from possible employment while other men of the same occupations might be seeking work through the employment offices but thus might be prevented from finding it. The policy of the Department as carried out by the Employment Service embraces these points of particular interest to labor organizations: "Men are not directed to a strike of their craft. Nor are they directed to a plant in which there is a strike affecting allied crafts. Particular emphasis is laid upon analysis of applicants' qualifications. It is felt that men should not be sent to an employer unless there is good reason to believe that they can 'make good.' The policy of the Employment Service is to encourage efficient workers. It is hoped that the Employment Service may prove another element in inciting men towards a thorough understanding of the technique of their crafts. It is the policy of the Department to make no distinction between union and non-union in services. If an employer is running a union shop, non-union workers will ot be directed to that employer. If the employer is running an open shop, union and non-union workers will be directed to him without any discrimination." It is proper to state that in supplying the heavy calls, which, with increasing frequency, are being submitted to the Employment Service, the assitance of the various Internationals has regularly been requested and cheerfully given. Very large numbers of workers to be sent to distant points upon transportation furnished by Government Departments are supplied by the unions upon requests through the Employment Service. This patriotic cooperation is very helpful indeed. In order to develop and maintain this Employment Service in the most effective manner, the Department of Labor has asked Congress to appropriate for the work of the coming year $2,000,000.

Employment Agencies, Theatrical—(1909, p. 209) Pledged assistance to Actors' International Union to secure legal protection from the corruption and corrupt business methods of so-called theatrical employment agencies.

Employment System, Vampire—(1895, p. 54) All unions urged to aid in abolishing the employment of waiters through employment agencies located in saloons, whose proprietors operate on the padrone system, more familiarly known as the "vampire system."

Enlisted Men in Civil Occupations—(1918, pp. 113-331) Endorsed law providing for permitting enlisted men to be furloughed to engage in civil employment whenever in the opinion of the Secretary of War the interests of the service or of the national security and defense render it necessary or desirable. These furloughs, according to the terms of the bill, shall be granted only upon the voluntary application of such enlisted men, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of War, with or without pay and allowances, or with partial pay and allowances, and for such periods as the Secretary of War may designate. The law was enacted upon the assumption that the same condition may develop here as it did in Great Britain, where it became necessary to withdraw a considerable number of skilled workmen from active service in the army for the purpose of civil employment.

Envelopes Without Union Label—(1914, p. 464) Condemned practice of postoffice department granting privilege to contractor for stamped envelopes to print business cards upon them, enabling him to build up a monopoly by cheap labor to the injury of union printers. Asked law prohibiting this unfair competition with union labor.

Equal Pay for Equal Work—(1898, pp. 72-116) We emphatically reiterate the trade union demand that women receive equal compensation for equal service performed. (1916, p. 392) Conditions in all warring countries have resulted in filling trades in which men had worked with enormous numbers of unemployed women, causing the grave danger that when the soldiers and sailors return they will find these exploited workers used to lower wages won after great difficulty and sacrifices. We therefore en-

dorse the movement to obtain from all governments after the war the adoption of this principle: "Equal pay for equal work performed regardless of sex." (1917, p. 352) Reaffirmed. (1918, p. 72) Attitude of the National Committee on Women in Industry of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Committee of the National Council of Defense: "Women are entitled to be paid the same rates as men for identical work." (p. 206) Favored organization of women as well as men "with equal pay irrespective of sex."

Erickson Junior Clubs—(1916, pp. 110-349) Endorsed a plan to train boys and girls in the fundamental principles of trade unionism so they will understand the movement as they will find it in the industrial world and be better prepared to protect themselves. The plan, as in effect in Wyoming, provides for the organization of clubs, none to have more than 20 members, who must be not less than 10 or more than 16 years of age. The leader of the club is to be a good union man for the boys and a union woman for the Fireside girls, with an assistant of equal qualifications. These leaders shall have the endorsement of their respective local unions as being fitted to teach good morals, unionism and able and willing to be friends with girls and boys. It was deemed unwise to handle the clubs with hard and fast rules and laws. The purpose was rather to allow the body of law to grow and expand with the organization, in conformity with the ideals of unionism. This plan is conducive to a democratic atmosphere and would permit the boy and girl members of clubs to formulate their own rules and laws. The members of the clubs are to be taught useful, practical things at all times, some live topic of the day is to be brought up at the meetings of the club for discussion, thereby enabling members to become familiar with parliamentary law as well as to understand current history. However, it is the purpose that only a short period of the club meetings shall be devoted to study and the rest to athletic sports, camping parties, etc. The idea in confining the clubs to a small membership is to permit of the existence of several in a single locality so that rivalry between clubs may be possible, particularly in athletic sports. The games recommended for boys are wall scaling, rope splicing and knots, first air training, athletic sports, baseball, quoits, tennis or any other activity suggested by the locality or existing advantages. Of course, cross-country tramps and camping afford splendid opportunities for the instructor to instill a love of nature, scientific information such as a knowledge of trees and flowers, woodcraft and a regard for wild animals. The charter application pledges the members of the local clubs to support and advance the cause of organized labor. The clubs have not been given names that would identify them as labor organizations exclusively. This was deemed wise because the emphasis on the educational features of the club would attract the children of all classes and would furnish an opportunity for spreading the principles of unionism in conjunction with other interests. Some of the clubs have passwords, grips, signs, countersigns, initiation, and so on. These institutions appeal to the imagination of the growing girl and boy. It has been suggested that a club button shall be provided so that club members shall have means of identifying members from other clubs. However, this matter has been left for natural development. Some of the clubs have worked out a secret code of communication by which members are identified. The fee for charter has been established at $5 in Wyoming. The form for charter for these clubs is as follows: "We, the undersigned, residents of the town of ———, County of ———, state of Wyoming, hereby make application to you for a charter as an Erickson Plan Boys' (or Fireside Girls') Club. We and each of us whose names are subscribed hereto pledge our honor as men (or women) to abide by and conform to all the laws, rules and regulations of the Erickson Plan Committee and the State Federation of Labor that may now be or are hereafter enacted for the government of such clubs. We, each of us, solemnly promise faithfully and conscientiously at all times and under all circumstances to support the cause of organized labor and to endeavor to spread a knowledge of its objects and purposes among those who are not members of our organization." Executive Council was authorized to take full charge of the issuing of charters and control of the clubs.

European Labor Policy Changing—(1911, p. 21) The history of the working class movement of Europe in recent years is one of recession from cloud-land utopias and of approach toward the policy of our Federation. Revolution is to come by way of reform, and not by social cataclysm. The human conscience is to be society's guide. The social struggle is to be good and right against evil and wrong. The attainment of the maximum of liberty for every individual, the abolition of poverty, the best order in the production and equitable distribution of wealth—in a word the establishment of the conditions for the highest possible earthly happiness for mankind—all this must come through taking the best that civilization has given us and lopping off, one by one, its imperfect growths and its baneful excrescences.

Everett Tragedy Investigation—(1916, p. 367) Instructed Executive Council to urge federal investigation of the Everett (Wash.) tragedy, in which seven were killed and more than 100 wounded, if the state's inquiry is not sufficient.

Examining Boards—(1895, p. 32) Approved of laws providing for boards to examine qualifications of horseshoers.

Executive Council, Open Meetings of—(1912, p. 258) Plan to hold open meetings of Executive Council, so any union member carrying a paid-up card could attend when matters pertaining to his union are being considered, was defeated, 121 to 31.

Executive Session—(1914, p. 279) Meetings of conventions are open. Only one executive session (aside from those on grievances) was held in the history of the American Federation of Labor. They are open to the criticism, favorable and unfavorable, of our friends and foes. We are going on with our work as the light is given us to help men and women of labor even though they are not represented in this convention. We are going to try to influence the opinion of our time, that all the people may have a better concept of that for which we are striving, and to try to use the good influences and the services of the organized labor movement to maintain as much peace

in our own country and continent as we can and to extend that beneficent influence upon the minds and consciences and hearts of the people the world over.

Experience the Best Guide—(1887, p. 8) We review the past because we are convinced the labor movement can have no surer, no other guide than that furnished by human experience. We seek counsel because we recognize that all are wiser than any one, that the whole is greater than a part. We seek to revive the sense of sympathy and fraternity, because we acknowledge the grand truth and the extreme goodness of the aspiration for the unity and brotherhood of man.

Extradition—(1887, p. 30) Protests were made against the extradition treaty between the United States and Russia, as its intentions are unjust, brutal and cowardly toward a people struggling against a most terrible and cruel despotism, and the President of the U. S. was called upon to cease negotiations. Also declared right of asylum for political offenses should be one of the most cherished of American institutions.

(1908, pp. 103-259) Action of the Executive Council in seeking to prevent the extradition of Jan Poren, a Russian refugee, was endorsed. A U. S. commissioner having decided in favor of the Russian government an appeal was made to the President. At the same time protests were filed opposing the extradition of several members of the Mexican Liberal Party who were arrested in Los Angeles August 23, 1907. To this the President of the U. S. replied (1909, p. 105): "The treaties and statutes of the U. S. contain adequate provisions for safeguarding the rights of asylum for political refugees. Every specific case mentioned in the memorandum is covered by such provisions of treaty and statute. In each specific case where a demand for extradition is made by a foreign country and the person demanded claims to be a political refugee, there is always a question of fact raised as to whether the assertion of political character is true or not. This question under the laws of the U. S. is to be decided judicially in the first instance by a U. S. commissioner acting as a magistrate and proceeding upon evidence taken under oath, and in the second instance by the Secretary of State, reviewing the decision of the commissioner upon the evidence. If the question of fact is determined in favor of the person demanded, the law forbids his extradition and protects him in his right of asylum. If the question of fact is decided against the person demanded, his extradition is required by law because there is no right of asylum in his case. Under these circumstances there would appear to be no occasion for the interposition of the authority of the President, and no opportunity for such interposition unless it were to interfere in the performance of judicial duties or to recommend to Congress changes in the law which are not, and are not alleged to be necessary."

(1910, p. 283) Approved efforts of Canadian unons to prevent the extradition of Sarva Federenko, a Russian refugee, and member of the first Russian duma.

Factory Investigation—(1912, p. 256) Endorsed work of New York Factory Commission, whose members serve without pay, and recommend its continuance. Other states were urged to appoint similar commissions.

Faith Makes Power—(1918, p. 314) We are facing today conditions different from anything ever experienced before. If we have faith in ourselves and in our movement we have power to realize our aims and ideals. Organization is imperative for our nation to be successful in this world contest and organization is essential if our industries are to be saved and the workers are to be guaranteed reasonable opportunities of enjoying the fruits of their labor and continue to promote the interests and well-being of all our people.

Farm Credits—(1914. pp. 102-329) Any legislation for the purpose of bettering farm credit is a part of the great national policy of food supply conservation and as such it cannot be properly delegated to private capital for general exploitation and profit; that any farm credit plan which does not include a direct reduction of the "prevailing rates" of interest, as well as a long term of small annual payments upon farm mortgages, will not meet agricultural credit requirements; that the government of the United States should borrow money at a rate of interest not to exceed 3½ per cent and lend the money at a rate not to exceed 4½ per cent to the farmers upon long time farm land mortgages with such restrictions as may be necessary to make the government perfectly secure and the profit to the government to be expended in road improvement or for some other object that will benefit the whole people.

(1915, pp. 115-334) This convention does not deem it either wise or expedient to make recommendation of a definite plan for the basis of securing rural credit. The several plans that have been presented for general consideration possess each its own distinctive quality of merit and while we believe that legislation of a national character to secure the funds for the extension of rural credits, in order that farm operations may be carried on with the least possible expense and with the greatest avoidance of hindrance, to the end that producer and consumer will be brought closer together and on terms that are mutually advantageous, we believe that national conditions vary so widely with the several sections of the country that it would be unfair, if not actually dangerous to undertake to prescribe one system or plan for the guidance and control of all. We believe the matter of rural credits, aside from the enactment of a general law to govern the fundamentals, should be left to the determination of the different sections or states for the carrying out of the matter in detail, until such time as experience shall have determined what, if any, is the better course to pursue to insure the rights and properly safeguard the interests of all.

(1916, p. 93) A farm credit law enacted July 17, 1916, provides capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based on farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for U. S. bonds, to create government depositaries and financial agents for the U. S. and for other purposes. The Federal Farm Loan Board is authorized to divide the U. S., excluding Alaska, into twelve districts, which shall be known as federal land bank districts and may be designated by number. Said districts shall be

apportioned with due regard to the farm loan needs of the country, but no such district shall contain a fractional part of any state. The boundaries thereof may be readjusted from time to time in the discretion of said board. A Federal Farm Loan Bank will be eventually established in each federal land bank district located in such city within the district as the board shall designate. Each of said federal land banks will be temporarily managed by five directors appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. No loan on mortgage shall be made under the act at a rate of interest exceeding 6 per cent. Loans will be limited to 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the full, permanent, insured, improvements thereon ascertained by appraisers appointed by the board. No borrower can obtain more than $10,000 and no loan will be for less than $100. Defaulted payments will be charged at the rate of 8 per cent.

Farmers and A. F. of L.—(1890, p. 36) President instructed to send fraternal sympathy and good will of convention to the Farmers' Alliance.

(1893, p. 38) Executive Council instructed to use every effort to perfect an alliance between the unions and farmers "to the end the best interests of both will be served."

(1899, p. 77) Request of president of the International Farmers' Union that a committee of five be appointed to consider organization of farmers into trade unions was granted. (p. 153) Convention believed co-operation with the International Farmers' Union would benefit the American Federation of Labor and farmers, as they could aid each other by advocating the recognition of their respective labels; that each organization send three fraternal delegates to the other's convention and that a like representation apply to city, central and state bodies.

(1904, p. 157) Organizers and trades unions requested to aid farmers in every way possible, as the Farmers' Union of Texas, with a membership of 100,000 and a constitution to oppose trusts, has contributed financially during strikes and to fight injunctions. Its members desired more knowledge of union labels.

(1905, pp. 169-185) Members of trade unions requested to patronize the label of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, as that organization had urged its members to purchase such articles only as bear the union label. (p. 194) All unions were urged to disseminate knowledge among farmers concerning the purposes of the union label.

(1906, pp. 83-104) A very friendly feeling exists between the farmers' organization and the A. F. of L. and efforts should be made to keep up these harmonious relations. A representative of the A. F. of L. should be present at both national and state conventions to explain to the farmers the practical workings of the different trade unions. (p. 253) All state organizations are urged to encourage farmers to join the Farmers' Society of Equity, the Executive Council (p. 258) to formulate a plan to go as far as local conditions will permit to open exchanges and other means for co-operation.

(1907, pp. 32-343-4) The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of Texas pledged its hearty support to "all union labels used by our city brothers." The Executive Council is empowered to endorse a label to represent the united farmers, or a joint label to be agreed upon prior to the next convention of the A. F. of L. The request of the American Society of Equity that we co-operate with it in the establishment of equity exchanges is referred to the state and city central bodies for investigation and action. (p. 226) Endorsed resolutions passed by the American Society of Equity declaring a boycott on three carriage and wagon manufacturing firms. (p. 319) The A. F. of L. requests its affiliated bodies to urge on their members the wisdom of purchasing products bearing the labels of either the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, or the American Society of Equity, whenever possible to do so; that the Executive Council make a special study of the question of how to establish and maintain a working agreement between the said farmers' organizations and the A. F. of L. and its affiliations, giving special attention to the perfecting of ways and means of acquainting the friendly farmers with, and keeping constantly before them, the various union labels as well as the evil effects of sweatshops, convict, trust competition, etc., and in addition thereto that united legislative action be encouraged; that the Executive Council consider the advisability of establishing a bureau of information and the placing of special agents in this promising field for the purpose of bringing about the desired result.

(1908, pp. 13-95-234) We view with approval and appreciation the organization and growth of the two great farmers' organizations, the National Farmers' Union and the American Society of Equity, and the friendly attitude which they have manifested towards the A. F. of L. and the policies which we have adopted in the interest of America's workers. The exchange of fraternal delegates has already borne good fruit, for these organizations of farmers have become deeply interested in those fundamental questions which affect the American Workmen's standard of living, and their influence has already been felt in the industrial and legislative fields. The opportunities presented through exchange of fraternal delegates has enabled the organized farmer to become more fully acquainted with the evils of child labor, the sweatshop, and the products of contract convict labor, and to recognize that he can greatly assist in eliminating these social and industrial evils by demanding the union label, when purchasing. So strongly has the value of our union label impressed itself, that these organizations have adopted the same method of designating their products, so that today the labels of these Farmers' Unions are to be found in the markets of our largest cities.

(1909, pp. 104-330) The state organizations of the A. F. of L. have co-operated with the Farmers' organizations until, in some parts of the country, a very close friendship and alliance have come into existence. The organization of the Farmers is for the same primary purposes as the organization of the wage-workers in the cities and towns to secure better prices for the commodities they raise; to decrease, in so far as that may be possible, the hours of labor and the arduousness of their toil. They have already accomplished much in this direction. The officers of the Farmers' or-

ganizations are alert, progressive men, and through them and the trade union movement with which they are coming in contact, they are becoming practically educated upon economic questions that are bound to result in permanent good, both to the Farmers and to the workers in industry. They are especially efficient in the sale of label-made products, and if this field is thoroughly cultivated by the trade unionists having labels, great results can and will be obtained. The spirit of friendliness and fraternity which they have expressed and exhibited by their action towards the trade union movement is deserving of our commendation. Our efforts should be continued to promote the growth of the harmony now existing between the Farmers' unions of the country and the A. F. of L., and all the affiliated bodies of both.

(1910, p. 123) President reported the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America had adopted these declarations at a convention held in St. Louis May 2-6: "In so far as the Farmers' Union and its constitution permits, we, for our organization and the great rank and file which we have the honor to represent, pledge to our fellow workers in industrial pursuits the best efforts we can exert, to the end that their rights and liberties in common with our own shall be secured and maintained against any and all attempted encroachments. That the officers of the Farmers' Union are authorized and directed to confer with the officers of the bona-fide organized labor movement of America, with the purpose of carrying into effect the objects of our respective organizations, the protection and uplift of America's workers engaged in all fields of productive activity; that we will give our preference to the product of the industrial workers who manifest their intelligence to protect themselves by organization and urge the reciprocal purchase of farm products, the labor of union farmers; that our officers and legislative committee co-operate with similar officers and committees of organized labor to secure such relief and reformatory legislation as may be necessary to the rights, protection and freedom to which the workers as men and as citizens are, under our constitution, entitled; that without regard to political partisanship we join in the effort to secure larger representation in our national, State and local law-making bodies, men who are engaged in the creative industries; that our efforts in the directions herein stated and indicated shall apply to the country, the States and to the municipalities, and that we co-operate with organized labor in every field of activity which may be fruitful of beneficent results to the American wealth producers, the manhood, womanhood and childhood of our country." (p. 249) We express our gratification at the good relationship established and now existing between organized farmers and organized wage earners. As a further evidence of our appreciation the Executive Council is authorized to send a representative of the A. F. of L. to the next convention of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, and that they be invited to be represented through fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labor.

(1911, pp. 129-192) Co-operation with the farmers' organizations not only shall be continued but as far as practicable and advantageous be extended.

(1912, pp. 134-266) We pledge ourselves to do all in our power to build up and strengthen the farmers' union and will continue to exchange fraternal delegates.

(1913, pp. 91-351) In some states considerable progress has been made toward solving the high cost of living through co-operative associations between the farmers and unionists. Both the farmers and the trade unionists seek through collective action to protect their economic independence as individuals against the overpowering control of the financial powers of the land. Politically, we are united that the Sherman Antitrust law, which has been interpreted to apply to organizations of toilers, industrial and agricultural, shall be amended or repealed. With mutual interests of both the economic and political types, co-operation between the farmers' organizations and the A. F. of L. will result in benefit and advantage to both.

Farm Gardens—(1909, p. 250) Indorsed agitation of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and Boston Central Labor Union to secure state aid for worthy citizens in establishing homesteads with farm gardens similar to those in France, Roumania and certain cities in England.

Farm Laborers and A. F. of L.—(1889, pp. 13-27) Our purpose should be to organize and ally ourselves with the farm laborers whose condition is so wretched and whose living is so precarious. (1900, p. 105) Executive Council authorized to take any action deemed advisable to organize the agriculturists. (1905, p. 168) Resolution favoring organization of the farm laborers of Missouri referred to the Executive Council. (1909, p. 229) Plan to organize farm laborers into Federal Labor Unions referred to Executive Council without instructions.

Federal Labor Unions—(1900, p. 104) Local, national and international unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. are requested to acknowledge cards issued by Federal Labor Unions when presented by members thereof, and give them the support usually tendered to trade cards; this to apply only to holders of Federal Labor Union cards whose craft is not organized into a local or trade union, and is not to be construed to supplant, antagonize or interfere with the law, customs or rules, of local, national or international unions. (1901, pp. 11-184) Serious opposition is sometimes encountered from federal labor unions who fear their organizations may become disintegrated by reason of the formation of the trade unions. They do not seem to understand that by the process followed organized effort becomes more potent as a trade union; that a greater degree of permanency is secured; that a setback is less serious in its results; and that after all federal labor unions are a recruiting ground for the trade union movement and a convenience for the workers in such localities or diverse callings where there is an insufficient number of any particular trade or calling to form a trade union. (p. 241) Executive Council directed to prepare a constitution for federal labor unions.

Federal Watchmen's Union—(1916, p. 267) Indorsed legislation to increase wages of federal watchmen, the rate being paid having been fixed in 1867. Should be changed to meet the high cost of living.

Ferrer, Francisco—(1909, p. 104) Executive Council reported resolutions it had adopted protesting against execution of Francisco Ferrer, another martyr to the cause of free speech, free press and free education.

Financial—(1894, p. 46) Denounced Baltimore plan providing for issuance of money on national bank stock, declaring: "We think the real property of the country and the various products of labor are just as good if not a better basis for a currency than bank shares. (p. 47) Demanded federal law prohibiting the issuance of bonds of any kind or denomination except when authorized by a special law, which must originate in the House. (1897, p. 101) Condemned financial bill before Congress as it would substitute national bank notes for all paper money in existence and thus fasten the national bank system on the country for years, "for to delegate to private and selfish interests the supreme sovereign function of issuing the money of a nation is to place in their hands the weal and woe of the people." (1908, p. 215) Working people of the country should resist by all means at their command the tendency of employers and "Princes of Finance" to establish in some form or other in this country political and judicial despotism. (1912, p. 378) Favored additional banks for the benefit of farmers, but they should include provisions whereby the wage earners also may obtain credit at cost.

Fines in Courts, Money—(1902, p. 225) Present system of money fines for lawbreakers makes equality before the law a delusion, because the rich man can pay his fine without personal inconvenience while the poor man must go to jail when he commits the same offense; therefore an amendment to the federal constitution should be adopted prohibiting money fines in courts to put rich and poor on equal footing.

Fire Department of D. C.—(1901, p. 150) Executive Council instructed to urge Congress to grant a 12-hour day in lieu of the 24 in force.

Fire Prevention Laws—(1917, p. 261) Indorsed plan to appoint a federal commission on fire prevention with authority to make frequent inspections and rules to enforce laws in force and urge such new measures as are necessary. (1918, pp. 122-277) Executive Council sent communications to state bodies to urge legislation to prevent the great loss by fire. These states have fire prevention laws: Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin. In order that the various statutes effective in the various states may be increased in their effectiveness, it is essential that the various organizations engaged in the building industry should seek such amendments as would carry into effect the purposes of the resolution referred to. Subject was referred to the building trades department for the purpose of having all states enact proper laws.

Fishermen, Hospital Ship for—(1916, p. 302) U. S. government should be urged to establish a hospital ship in the Behring Sea for the care and cure of all sick or injured deep sea fishermen.

Fishermen, Protection for—(1905, p. 177) Executive Council instructed to urge the establishment of a hospital in the Bristol Bay region of Alaska for the benefit of the 8,000 men engaged in the fishing industry.

Fish Nets in Bristol Bay—(1916, p. 347) Indorsed H. R. 12029, which provides for government regulation of gill nets used in the waters of Bristol Bay for catching red salmon.

Fish Nets in Great Lakes—(1917, p. 416) Urged the enactment of a law requiring the fishermen of the Great Lakes to use a larger mesh in all nets, as thousands of tons of fish are destroyed in the fishing season by use of a small mesh.

Fish Traps—(1907, p. 338) Indorsed request of Alaska Fishermen's Union to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to prohibit salmon traps in Wood and Nushagak rivers. Also demanded better laws to protect fishermen.

Fish Treaty—(1915, p. 307) Condemned treaty between Oregon and Washington providing neither of the states can amend its salmon laws covering Columbia river without consent of the other; permits privileged salmon packers to operate fish wheels and seines where no commercial fishing should be permitted. Congress to be asked to ratify treaty, thus taking away from the citizens of those states right to avail themselves of the initiative and referendum for protection of salmon.

Food and Drugs, Pure—(1911, p. 137) Executive Council instructed to join all other influences working for pure food and drugs to secure proper legislation. Due to untold greed the health and the lives of the people of our country are placed in jeopardy through adulterations and substitutes in the foods and drugs sold. The pure food and drug law is being violated by those who have made great profits from circumventing the act, even attempting to have a faithful officer removed who has stood between them and the people. (1912, p. 137) Executive Council reported it had cooperated with the American Society of Equity and National Consumers' League to have better laws enacted. (1915, p. 307) Urged legislation requiring transportation of all food stuffs in clean receptacles to better safeguard public health.

Foreign Labor Under Contract—(1881, p. 4) Plank 4 in the first platform demanded prohibition of the importation of foreign laborers under contract and in 1884 (p. 16) Congress was again called on to enact a prohibitory law.

(1885, p. 8) Law was enacted but was not what labor had expected. During consideration of the measure a number of Senators were called on individually. One of them said: "The conflict between capital and labor is irrepressible, capital seeking to obtain the largest production and the consequent greater profit on the least outlay on the one hand, and labor as against capital seeking to obtain the largest amount of wages for the least expenditure of time and force on the other." This demonstrates among other things that the labor problem

is no longer confined in its bearings to the employer and employe but is now regarded as a question of political economy.

(1888, p. 10) Congress prohibited importation of foreign labor under contract and the landing of Chinese anywhere in the U. S. Charged Chinese were being smuggled across the Canadian border. (p. 26) Refused to indorse plan to restrict immigration by a per capita tax.

(1889, p. 24) Importer of stonecutters to work on the Texas capitol pleaded guilty and convention demanded he be made to pay the $64,000 assessed against him. Also that government officials be prevented from making the law void.

(1890, p. 15) Protested against amendment of the alien contract labor law, as it would destroy its intent and open the floodgates for hordes of laborers being brought to this country like slaves. (p. 29) Protested against glutting labor market during world's fair at Chicago as in Philadelphia at the time of the Centennial exposition. (p. 33) Recommended all unions agitate for amendments to the alien labor law.

(1891, p. 28) Asked treasury department to change ruling that musicians do not come under the law.

(1892, p. 38) Condemned practice of bringing large numbers of poor, persecuted and deceived Jewish working people from Europe and placing them in the sweatshops and trade schools to be taught the rudiments of the tailoring trade and then thrown on an overstocked labor market.

(1893, p. 13) More violations of the law were reported for six months than for any previous year. Immigration officials should be appointed because of their sympathy with the law. (p. 62) Indorsed amendment to law providing that a laborer who gave evidence of an employer violating the act should not be deported.

(1895, p. 77) Again demanded proper law against aliens being brought to U. S. under a species of slavery known as a contract.

(1900, p. 26) During 1900 immigration reached 500,000. The alien contract labor law had fallen short of accomplishing what it was originally intended because violators are systematically coached how to pass the inspection; and as the immigration officials are dependent upon the admission of the incoming alien to prove a violation of the law, few convictions can be had. So far as the punishment of the contractor who induces the immigrants to come here is concerned, the law is also inefficient. Dealers in alien labor have established a system, whereby aliens from certain sections of Europe are brought to the United States in total ignorance of their real destination, and, after landing, are placed in large numbers in various occupations. At present there appears to be no law on the statute books that will meet these cases. While the law of 1885 should not be interfered with, the new conditions render it imperatively necessary that legislation to meet the new danger should be urged upon Congress.

(1900, p. 129) Protested against admission of four lace makers under contract. (p. 58) Courts had declared that only manual unskilled laborers may be barred while the law was intended to apply to all labor.

(1901, p. 149) Instructed Executive Council to urge Congress to include musicians and skilled mechanics in the law. (p. 216) Ordered investigation of wreck in which 100 Italians who had been brought here under contract had been killed.

(1906, p. 164) Treasury Department had classified musicians as "professionals" and protests were made. (p. 236) Ordered investigation of alleged importation of alien labor by the state of South Carolina.

(1907, p. 88) Expressed surprise at the opinion given by the attorney general in regard to alien contract laborers being permitted to come to the U. S. upon the theory that when workmen in the U. S. are engaged in a lockout or in a strike, that therefore there are no workmen of like kind unemployed in the United States and that because of that fact contracts may be made with foreign workmen. (pp. 39-207) We contend that the alien-contract labor feature of the immigration law was designed and enacted for the purpose of preventing American workmen from being defeated in an effort to improve their conditions, and particularly to prevent deterioration and that, therefore, regardless of whether the relations of workmen with their employers are of the most amicable character, or whether they anticipate, or are engaged in a trade dispute involving either a strike or a lockout, employers are prohibited by the law from bringing workmen to the United States under contract, or promise of employment, whether written or implied.

(1909, p. 333) Condemned importation of alien bands and orchestras as unjust and for the purpose of evading the payment of the American wage scales. (1910, p. 264) Charges that the United States Steel Corporation was maintaining agents in Europe who were sending criminals to this country was ordered investigated.

(1915, p. 305) Instructed Executive Council to petition Congress to enact a law prohibiting the employment of alien and Oriental labor on all government work in preference to citizen labor.

Fraternal Delegates from Bona Fide Unions Only—(1904, p. 161) Refused to give vote to fraternal delegate from National Woman's Trade Union League, as it is not a bona fide trade union.

Free Coinage of Silver—(1892, p. 46) Refused to demand free coinage of silver. (1893, p. 62) Called upon Congress to pass a free-coinage silver bill at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold as one of the means of relieving the money stringency. (1894, p. 29; 1895, p. 39) Stand on the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 reaffirmed. (1896, pp. 59-60) "We emphatically deny that in the adoption of the principles of free silver coinage we in any degree indorse any political party that may have made free coinage a partisan political question."

Free Speech and Assemblage—(1887, p. 29) There is a tendency prevalent on the part of those in power to curtail and interfere with the constitutional rights of the people. Mayors and police officers have prohibited public meetings and persecuted representatives of labor organizations. We deeply deplore that the democratic spirit of the people of this country, especially that noble spirit of resistance against tyranny and wrong exercised by the founders of the republic, is rapidly being replaced by a spirit of anarchy on the part of those who should be the servants of the people. We, the representatives of labor of the country,

view with alarm the apparent disregard of the constitutional rights of the people and we hereby enter our solemn and emphatic protest, declaring: "That this Federation has no sympathy with other than lawful methods." (p. 11) Report of president: "A little more than a month ago seven men were awaiting execution of the death sentence in Illinois. The courts of the state and county had adjudged them guilty of a crime which prescribed the death penalty. The only power that stood between them and death was vested in the governor of that state. These men boasted they were anarchists but claimed they were prompted in their acts (whatever they were) to benefit the whole working class. I deem it almost unnecessary to say to you that I am no anarchist nor have any sympathy with or love for anarchy, its methods or its teachings, the calumnious statements of a few journals to the contrary notwithstanding. But I found a strong feeling prevailing among thousands that the condemned men were about to be executed in the defense of the right of free speech and free assemblage, and that if they were executed they would die martyrs to the cause of labor. As a representative of a great labor organization I was called on and entreated to say a word, first to save them from death, and, second, to deprive their movement of the food on which all spasmodic movements exist—martyrdom. Believing that no harm could come to our organization I wrote a letter to the governor and appealed to him, in the interest of humanity and to prevent an impetus being given to violent revolutionary movements to extend clemency to these misguided men. I am opposed to capital punishment under all circumstances and in this case I acted from a dual motive of which the latter was not the least.

(1891, p. 17) Within the past few years there has been a direct purpose and what appears to be a tacit understanding among the authorities of our several states and municipalities to violate one of the fundamental principles and rights guaranteed to the people. The right of free speech and free assemblage has been won at the sacrifice of thousands of lives and of fortunes untold. Yet they are as much a question today as centuries ago. We may have little, if any, sympathy with the expressions of those who are opposed to our system of government, or we may be their outspoken antagonists, but we should at all times maintain the constitutional rights of the people to free speech and assemblage. (p. 33) We denounce the action of the Chicago policemen in breaking into a lawful meeting of union men November 11, 1891, without warrant of law and in violation of every principle of right and justice. It is dangerous not alone to the working people but to all classes, as it tends to the usurpation of the people's authority and the substitution of another entirely foreign to the spirit of American institutions.

(1893, p. 62) We condemn the orders in the office of the chief of police of Chicago which provide that unemployed men who gather in a public place on the lake front shall be clubbed and brutally maltreated by the police. It is a revival of such tyranny as George III sought to impose on our revolutionary fathers and was successfully resisted by a warfare for their rights.

(1901, p. 168) Application to place a labor paper on the unfair list was refused by the Executive Council, these reasons being given: "While having sufficient grounds we did not believe we should officially place a paper on the unfair list because of opinions expressed. Our movement stands for freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, and though the right is reserved to each union member as well as every citizen to purchase, or decline to purchase any publication for any reason, or for no reason at all, yet consistency and justice preclude our movement from placing a newspaper upon the unfair list for expressions of opinion. (p. 215) Executive Council authorized to oppose any measure introduced in Congress curtailing free speech, free press and free organization.

(1908, pp. 16-217) The suppression of freedom of the press is a most serious undertaking, whether in autocratic Russia or in the republic of the United States. It is because the present injunction and the contempt proceedings thereunder suppress free speech and free press, that we feel it our duty to enter a most emphatic protest. For ages it has been a recognized and established principle that the publisher shall be uncensored in what he publishes, though he may be held personally and criminally liable for what he utters. If what is published is wrong, or false, or seditious, or treasonable, it is within the power of the courts to punish him by applying the ordinary process of law. If what is published is libelous, the civil and criminal laws may be invoked. The right to freely print and to speak has grown up through centuries of freedom. It has its basis in the fundamental guarantees of human liberty. It has been advocated and upheld by the ablest minds. Tremendous sacrifices have been made in its establishment. These rights must not, cannot, and will not be complacently surrendered—they must not be forbidden by a court's injunction.

(1909, pp. 21-313) Assume that a judge will so far forget himself as to issue an injunction prohibiting a legislature, or Congress itself, from enacting laws. Will it be contended that obedience must follow? Let a judge issue an injunction enjoining the President of the United States from performing the duties of his office. Does it follow that the Chief Executive of our nation must yield obedience, and perhaps thereby fail to perform the duties of his great office, to the injury of the people of the country? Were the matter involved merely material, or of such a character that time would not destroy, the situation would be vastly different. All realize that for the orderly continuance and development of civilized society, obedience to the orders of the court is necessary, and to that there would be no dissenting voice. The doctrine that the citizen must yield obedience to every order of the court, notwithstanding that order transcends inherent, natural, human rights guaranteed by the constitution of our country, is vicious and repugnant to liberty and human freedom, and that it is the duty, the imperative duty, to protest. The history of the human race has been full of tyranny and the denial to the people of the right of expressing freely by speech or in the press their opinions. After our people established a government they recalled that they had omitted to safeguard this vital right in framing our constitution. Therefore, the first

amendment to that instrument was that guaranteeing the right of freedom of speech and press. That means something. We do not need this right to please those entrusted with the authority of government. Free press and free speech were guaranteed that men might feel free to say things that displeased. Demand for reform coming from the people is generally distasteful to those entrenched in power and privilege. It was not necessary that we be given the privilege for the purpose of singing the praises of the powers that be. No Russian needs constitutional guarantee of the right to sing the praises of the Czar. We must have the right to freely speak and print for the wrongs that need resistance and the cause that needs assistance. There is no persecution, no injustice, to a great movement but if not in the right spirit bears its harvest of good. In this case the tremendous popular indignation at the attempt to abolish the right of free press and free speech brings our union members into closer relations and more in sympathy with each other throughout the country, and, more than that, it brings to the attention of the people as a whole the noble aspirations and the splendid achievements of the labor movement in behalf of right, justice, and humanity. Out of this attempt to seal the lips of the men of labor we believe will come good. We know that the people of our country and the labor movement will be found united in patriotic protest against any curtailment of the liberties for which our forefathers struggled in order that we might be free. We have come too far in the march of human progress for any set of influences to drive us back into slavery. We see a silver lining to the clouds and a bright star of hope in the heavens, and ultimately the spirit of humanity, justice, and the brotherhood of man obtaining in the minds and hearts of the people of the country. (p. 20)

In the whole history of our movement no greater struggle has taken place than that for the preservation and the maintenance of the right of free press and free speech. This arose under the injunction proceedings and court decisions in the case of the Buck's Stove and Range Company against the A. F. of L., December, 1907. The technicalities of the case were soon lost sight of in the battle to preserve the great principles of human liberty which were involved. The people of our country have with the men of labor made it clear to the whole world that no curtailment of the rights of free press and free speech will be tolerated. The herculean efforts of the men of labor to arouse the people of the country to a realization of the danger which threatens our constitutional liberties will go down in the annals of history as one of the great crusades for the maintenance and advancement of human rights. Through efforts of our officers and members, through our own magazine, the American Federationist, and through the labor press, through the great mass meetings and public speeches which voiced our protest there was kindled throughout the country among all the people the spirit of liberty, the spirit of patriotism, the spirit of protest which demands that there shall be no tampering with our constitutional liberties by the courts, whether under the guise of injunction order or of prejudiced judicial decree and sentence. We say advisedly that the whole people of our country are aroused to the seriousness of the situation. They realize that this attack upon free press and free speech among the workers is only the insidious beginning of the entire withdrawal of these rights from the whole people whenever it might suit the plans of those who desire to profit by injustice and tyranny. The response of the masses of the people to the campaign of the A. F. of L. for the preservation of constitutional rights shows how thoroughly our labor movement is in harmony with the spirit of liberty and the love of justice and right which makes a nation great.

(1913, pp. 76-301) Invasions of the rights of a free people arouse just resentment. However generous the temper of the people, they can not meekly tolerate practices and decisions at variance with the fundamental principles upon which their liberty is founded. There have been in the recent past tendencies to invade the domain of free speech that have stirred those who have concern for the public welfare. In various sections of our country attacks have been made upon this right guaranteed by the Constitution and essential to all freedom. These attacks have been made by presumptuous agents acting without warrant of law, in the form of ordinances, injunctions, and court decisions. Invariably this injustice has been directed against the working people until, in fact, there have arisen two systems of administration of justice; one for the workers, another for all others. When the workers are seeking relief from burdensome conditions of labor, long hours, and low wages; if they can not discuss these matters publicly and with their fellow-workers; if they can not present their views through a free press; if they are denied freedom to present their concepts of justice, their opportunity for betterment is incalculably obstructed. Yet, during this past year, the mere publication of statements with regard to unjust, tyrannical and brutal treatment of strikers by police has been punished; papers devoted to the cause of the toilers have been suppressed; public discussion of grievances has been inhibited; peaceful persuasion of fellow-workers to join a strike movement for mutual benefit has been enjoined—all this has taken place in our Republic, in the name of free government! It is not possible for liberty-loving, free-born people to sit quietly by and see established precedent after precedent affirming that which one possesses shall determine his right to freedom and justice. It is not possible for us to repudiate the faith of our fathers epitomized in the declaration, "Give me liberty or give me death." It is not possible for us to ignore the fact that the enslavement of one single individual jeopardizes the liberty of all our people. Deny to one single individual the right to the full expression of his convictions, his concepts of right or action for his own best self-development, and there is established a precedent of limitation upon freedom by all and in every walk of life. This may seem strong language, but when a man's life is threatened would you tell him to give discreet, moderate warning? How much more impossible, then, to tell a man whose freedom is threatened to restrict himself to measured decorous phrases. This yoke of unfreedom has been prepared for the necks of America's toilers—submission means the loss of those things which make life good and great. Only when each person is ac-

corded the right to speak freely and truly that which he knows and feels and sees, when mind has free intercourse with mind, can difficulties, problems, wrongs be thrashed out and the best solutions reached. All may not think clearly and correctly, but how can they find out their errors if ideas must be bottled up? Mentality that is not given free scope will either shrivel from inactivity or else will become poisoned and unwholesome and finally will find vent in violence or explosion. To be sure, so long as human nature is perverted and imperfect, the right of free speech and free press will be abused. But those who in using this right abuse it, should be held responsible for their utterances that are libelous, treasonable, or seditious. The exercise of a right should never be penalized, only the abuse of that right. Many opinions and concepts may be fundamentally wrong or the result of ignorance, but mistakes that are made in an effort to think and to be something are better than failure to think and do. Of course, we always should be right, but we have even a right to make mistakes—any other system means autocratic control, the loss of freedom. The safety of free life and free government lies in maintaining freedom of speech and press. No tyranny, no wrong, can withstand absolutely frank, fearless advocacy of right and justice. The burden-bearers of all the ages have ever been the oppressed. The toilers of America have been aroused to this invasion of freedom because they, better than all others, have been aware of this entering wedge to freedom's undoing. They call attention to their wrongs, to the dangers that threaten all the people. They demand liberty for themselves and liberty for all. The urgency of the need makes necessary the emphasis of the statement—we demand liberty for one and for all. We demand that human rights and human welfare be placed above all else.

(1913, p. 67; 1914, pp. 100-493) The alarming frequency of interference by State executive officials and courts with the fundamental rights of citizenship, demands that the following provision or the concrete substance of it should be incorporated in the State constitution of every State: "Every person may freely speak, write or publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed by the legislature to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. Nor shall any officer or court of the state, or officer or court of any political division of the state abridge, enjoin or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press. The question as to whether the rights of freedom of speech, or of the press, have been abused shall be determined by a jury. In all criminal prosecutions for libel, no person shall be found guilty and be punished where the matter alleged to be libelous be true unless the alleged libelous matter was written and published with criminal motives and for wrongful ends."

Free Speech, Farmers Uphold—(1912, p. 382) A communication was read from the Farmers' National Congress, U. S. A., in reference to provisions in the post office appropriation bill which it charged were an abridgment of free speech and the press. It said in part: "The Farmers' National Congress regard with disfavor and apprehension any abridgment of the freedom of the press and demand that the making of laws and rulings abridging the freedom of the press be discontinued. Of course, the Farmers' National Congress is well aware that freedom is not license and it was the first national organization to adopt a resolution calling on all papers to stop the publication of fraudulent or immoral ads. It has reached the conclusion—such conclusion is inevitable—if events are carefully considered—that there is a movement gradually, subtly, but none the less effectually, to abridge the freedom of the press. As you know, periodicals have been harried during recent years and those classes of periodicals that have been most vigilant to expose public corruption have been most subjected to harrassing rules and regulations. A little has been done here, a little there, until the total effect has become threatening and now all classes of periodicals have been affected. It is certainly time to call a halt. Certainly no organization should be more alert to maintain the freedom of the press than the A. F. of L. Considering what it represents, it may be asked if any other organization should be as alert? A free press is the best safeguard of our liberties and institutions. It is the greatest foe of corruption and disloyalty. The Farmers' National Congress is not composed of publishers, but of practicing farmers. At its recent annual session 36 states were represented by delegates appointed by the governors of those states on the nomination of the agricultural organizations of the states. We respectfully suggest that the A. F. of L. adopt a resolution along the lines of the one adopted by our organization, calling a halt on the making of laws and regulations further to abridge the freedom of the press and also asking for the repeal of laws already enacted when needlessly and unwarrantably interfering with the business of the publishers of periodicals." A. F. of L. voted to cooperate with Farmers' National Congress in protesting against any abridgment of the press.

Free Speech for Civil Service Employes—(1911, p. 303) Indorsed bills restoring to the federal civil service employes their inherent rights of free speech, to petition Congress for a rdress of grievances, to a hearing before removal and the right to organize.

Freight Rates—(1907, p. 194) Increase of freight rates ordered by certain railroads declared an injury to all workingmen, and Executive Council was requested to investigate. (1910, p. 250) Condemned employes of railroads who had petitioned the Inter-State Commerce Commission to raise freight rates for corporations whose earnings were enormous "even upon a capitalization dripping with water." (1911, p. 263) Refused to concur in resolution favoring increases in freight rates where higher wages have been given employes.

French High Commission Pleased—(1917, p. 375) Telegram was read from Francois Monod, chief of Cabinet of the French High Commission in the United States, in which he said: "We deem it a great privilege to have been enabled to spend a few days with the members of the convention. I may truly say that during our stay in the United States nothing could be more gratifying to us." He also sent hearty greetings to the British and Canadian delegates.

Frick, Donation from Henry C.—(1905, pp. 126-154) Charges that Henry C. Frick had donated $100 to the committee on entertainment of the delegates declared untrue and then withdrawn.

Friends of Labor, Elect—(1914, p. 494) We urge upon all city and state branches the necessity of electing their friends to city, State and national legislative bodies, and where possible electing among such friends men who carry paid-up union cards. Also to compile and distribute the labor records of state legislators to the end the workers generally may learn from reliable and authoritative sources who are the "friends" of labor.

Gateway Amendment, Constitution—(1914, p. 494) We declare for a campaign of education for the Gateway Amendment which will provide an easier method of changing the Federal Constitution and make it responsive to modern conditions.

"Gompers Desecrating the Flag"—(1912, p. 148) The story originated with a fake picture published by Otis' Los Angeles Times, which represented Mr. Gompers standing upon a table, draped in an American flag, trampling and soiling our national emblem. The anti-union press eagerly copied. The cuts were embellished; the story did not lose in sensational flavor or detail of slander as it traveled from city to city. Again the aim was "to get" Mr. Gompers, to spread broadcast the impression that he was a foreign agitator who was teaching anarchistic doctrines and dishonor for American ideals and citizenship. By persistent, concerted press action this slander spread throughout the land. The victim of the campaign was, of course, unable to give his refutation of the charge as wide and as emphatic a presentment. Experts pronounced the picture a most obvious fake. The original picture, to which was added that of President Gompers, was taken of the Labor Day celebration at Oakland, California, in 1911.

Gompers' 50 Years' Service—(1916, p. 348) Action of convention: Samuel Gompers had served the labor movement his whole life with the best that was in him and remains today just as determined and sincere to secure justice and right for labor; that for the purpose of publicly demonstrating our appreciation we unite with the New York State Federation of Labor and Central Federated Trade Union of Greater New York to invite all national and international officers to meet in New York March 27, 1917, at a mass demonstration to honor him and show our individual devotion. (1917, p. 136) January 27, 1917, marked President Gompers' fiftieth year of service in the labor movement, fifty years of married life and his sixty-seventh birthday. His friends in and out of the labor movement responded in numbers to the suggestion of the Baltimore Convention to make January 27, 1917, an epoch in his life. There were gathered in New York City on that date 1,100 of his friends and fellow workers at the banquet which was given in his honor. Numbers of letters, telegrams, cablegrams, were received from friends and well-wishers in every walk of life, including the President and Vice-President of the United States and members of the Cabinet who were unable to be present. All of these, with the transcript of the addresses delivered have been handsomely bound and presented to President Gompers.

Government Employes, Treatment of—(1895, p. 38) Executive Council instructed to urge laws providing that government employes shall work under as good conditions as exist in private workshops.

Government Workers, Conditions for—(1901, pp. 23-186) We insist, and shall insist, that the best possible conditions shall obtain for the workers directly employed by the Government; and every fair-minded man appreciates the fact that without the aid of our general movement the improved conditions so many of them enjoy would not have been secured but for the support of the organized labor movement of the country. We should, however, bear in mind the fact that, in aiding our fellow-workers in the Government employ, we have no right to lose sight of, or hazard, the interests of the great body of workers employed by individual companies or corporations.

Habeas Corpus Suspended—(1900, pp. 26-141) We condemn the usurpation of power in Shoshone County, Idaho, where the testimony shows habeas corpus was suspended, and ask our fellow-workers to consider carefully what our condition is to be when the military may, in the discretion of any executive, be used to take from us individual rights which have been the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon since the granting of the Magna Charta.

Hat Manufacturers Arraigned—(1917, p. 462) Executive Council was instructed to call the attention of the government to the action of the hat manufacturers of Danbury, Conn., who had defied the attitude of the President of the United States, who had said: "Manufacturers should not take advantage of conditions brought about by the war to lower the standard of employment."

Hatters' Case—(1903, pp. 90-251) Suit in the state and federal courts had been started in Connecticut against the United Hatters of North America, and the A. F. of L. had been included. The suit was based on a strike for a union shop and brought under section 7 of the Sherman Antitrust law, which provides: "Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or combination by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any Circuit Court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount of the controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney fee." Damages of $340,000 had been asked. Proper action had been taken to protect the rights of the A. F. of L. and help the hatters. Report was made that an attorney had issued a circular to employers urging them to harass the unions, officers and members by bringing suits for damages, alleging any conceivable cause of complaint, with the avowed purpose of entangling them in the meshes of the law, with its delays, uncertainties and expenses, to divert their attention from their work and mission. (p. 251) We warn unions of the danger in becoming involved in litigation should they adopt the plan of incorporation recently proposed by many persons and newspapers, and we repudiate

the charges, implied or positive made against the law-abiding character and methods of the labor movement and the members thereof.

(1908, pp. 18-218) U. S. Supreme Court decided hatters' case came under the Sherman Antitrust Law and held them liable for threefold damages. The court assumed this position: "The A. F. of L., its affiliated organizations, internationals, locals of internationals, state federations, city centrals locals affiliated to them, or local branches directly or indirectly affiliated by charter, are engaged in one common purpose; that because they regard it as inexpedient to become incorporated, they are therefore bound by all the responsibilities appertaining to partners and partnership; that under this supposed partnership, the American Federation of Labor is legally resonsible for the acts of any of these bodies, located at any distance, and even though the officers of our Federation may know nothing whatever of the doings of the distant "partners"; that this partnership liability extends not only to contract relations, but to any tortious or wrongful act of the individual members of any of the organizations or branches enumerated.

The A. F. of L., its executive officers, its affiliated unions and their members, officially, collectively and individually are held legally responsible by the court for any action taken by any local union, even though remotely related to the A. F. of L., and these penalties are triple damages, fines of $5,000 and one year's imprisoment. This decision was followed by the indictment (p. 20) of 75 workmen in New Orleans engaged in a sympathetic strike. The attitude and the language of the court in the hatters' case make it clear that the Supreme Court is not informed on modern economics. No one disputes the real rights of property, but surely the rights of property are not greater than the rights of man. No more sweeping, far reaching, important, and unjust decision has ever been issued by a court. The Dred Scott decision did not approach it in scope for that decision only decreed that any runaway slave could be pursued if he made his escape into a free state, and his return to his owner in a slave state be enforced by all the powers of government. Any person who assisted in the escape of a slave, or who harbored him, could be prosecuted before the courts for a criminal offense. That decision involved comparatively few, those slaves who could make good their escape from a slave holding state. The Civil War annulled the decision of the Supreme Court and freed the black slaves. It cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of brave men on both sides. It emancipated from chattel slavery four millions of black slaves. No man now proudly points to that infamous Dred Scott Supreme Court decision. The decision of the Supreme Court in the hatters' case involves every wage-worker of our country, men and women, white or black, who associate themselves permanently or temporarily to protect or advance their human rights. (p. 259) The savings and homes of 250 hatters in Danbury were attached by D. E. Loewe & Co., the complainant, and the A. F. of L. voted moral and financial support.

(1910, pp. 117-314) February 4. 1910 trial ended by judge instructing jury to find for complainant in the sum of $74,000, which, tripled, amounted to $222,000; also costs and counsel fee for complainant.

(1911, pp. 37-278) April 10, 1911, Federal Court of Appeals for the District of New York and New England reversed the decision of the trial court and remanded the case for retrial on the ground the jury should have decided whether damages at all should be awarded as well as the amount.

(1912, pp. 132-276-349-352) Retrial began August 20, 1912, and October 11 the jury returned a verdict for $80,000, which, trebled, made $240,000; also costs.

(1913, pp. 75-300) A petition for a writ of error was allowed January 18, 1913.

(1914, pp. 91-365) December 13, 1913, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit made this decision: "When this cause came on for the second trial all of the fundamental questions of law had been disposed of. That the antitrust act is applicable to such combinations as are alleged in the complaint is no longer debatable. It makes no distinction between classes, employers and employes, corporations and individuals, rich and poor, are alike included in its terms. The Supreme Court particularly points out that although Congress was frequently importuned to exempt farmers' organizations and labor unions from its provisions, these efforts all failed and the act still remains, after nearly a quarter of a century of trial, unmarred by amendment, in the language originally adopted. In short, the court held that if the plaintiffs proved the conspiracy or combination as alleged in the complaint, they were within the antitrust act, and entitled to damages sustained by them. The plaintiffs proved, either without contradiction or by testimony which the jury was justified in accepting as true, the following propositions: That they were engaged in making hats at Danbury, Connecticut, and had a large interstate business, employing union and non-union labor. That the individual defendants are members of a trade union known as the United Hatters of North America, which was organized in 1896, and, with a few exceptions unnecessary to consider, paid dues to the local unions at Danbury, Bethel, or Norwalk, Connecticut. These dues, after deducting a certain percentage for the expenses of the local unions, were sent to the treasurer of the United Hatters. The United Hatters were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one of the objects of the latter organization being to assist its members in any 'justifiable boycott,' and with financial help in the event of a strike or lockout. That the United Hatters, through their connection with the Federation of Labor and affiliated associations, exercised a vast influence throughout the country and by the use of the boycott and secondary boycott had it in their power to cripple, if not destroy, any manufacturer who refused to discharge a competent servant because he was not a member of the union. That in March, 1901, the United Hatters had resolved to unionize the plaintiff's factory and informed Mr. Loewe to that effect, their president stating that they hoped to accomplish this in a peaceful manner, but if not they would resort to their 'usual methods.' On the morning of July 25, 1902, the plaintiff's employes were directed to strike and the union men left the factory on that day, the non-union men the day after. That this strike temporarily paralyzed the plaintiff's business, and

they were not able to reorganize until January, 1903, and then with a force many of whom were unskilled. That almost immediately after the strike a boycott was established and agents of the hatters were sent out to induce the plaintiffs' customers not to buy any more hats of them. This boycott was successful, and converted a profit of $27,000 made in 1901 into losses ranging from $17,000 in 1902 to $8,000 in 1904, destroying or curtailing a large part of their business carried on between Danbury, Connecticut, and several other states." The Circuit Court of Appeals found that the combination or conspiracy in restraint of interstate trade was entered into as alleged in the complaint, and was proven by competent evidence, upon trial, and thereafter affirmed the findings of the trial court. From this decision an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

(1915, pp. 73-329) January 5, 1915, the U. S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the principle embodied in all its rulings on the hatters' case, that the labor power of employes is a commodity in which emloyers have a property right. It again emphasizes the principle underlying this case that the labor power of a human being is identical with the thing that he produces, that it is a commodity or article of commerce. It is a principle that is revolting to and totally at variance with humanitarian ideals. However miserable or inefficient a worker may be, yet the creative force of his brain, muscles and nerves is something of a totally different character from the wood and coal and stone upon which he works. It is the difference between the inanimate thing, the dead thing, and the living human personality. However lowly, there is something sacred and infinitely wonderful about human life. The Supreme Court cites as further evidence of conspiracy on the part of the United Hatters certain purposes avowed in their constitution, namely, "the directors are to use all the means in their power to bring shops not under our jurisdiction into the trade. The by-laws provide separate funds to be kept for strikes, lockouts and agitation for the union label. Members are forbidden to sell non-union hats." Here, again, as in the ruling of 1908, the Supreme Court holds that the effectiveness of trade unions in establishing union standards and union conditions constitutes proof of a conspiracy in restraint of trade. In other words, the Supreme Court held that effective strong associations of workers successful in carrying out their purposes, constitute in themselves an illegal conspiracy and could be proceeded against under the Sherman Anti-trust law. After the decision of the Supreme Court, D. E. Loewe and Company instituted proceedings to take over the bank deposits and the little homes of the Danbury Hatters. Some of these men were too old to work. Several had died during the course of the trial; others had suffered loss and hardships because their property was tied up pending the decision of the court in the case. The attorneys for D. E. Loewe and Company at once took steps to press payment of award. (p. 330) Executive Council instructed to send out circulars urging each member of organized labor who is employed on a day to be named in January, 1916, donate one hour's pay for the relief of the hatters.

(1916, pp. 77-293) When the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its final decision in 1914, it was definitely decided that the little homes and savings of the Danbury Hatters, the results of their toil and frugality, must be handed over to satisfy the demands of the Anti-Boycott Association. Many of the 186 Danbury Hatters were old and gray headed, unable to work longer and were dependent upon what they had laid aside in former years. A circular was issued to all unions asking their members to give one hour's pay. This action expressed the conviction of the workers that the cause of the Danbury Hatters had been the cause of all organized labor; the fight which the Danbury Hatters made in the courts was for the benefit not only of themselves but for all. As a result of that fight in the courts a definite campaign was undertaken which enabled the organized labor movement to demand legislation protecting all of the workers and assuring them their rights. By the legislation secured, known as the labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act, they have been acknowledged even by the enemies of the labor movement to make impossible in the federal courts action similar to that against the Danbury Hatters, and to secure regulation and limitation of the use of the writ of injunction and provision for jury trial in contempt cases.

(1917, p. 103) The hatters' case has come to a close. On July 9 a certified check for $214,688.95 and on August 28 a certified check for $222.25 was sent to the Secretary-Treasurer of the United Hatters of North America together with the records in the case. A report was printed of all moneys received from appeals issued asking for contributions for the relief of the Danbury Hatters and also a statement showing to whom the money was paid. This was sent to all contributors and labor organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. And thus is closed one of the most epochal contests in the history of Labor's struggle for justice. It is quite true that by reason of the strained construction of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, Labor lost the case before the courts, but we won in the legal establishment of the principle in our country, "that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

Hawaiian Islands, Slavery in—(1899, p. 85) Protested against system of contract in Hawaiian Islands which binds labor in a state of slavery, as they are compelled to work against their will and often under conditions of extreme cruelty. Urged abolition of the contract system, the cessation of all immigration under contracts and the extension of personal liberty to persons now or hereafter employed.

(1900, p. 25) Congress, through the efforts of the A. F. of L., abolished involuntary servitude in Hawaiian Islands by the adoption of these amendments to bills that originally provided for the perpetuation of slavery: "That no suit or proceeding shall be maintained for the specific performance of any contract heretofore or hereafter entered into, for personal labor or service; nor shall any remedy exist or be enforced for breach of any such contract, except in a civil suit or proceeding instituted solely to recover damages for such breach. That all contracts made since August 12, 1898, by which persons so held for service for a definite term, are hereby declared null and void, and terminated; and no law shall be passed to enforce such contract in any way;

and it shall be the duty of the United States marshal to at once notify such persons so held, of the termination of their contract." (1911, p. 196) Complaint was made that only a small number of longshoremen in Hawaii were organized. (1912, p. 264) Condemned employment of alien labor in Hawaii.

Health, Conservation of Public—(1909, pp. 105-277) Indorsed report of Executive Council of program adopted by conservation commissions of thirty-two states and A. F. of L. committee on Conservation of Public Health. The plan provides: Facilities for protecting individual and family health; prevailing knowledge of hygiene and sanitation; means of maintaining health; offices, boards and commissions, and educational instrumentalities, laws and regulations governing hours and conditions of labor; the whole morale of the nation in its relation to the states, of immigration, imported disease and vice. Effect of immigration on labor and production, influence of immigration on customs and institutions; relation between public health and current industries, of mine and factory inspection, fires, floods, storms, accidents connected with railways, vessels, effects of noxious fumes, dust, etc.; effects of confinement and excessive hours of labor, means of reducing accidental and other losses and risks; benefits of desirable and necessary improvements in length of life, accelerated growth in population, increased comfort and earning capacity, augmented efficiency and intensified humanity and patriotism.

Health, Federal Bureau of—(1912, p. 137) Executive Council reported it had recommended an amendment to the Federal Bureau of Health bill providing for a special bureau of plumbing and sanitation. This order had been issued by the surgeon general: "Hereafter all commissioned officers of the public health service when traveling under official orders on trains and vessels engaged in interstate traffic, will make such observations as may be practicable of the sanitary conditions of the trains and vessels on which they travel and the stations and wharves at which they stop. The result of these observations will be noted in a report to be submitted to the bureau upon completion of the travel authorized. These observations are desired for the information of the bureau and for the compilation of facts relative to the sanitary conditions prevailing in interstate traffic." (p. 264) Indorsed bill creating National Department of Health. (1913, p. 55) Executive Council reported diligent efforts had been made without success to have the law enacted.

Health Insurance—(1918, pp. 94-282) The enactment of workmen's compensation laws by a number of state legislatures is now being followed by the development of a favorable sentiment for the enactment of health insurance laws. Already legislation of this kind has been considered by a number of state legislatures and in addition, commissions have been created for the purpose of making an exhaustive study of the subject and a report to their respective legislative branches thereon. Central bodies and state federations of labor in several places have been studying the question. Some of them have approved the principle, while others are supporting laws providing for universal health insurance. The organized labor movement approved the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation. Their approval of that legislation was based upon the theory that when the earning power of a worker was impaired by reason of an industrial accident, that he or his dependents should be compensated during the time he was suffering from said injury. The same rule holds good when the worker becomes incapacitated through illness—particularly illness due to trade or occupation. He and his family suffer through the impairment of his earning power just the same when he is ill as when he sustains an injury. The organized labor movement of America ought to formulate a program upon this subject. Executive Council was instructed to appoint a special committee to make an investigation. The convention declared: "We believe that trade and occupational diseases should be considered in law as well as in fact an obligation on industry and that those who contract for the employment of the workers should be required to provide compensation to those suffering by health impairment due to their employment." The special committee was instructed also to investigate the persons and organizations that have tried for several years to obtain the approval of labor organiztions to a scheme of social health insurance, as suspicion has been aroused that it is supported by those who for years have sought to retard the cause of the workers.

Hetch-Ketchy—(1913, p. 389) Indorsed bill giving right to inhabitants of San Francisco and surrounding communities to collect and distribute the waters of the Hetch-Ketchy region of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. (1914, pp. 87-364) Bill became a law through assistance of A. F. of L.

High Cost of Living—(1916, p. 265) Prices of all necessaries are increasing so rapidly as to constitute a menace to the standard of living of the American wage earner. We demand the creation of a federal commission which shall investigate all phases of this subject and recommend to Congress measures designed to remedy the evil and prevent its recurrence. Executive Council instructed to carry out the action.

(1917, pp. 90-282) Efforts were successful in passing the food survey bill and the food administrator appeared before the representatives of all affiliated labor organizations then in Washington, including the railroad brotherhoods, members of the labor group in Congress and sympathetic members of the body, and outlined his plans to meet the situation. The Federation gave its full support to the principles involved in this legislation, but suggested that the provision which said: "That any person who conspires, combines, agrees, or arranges with any other person to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any necessaries; to restrict the supply of any necessaries; to restrict the distribution of any necessaries; to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessaries in order to enhance the price thereof shall upon conviction thereof, be fined not exceeding $10,000 or be imprisoned for not more than two years, or both," be added to by the incorporation of an amendment declaring that the intent of this section was not to repeal any of the labor provisions of the Clayton Law. It was feared that the language in this section might be construed

to make it unlawful for workmen engaged in food transportation and production to strike. An amendment was introduced for the purpose of safeguarding Labor's interests in accordance with the above suggestion, and, while the food administrator stated that the section was not intended to prevent workmen from ceasing work, yet acquiesced in the amendment proposed and rendered valuable assistance in an effort to secure its adoption. Upon our failure to secure the adoption of this amendment, the matter was taken up through the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. The Attorney-General concurred in the view that the section was not intended to restrict the right of workmen to strike. As a further precaution, an arrangement was made whereby the Attorney-General was to communicate with all of the attorneys representing the government, informing them of his opinion and directing that no action be instituted against workmen engaged in the industries referred to for ceasing to perform labor. In connection with this general subject, it is exceedingly important that the matter of cooperation among trade unionists should be developed to the end of supplementing or anticipating legislation for the purpose of still further reducing the cost of staple products. Under the stress of war conditions, an added stimulus is given this important question, and it is suggested that trade union groups give consideration to the purchasing of supplies in quantity to meet their needs and arranging for their distribution among the members of a group or district. At a time when the cost of living is such a serious problem, it is timely and opportune for trade unionists to give a careful study to this question. (p. 119) Bill to make a survey of the food situation became a law August 10, 1917.

Hobo Oath—(1917, p. 270) "I, ..., solemnly swear to do all in my power to aid and assist all those willing to aid and assist themselves. I pledge myself to assist all runaway boys and induce them to return to their homes and parents. I solemnly swear never to serve as a scab or strike-breaker against organized labor, and to do all in my power for the betterment of myself, my organization and organized labor. So help me God."

Homestead—(1892, p. 11) At Homestead where the iron and steel workers were offered a wholesale reduction in their wages, an armed band of marauders, sailing under no flag, owing allegiance to no state or country (and consequently by the laws of all nations considered pirates), was brought by the corporations to invade that peaceful town, to overawe and intimidate its citizens and workers, to aid in the effort to supplant their labor by a poorer and demoralized set of human beings. The men of Homestead, seeing their liberties endangered their lives, their homes and families, menaced, took up arms against the invaders and repelled them. There are nearly 200 men who have been engaged in the strike at Homestead who are either in prison or out on bail charged with every conceivable offense and crime from conspiracy and riot to murder and treason. The company officials were indicted but they are enjoying their liberties and the luxury wealth gives while the workmen are incarcerated in jail.

Home Work—(1909, p. 276) Wherever home work prevails conditions are insanitary and injurious. It permits long hours in the work season, non-union and child labor, night work, possibility of bribery to secure advantages over honest workers, danger of spreading contagious diseases and middlemen to exploit the workers. Its practice is condemned, and the Executive Council instructed to use its best efforts to secure its abolishment by legislation. (1912, p. 139) Endorsed plan for an international home work congress and the declarations made by the Executive Council to the International Secretariat, which are: Home work is uneconomic, demoralizing to the men, women and children engaged in it, makes impossible a reasonable regulation of hours and frustrates the humanitarian work of the labor movement.

Hours of Labor Investigations—(1907, p. 89) Called on state legislatures to enact laws requiring manufacturers to give to the Department of Commerce and Labor data pertaining to the hours, wages and other conditions of labor in their respective plants.

Houseboats—(1914, p. 348) Condemned boat owners in port of New York who will not employ captains unless their wives and children live on the vessel. Conditions surrounding boat life are insanitary and dangerous and the Executive Council was instructed to urge a law for its prohibition. (1915, p. 110) Secretary of Labor had ordered investigation and efforts made for enactment of law by New York legislature.

House, New Rule—(1910, pp. 25-311) That the American Federation of Labor has made the people's fight its fight was demonstrated when June 17 the House of Representatives adopted this rule: "Any member may present a motion in writing to discharge a committee from further consideration of any public bill or joint resolution referred to such committee," and "Recognition for such motions shall be in order in which they have been entered * * * and shall have precedence over motions to suspend the rules and shall require for adoption an affirmative vote of the majority of the membership of the House." Special attention is invited to these matters; first, because it indicates progress, and second, because it justifies the A. F. of L. in its incessant struggle to regain and re-establish a fundamental principle in representative government which has so long been denied the people by the speaker and his cohorts.

Housing—In Peacetime—(1914, p. 355) As the health of the whole people is conserved through proper sanitary living of its people we record ourselves as favoring the passage of laws providing for a system of government loans for municipal and private sanitary houses.

(1915, p. 112) Bills introduced in Congress, but being a new subject no definite progress could be reported. It will require considerable discussion and agitation before legislators in Congress, state assemblies or municipal councils will pay serious attention to the need of reform to solve the evils which everybody recognizes but few undertake to remedy. (p. 467) Before Congress will become convinced the people desire such legislation it must be brought before that body in tangible form as coming direct from the people, and state and municipal enactments seem to be the most feasible method of getting the subject started.

(1916, p. 272) Executive Council instructed to favorably consider these plans for housing of working people: Federal and state government should formulate constructive methods to encourage improved housing. Special attention should be given to taxation in order that land shall be forced into use and the burden of taxation be removed from home owners; municipalities should be relieved from all state restrictions that now prevent them undertaking adequate housing plans and engaging in other necessary enterprises. (p. 312) Congress and state legislatures urged to enact laws providing for erection of buildings in which the unemployed may find lodgings during the winter months and nourishing meals when employed.

Housing—In Wartime—(1917, p. 81) Another big problem upon which the Labor Committee of the National Council of Defense has been helpful is the housing problem resulting from congestion in centers where war production is being carried on and where the number of workers that have been gathered together far exceed the provisions for housing them. The Sub-Committee on Housing of the Committee on Labor investigated the situation existing in many localities. As a result of the investigation and the data secured it was shown that in places where work necessary for the continuation of the war was being carried on, there was already inadequate housing and such conditions that the necessary number of workers could not be secured because they could not find lodging. This situation was reported to the Advirsory Commission and the Council of National Defense. It was agreed by these two bodies that a commission be appointed upon which Labor was represented.

(1918, pp. 70-230) It became apparent that neither ships nor supplies for our boys in Europe could be adequately forthcoming without shelter for the workers and that there must be government financial aid in many instances as local capital had practically been exhausted in providing operating expenses where enormous contracts had been placed by the government.

Much has been said about slackers among the workers but very little about the exposure of those workers during rigorous weather which made it almost impossible for continuous labor. Little has been said about the long trips with inadequate transportation, to and from the workplaces. The revelations of conditions through the committee on Labor ultimately developed legislation under which the Shipping Board was authorized to use $50,000,000 of its appropriations for housing its employes, and the President of the United States to use $60,000,000; $10,000,000 for housing government emloyes in the District of Columbia, and $50,000,000 for housing munition workers. In each instance the plans outlined by the Committee on Labor were incorporated in the legislation. (p. 229) Convention protested against policy at Sqantum plant to discourage sufficient housing facilities and further condemned the building of unfit temporary houses, barracks or dormitories anywhere in the U. S. (p. 230) Endorsed steps taken to provide adequate housing conditions for shipyard employes and urged attention be given to the proper administration of the housing law so the benefits provided for shall be fully secured. Similar action was taken on the housing of war workers. (p. 278) Executive Council instructed to urge the government to paint and make sanitary all cantonments for the protection and health of the soldiers. Insisted that the established rate of wages be paid in the housing program of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation; that contracts should not be awarded to firms whose policies are in direct conflict with the pledges of the government.

Immigration—(1909, p. 34) Conference held to consider legislation for steamboat inspection service, work of the immigration division of information, problem of the unemployed, misleading information tending to encourage immigration and how the Nobel Peace Prize could be made most effective. (1891, pp. 15-50) The immigration question had become serious and the convention instructed the Executive Council to do everything in its power to secure legislation "restricting artificial, stimulated immigration and for the absolute prohibition of the landing of all contract and assisted immigration whether from Europe, Asia or the Canadian provinces to the end "the level of our civilization shall not be lowered." It declared: Resolved, "That we protest this attempt to shut out from our shores the poor of other races and nationalities is caused by the laws of necessity and self-protection consequent upon our existing industrial system, and we pledge ourselves and the American Federation of Labor to renewed efforts toward the abolition of the wage competitive system through the historical and scientific methods of the trades unions, and to so spread the redeeming gospel of short hours and higher wages that all lands shall bloom in beauty and plenty and all humanity be equal partakers of the commonwealth." Also: "The time was when the American people could declare the United States should be a haven for the oppressed of all nations and invite all who desired to seek a new home to come to our shores. At that time the industries of our country were entirely in their infancy, our lands were undeveloped, our resources greater than we ever knew. The people who came did so of their own volition, they cast their fortunes with those already here, harmonized and blended with them. Today, however, there is not an industry which is not overcrowded with working people who vainly plead for an opportunity to work. This is not only confined to the factories, workshops, mills, mines and stores; the same complaint can be heard arising from the farm lands, and all join in one mighty cry that relief must come. On the other hand we see artificial famines in some of the older countries caused by the vast holdings of the titled wealthy class. While the masses starve the tyrannical and effete monarchs bolster up their miserable dynasties by forcing immigration, whilst their willing tools furnish the means to aid them out of their respective countries; and as they cannot go to many other countries in Europe, and owing to the laxity of public spirit and a recognition of the dangers that threaten us, they are literally 'dumped' upon our shores. There are societies formed for that purpose which forward at least 10,000 immigrants a month, and again the ship companies by the wiles known to the cunning speculator improperly stimulate un-

necessary and unhealthy immigration. We view the immigration problem not from the mere selfish standpoint of our protection, but we are persuaded that it not only tends to destroy the independence, progress and advancment of our people, but also is an efficient means by which the effete institutions of some of the European countries are perpetuated and thus economical, political and social reforms postponed or avoided."

(1892, pp. 14-30) "There can be no question but unrestricted immigration is working a great injury to the people of our country. Organizations supposed to be beneficial and charitable in their nature and supposed philanthropists simply gather hordes of people, pack them in vessels worse than cattle, with no room or ventilation, where even the decencies of life can not be observed, and in that frightful condition thrust them upon our shores." (1894, p. 12) Congress should be informed of the large transient provincial immigration entering the U. S. and its effects on American labor should be investigated. (p. 47) Further restriction of immigration is unnecessary except in keeping out contract laborers, criminals other than political and those apt to become public charges.

(1895, p. 63) Believed apathy of labor officials was caused by inability to secure convictions under existing laws covering immigration. Law should be amended.

(1896, p. 81; 1897, pp. 23-88) Conventions declared in favor of a "reasonable measure of restriction on the lines of the educational test contained in the bill passed by the last Congress but vetoed by the President.

(1902, pp. 21-144; 1903, pp. 25-174-259) Re-endorsed educational test. (p. 160) Opposed wholesale immigration of foreign labor.

(1904, p. 170) Efforts must be made to prevent Mongolian competition.

(1905, p. 238) Declared for amendments to laws so as to exclude persons physically unfit, check the evil of assisted immigration, provide an educational test and provide ports of entry be confined to those on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans and Gulf of Mexico.

(1906, p. 28) Speaker of the House had manipulated a rule that prevented roll call and defeated the bill passed by the Senate. (p. 206) Reaffirmed demand for more adequate restrictive immigration laws.

(1907, pp. 39-207) During the past ten years these immigrants arrived: 1898, 229,299; 1899, 311,715; 1900, 448,572; 1901, 487,918; 1902, 648,743; 1903, 857,046; 1904, 812,870; 1905, 1,026,499; 1906, 1,100,735; 1907, 1,285,349; total, 7,208,746.

Surely, such portentous figures of a conglomerate people brought to our country by various devices must cause us to pause and reflect whether this influx can long continue with its apparent enormous increase without in a large measure tending to tear down, or to make it additionally difficult to maintain, the American standard of life, American aspirations for industrial and commercial progress and moral advancement as well as the perpetuation of the purity of our republic. We have, therefore, urged upon Congress the necessity for the regulation and restriction of immigration. One of labor's demands was enacted into law. That law prohibits making contracts for or with laborers in foreign countries to come to this country to perform work here, whether these contracts are written or implied. This law also prohibits advertising for workmen in foreign countries, and the allurement of workmen by promises or other devices to emigrate here. It also requires more air space per passenger over that required heretofore. Formerly 120 cubic feet of air space was allowed for each immigrant; the requirements now are 180 cubic feet per capita, and this accords with the most enlightened deductions of medical scientists. It will therefore take 50 per cent more ships than heretofore to bring to our shores the same number of people. This feature of the law goes into operation 1908. We urged that one of the most effective measures of regulation and restriction would be an educational test of a simple character. Congress at its last session passed an immigration law, in some respects an improvement over the old, omitting, however, some of the most effective features which would tend to decrease the immense numbers of immigrants. Notwithstanding our most persistent efforts, the educational test was defeated. A provision was enacted permitting agents of states to go to foreign countries and there induce workmen to come to the U. S. A commission made up of three members of the Senate, three from the House of Representatives and three citizens appointed by the President was created by the law for the purpose of making an investigation of the entire subject of immigration, the committee being authorized to visit foreign countries for that purpose. It is regrettable that some representative of labor, the interest more largely involved than any other in the subject matter for investigation, was not designated as a member of that commission. (p. 180) Executive Council instructed to devise ways and means of organizing immigrants who left their homes in Europe because of political unrest and religious persecutions. (p. 316) Refused to endorse increase of tax on immigrants to $50.

(1908, p. 166) The literacy test is the most practical means for restricting immigration of cheap labor, whose competition is so ruinous. (p. 171) After Italy had made an investigation of conditions of Italian emigrants to other countries it recommended they establish colonies away from the congested points.

(1909, p. 103) The entire subject of immigration is so important in all its bearings upon the welfare of our people, that it deserves our deepest consideration and concern, and we urge further investigation and study in order that the most practical results may follow. (p. 321) Favored fining heavily foreign steamships for bringing debarable immigrants to the U. S.

(1910, pp. 38-312) A "veritable flood of bills" were presented in Congress but failed of passage.

(1911, pp. 66-287) The Commission appointed by the Fifty-ninth Congress, February 29, 1907, to inquire into the general subject-matter of immigration, made its final report to Congress December 5, 1910. The Commission recommended several methods of restricting immigration, among which were: Exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language. Reduction of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years. Exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families. Limitation of the number of immigrants arriving

annually at any port. Material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival. Material increase of the head tax. The levying of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families. No more splendid endorsement of the far-sighted economic position taken on this great question by the A. F. of L. would be possible than these specific recommendations from the Immigration Commission, unless it could be the following addition to its recommendations by the Commission, in which it said: "All these methods (quoted above) would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in greater or less degree. A majority of the Commission favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration." Congress, however, failed to act.

(1913, p. 52) The bill before Congress for the better regulation and limitation of immigration to the U. S. was passed. It contained the recommendations of the A. F. of L. and Federal Immigration Commission. It provided for a literacy test and an increase in the head tax, with many administrative provisions for its enforcement. The bill was vetoed. (p. 304) Instructed Executive Council to communicate with the secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions as to the best method of checking the promotion of immigration to the U. S. (1914, pp. 84-363) Re-endorsed literacy test.

(1915, p. 107) A recent report from the Bureau of Education of the U. S. sets forth the fact that illiteracy is actually on the increase in the U. S., nineteen states reporting to the Bureau a regrettable increase in the number of citizens who are unable to read or write in any language or tongue. The figures submitted by the Commissioner of Education prove conclusively that this increase in illiteracy is due entirely to the influx of the uneducated, untrained people from foreign countries who are brought here because they are available for those tasks connected with the industrial operations in which "Scientific Shop Management" says that a docile gorilla can be trained to do this work better than a man. The American labor movement is not devoted in any of its manifestations or activities to any proposition having for its purpose the closing of the gates of opportunity to any man or woman, no matter what race or color, but in justice to the men and women of America who have developed by their industry and through their thrift, who have created from their intelligence and fostered by their genius institutions that properly should conserve the highest and dearest rights of mankind while securing a standard of living that is higher and productive of better results than any other known to the world's history, cannot complacently view, or quietly submit to the operation of any influence or the existence of any means the continuance of which would enevitably break down and eventually destroy the conditions of social life in America. We demand that those aliens, no matter from whence they come, be such as are properly qualified to participate in the responsibilities as well as the privileges of our civilization. So far as the literacy test is concerned the A. F. of L. is irrevocably pledged to that proposed means for preventing the bringing into this country of unfit immigrants. It is the least of all the qualifications that might reasonably be required. Ability to read is a qualification that should reasonably operate to protect the alien against the misrepresentations and false promises held out to them by the unscrupulous agents of conscienceless exploiters who seek among the submerged peoples of Europe victims for their greed. This is but one, though perhaps the greatest advantage that comes from insistence on the literacy test and is also the chief explanation for the strenuous opposition to the literacy test.

(1916, pp. 101-278) Progress was made in the immigration bill containing the literacy test, it having passed the House. Special endeavor made to have the literacy test included in the shipping bill, this amendment being offered: "No such vessel while employed solely as merchant vessels shall be required or permitted to transport for gain any alien immigrant to a port of the U. S. who can not read the English language or some other language or dialect including Hebrew or Yiddish. Any master of any such vessel carrying such an illiterate alien without charge or who violates this mandate shall be subject to a fine of not less than one hundred dollars ($100) for each offense or imprisonment for not less than three months, or both." (p. 294) Opposed an amendment by the Senate adding to the House provision that certain "restrictions against immigration shall not apply to persons convicted of or advocating the commission of offenses purely political" the words, "unless such offense is a felony."

(1917, pp. 106-386) Commended Executive Council for securing enactment of immigration law containing the literacy test for all persons over 16 years old. It provides for the reading of at least forty words in some language, dialect or tongue.

1918, p. 288) For further improving our naturalization laws they should require that all persons eligible to citizenship and who locate permanently in our land, become citizens of our country. Legislation of this character will discourage that class of immigrants, which has for its purpose the securing of advantages and benefits of our institutions and evade any of its responsibilities. It is our belief that those who come to our land, profit by our insittutions and indirectly assist in shaping the destinies of our people, should be required to assume the full obligation of citizenship in times of peace as well as in times of war.

Imperialism and Expansion—(1898, pp. 27-86) We cannot annex the Philippines without a large increase in our standing army. A large standing army is repugnant to republican institutions and a menace to the liberty of our own people. If we annex the Philippines, we shall have to conquer the Filipinos by the force of arms, and thereby deny to them what we claim for ourselves—the right of self-government. We shall surrender the present safe and independent position by which we are guaranteed the tranquillity and the fruits of peace, and force ourselves into European and Asiatic entanglements implying war and the preparation for war. We shall become a militant instead of a peace-loving nation. We shall seek to conquer by the force of arms instead of by our own industry, commerce and superior mentality and civilization. We shall be compelled to open the gates and admit the Chinese, Malays and slave laborers who may come from "our

new possessions,'' since the Constitution of the United States forbids the interdiction of the free entry of men and their products between our states and our territories. Our constitution requires the judges of our Federal courts to make their decisions general and applicable to all the states and territories; and the contracts for the specific enforcement of labor and the performance of personal service will necessarily have to be interpreted in the light of these laws, and may become generally applicable to the workers of the U. S. The decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Robertson vs. Baldwin, rendered last year, paves the way for a broader decision on these lines, and increases the peril. The demand for expansion of trade abroad is based upon the idea that we manufacture to a larger extent than we can consume, when there are so many of our people who are workless, ahungered and ragged. Expansion of trade abroad has for its basis the contraction of the stomachs of men, women and children at home. The policy of imperialism is a declaration that self-government has failed, and that the people cannot be trusted; that the dollar is of more consequence than man, and plutocracy and militarism nobler than humanity. The attempt to divert the attention of our people from the ills from which we suffer at home to foreign questions will fail. The principles of liberty and justice have been imbibed by our people too many years to permit them to be cheated out of their birthright. The institutions of our republic have taken root too deeply in the minds and hearts of our people to permit us to become a nation of conquerors, or to dominate by force of arms, a people struggling for liberty and independence. We do not oppose the development of our industry, the expansion of our commerce, or the power and influence which the U. S. may exert upon the destinies of the nations of the earth. On the contrary, we realize that the higher intelligence and standard of the life of the American workers will largely contribute towards attaining the highest pinnacle of industrial and commercial greatness; and these achievements in the paths of peace will glorify institutions or our republic, to which the grateful eyes and the yearning hearts of the people of the earth will turn for courage and inspiration to struggle onward and upward, so that the principles of human liberty and human justice may be implanted in their own lands. America, and particularly American institutions, are not only worthy of our love and veneration because they give us greater freedom than those of any other nation, but the institutions of the U. S. represent a principle—the great principle of self-ogvernment of the people, for the people, by the people—self-restraint as well as great power. This principle we shall only prove ourselves worthy of representing, and holding forth as an inspiration for the peoples of other nations to emulate and seek to establish by manifesting restraint upon ourselves or upon those who would thrust us out of our physical, moral, progressive and powerful sphere into the vortex of imperialism, with all the evils which that term implies—militarism, despotism and venality on the one hand; slavery, misery and despair on the other. ''The flag of our republic should float over a free people, and must never form a cloak to hide slavery, barbarism, despotism or tyranny. America, as we know it, with its blessings of peace and stability, must not be hazarded for a new era.'' The possessors of the wealth of our country enjoy liberty and freedom, no matter where they may be or wherever they may go. It has always been the hewers of wood and the carriers of water, the wealth producers, whose mission it has been not only to struggle for freedom but to be ever vigilant to maintain the liberty of freedom achieved. (p. 88) Protested against the ''new and far-reaching policy following the war with Spain of 'imperialism' or 'expansion,' which will seriously burden the wage workers of our country by thrusting upon us a large standing army and an aristocratic navy and threaten the perpetuation of our republic.'' Instructed Executive Council to use every honorable means to secure its defeat.

Inauguration Day—(1909, p. 249) Owing to climatic conditions around March 4 the date for inaugurating presidents should be changed to a more suitable time of year.

Income Tax—(1898, p. 82) Decision of the United States Supreme Court that the income tax law is unconstitutional is not in accord with the spirit of the constitution nor the wishes of the American people. We demand Congress enact a law providing for a gradual increase in tax with the income. (1906, p. 159) Reaffirmed.

Incorporation of Trade Unions—The first convention (1881, p. 3) declared in its platform that unions should have the right to protection of their property in like manner as that of all other persons and societies, and to secure that right ''we insist on state legislatures and Congress to enact laws for the incorporation of trade unions. In 1882 (p. 17, and 1883, p. 8) agitation for such a law was carried on, and in 1886 (p. 6) a federal act provided for incorporation of trades unions in the District of Columbia and territories. In 1902 (p. 13) this declaration was made: ''Recently the unfounded charge against organized labor has been repeated to the effect that trade unions violate agreements entered into with employers; and the uninformed, and particularly those antagonistic employers to organized labor, urge as a remedy for this imagined evil, the compulsory incorporation of the trade unions so that, as those referred to urge, 'the trade unions may be held legally responsible' for the faithful carrying out of agreements, and to be liable in damages in the event of their violation. On the surface this proposition seems fair; but when we bear in mind the fact that often judges have deep-seated prejudice against organizations of labor; that the far-fetched interpretation in the Taff-Vale case, where an organization of labor in Great Britain was mulcted in damages for the actions of an individual member, under the law passed by the British Parliament as a 'concession to labor,' and that the enunciation of judicial principles is mutually interpreted and held by the judiciary of all English-speaking countries, it is not difficult to divine the purpose that the advocates of compulsory incorporation of trade unions have in view. They would mulct or outlaw our unions, the organizations which are the factors in our modern life to work for human progress by natural, rational, peaceable and evolutionary means.'' (1904, pp. 32-171) ''We will not submit to this new snare for labor's despoilment. It is a pretext, not honestly offered, but distinctly for the pur-

pose of so mulcting the unions in damages as to prevent them from getting together the necessary funds for an effective resistance to any encroachment the Citizens' Alliance may choose to make at any time or place. (1912, p. 287) Any national or international union by establishing an office in Washington can incorporate, but the law applies only to the District of Columbia and the territories.

Independence Gold and Copper Mining Company of Utah—(1900, pp. 70-170) Wanted to merge into a co-operative concern, 80,000 shares to be subscribed by organized labor, 10,000 shares to be given the American Federation of Labor as an emergency fund, and 10,000 shares were offered to the President outright for administration expenses. Convention declared A. F. of L. should not lend its name to purely business concerns of this kind.

Individualistic Philosophy Shoved Aside—(1912, p. 12) With the progress of the ages has come a widening of men's thoughts and social vision, a new appreciation of the meaning of life with its attendant responsibilities and obligations. Among men and women of all walks of life has come this awakening; all manner of social solutions are urged; all kinds of associations for the promotion of special reforms have arisen. The accumulated momentum of all these activities has swept away the mental atmosphere generated by the old individualistic philosophy, made way for broader, more generous sympathies and impulses, and enlightened, scientific efforts to achieve the highest development industrially, politically, socially, and morally. In starting the forces that have led to these changes, our much misrepresented organized labor movement has wielded an influence previously little understood outside our ranks. As is just, we profit also by the changes we have created, for this wider social vision has enabled men to see the justice of our work and of our fundamental principles and purposes. Today we find innumerable organizations working independently, or willing to co-operate with us, to the end that workers shall be enabled to have better working conditions, a shorter working day and better wages, that our life may be wholesome, clean, and uplifting. All of these things are stepping stones by which the toilers climb upward and onward—each step revealing a wider horizon and an increasing conception of human possibilities.

Industrial Commission—(1898, pp. 24-111) The Industrial Commission appointed in 1898 to investigate the conditions of labor, agriculture and business had nineteen members—five Senators, five Representatives and nine citizens, none of whom were recommended by labor. A commission of such magnitude or opportunity as that of the Industrial Commission should have been composed largely of trade unionists, selected by the unions, and that the failure to so secure the men best fitted for the work is an offense wittingly or unwittingly committed against organized labor. Organized labor has for more than half a century repeatedly called for investigation into their condition. In the initial period of our movement in this country labor's call for light was ignored; the press and pulpit were silent. Men of leisure, education and opportunity sneered at labor demands, and it was not until the wage-workers organized that their call for an investigation was heeded. In 1865 a commission upon the hours of labor was appointed in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. This commission was composed of gentlemen of wealth and leisure, and but little good resulted from their work. The next year one of the commissioners appointed was a trade unionist—a ship carpenter and joiner; his minority report was productive of good. The call for more light was continued, and the establishment of the first Bureau of Statistics of Labor was accomplished in 1869, with two officers, one a gentleman of education and large experience as a manufacturer, and the other a trade unionist. Other states have followed, and now some eighteen states, and the United States government, have bureaus of this character. We call upon the Commission to take no hearsay evidence from those whose interests are adverse to those of the workers. To take no office nor counting-house evidence of the conditions of mill workers, miners, shop workers, sailors or other employes, but to see with eyes not filmed by prejudice and to hear with ears not sealed by preconceived opinion. In the name of humanity we ask that the miserable hovel of the miner, the reeking tenements of the sweaters, victims in our great cities, be exposed to view in their dark and loathsome colors. We ask that the nature and extent of the deplorable conditions of these victims of greed be brought to public notice. That the long hours, low wages and poverty of the workers in the textile industry in our Southern states be fully inquired into. That the systematic spoliation of the sailors be fully investigated, and that special attention be given to the conditions under which women and children are employed. That the truck and script systems now in vogue in some of the states be brought to the attention of Congress. That the Commission investigate as to the statements so often repeated and affirmed, that men and women are forbidden to organize; to withhold the sale of their labor or withdraw their patronage from unfair persons, firms and corporations, and to inquire of witnesses under oath as to the blacklisting of union men. We urge upon the Commission to give private hearings to such wage workers as will be victimized if they dare to testify openly. We call upon them to fully and faithfully investigate the conditions of labor in all parts of our country; that they give their opinions as to the necessity of repealing all laws that discriminate in any way against those who sell their labor, and especially those laws that have been or may be construed to interfered with the rights of the wage workers to organize, to strike, to boycott. Under the common law of Great Britain (made a part of the common law of this country), workmen or servants, as they were called, could and did receive pay for damages received in consequence of the neglect of the master. After the considerable congregation of labor in factories was accomplished, the masters, who were also magistrates, so interpreted the common law as to render it void. It then became necessary to enact laws for the protection of life and limb. We ask the Commission to investigate as to how far such laws have resulted in increased care for the protection of the employe. The A. F. of L. is conversant with the fact that the court of law must maintain their high prerogative, the power to enforce

the penalties adjudged to be due for crimes committed, and to properly maintain the dignity of the court and provide for the orderly conduct of those who come within the jurisdiction of the court room, but we are also sufficiently versed in the history of jurisprudence to know that the extension of the power of injunction beyond well established limits is fraught with great danger to the inalienable right of the citizen. Star chamber procedure in the interest of property and privilege by the annihilation of the rights of the citizen to a fair and impartial trial by a jury of his peers is anarchistic in the offensive meaning of that term, and must be checked, or the chaos and confusion consequent upon such judge-made law will react and inspire and justify the contempt of all such court procedures. The trade union movement seeks the emancipation of Labor, not by the light of the torch, but the light of education. Our army is the grand army of peace. Behind the march of the workers not devastated homes, not orphaned children, not a subject people, but in its path spring flowers of beauty, homes more comfortable, children happier and the people glad with the larger liberty secured for them and their fellows. Cheer the army in its movement onward to the goal of fraternity, equality and liberty. Feeling the full force of the possibilities of the Industrial Commission, and believing that every assistance should be given to all honest intended investigation and all honest investigators, the Executive Council shall, by correspondence and otherwise, seek to indicate to the Commission the direction of their investigation and inquiries, and that while so doing they enter their protest against any delay in the enactment of desired legislation or administrative action. We affirm that enough is now known to warrant the granting of all legislation demanded. We would wish to impress upon the industrial Commission the seriousness of the work they have attempted; to study not only existing conditions but to give due weight to the causes that in these, the closing years of the nineteenth century, find, on the one hand, the wealth producers of the republic struggling in poverty and want, and on the other hand, finds wealth aggregated to such colossal proportions as endanger the equilibrium of society. The dangers that threaten our civilization come not from the hard hand of labor, but rather from a system under which men are forced to sell their labor or starve. That such a system is repugnant, too, and in direct controversion to a republican form of government. That, in the words of Ira Steward, men who are compelled to "sell their labor or starve will sell their votes for the same reason." That when men have votes to sell, and other men have votes to buy, the franchise of the citizen is no longer a sovereign power. That when men are elected by purchased votes, then the star of the republic is in the descendant. Wages are the barometer of civilization; where they are highest, as an annual and sure income, there comes a larger measure of prosperity and peace. That high wages and the added leisure of the short work day will be but as an inspiration to organized labor to move further forward until the day of labor's emancipation shall witness the fulfillment of the prophecy of the prophet and the dream of the poet; when nations shall make war no more, and each man shall labor in his chosen field of activity, and no man shall call another master.

Industrialism—(1906, p. 13) There are some who would divide existing forces of organized labor under the pretense that the trade union movement does not expand its effort to cover all the workers of a given industry, who would dismember our trade unions of today under the delusive notion that all the workers in a given industry, regardless of trade or calling, could then be organized into what they are pleased to term an industrial union. They evidently imagine that the trade union movement was "made to order" in a mold, that it is a fixture. They are entirely oblivious of the fact that the trade union movement in its origin, growth, workings and development is, primarily and historically, the movement of the wage-workers, by the wage-workers, for the wage-workers; that its growth and expansion are apace with the growth and advancement of the wage-workers, and that the co-operation of the workers in a given industry and of all industry must come through a natural, orderly and well-defined course as a result of necessity and experience. The trade union movement sets no hard and fast lines for itself. It reckons with the workmen as they are, and not as it would wish them to be. It undertakes to deal with them and the problems confronting them so that they may make, as they are making, the trade union movement broader, more comprehensive and effective for their own good as well as for the common good of all. Our experience has demonstrated that drastic efforts to prematurely bring workmen of kindred trades into co-operation or amalgamation have aroused greater hostility and resentment and driven them farther apart. The policy pursued by our movement is to encourage the feelings of amity and fraternity among the men in the different organizations of labor of a given or a kindred industry, and to inaugurate an alliance so that in time an amalgamation may result in one comprehensive organization. The number of affiliated organizations under the titles of "International Unions" and "Amalgamated Associations" now in existence, in which the fullest development on this line has been established, is the best testimony of the wisdom and the practicability of the course and policy pursued by the trade union movement for which the American Federation of Labor stands. Recent doings of so-called "industrialists" present the other view. Who can hesitate in his choice?

Industrial Preparedness—(1917, p. 364) Convention declared for industrial preparedness in harmony with the standards of labor as recognized by the American Federation of Labor and the enactment of laws by Congress that will adequately protect all wage-earners of our country against the loss of employment through any industrial invasion on the part of the product of any of the other nations."

Industrial Unionism—(1903, p. 18) The attempt to force the trade unions into what has been termed industrial organization is perversive of the history of the labor movement, runs counter to the best conceptions of the toilers' interests now, and is sure to lead to the confusion which precedes dissolution and disruption. It is time for the American Federation of Labor to solemnly

call a halt. It is time for our fellow-unionists entrusted with the grave responsibilities to help stem the tide of expansion madness lest either by their indifference or encouragement their organizations will be drawn into the vortex that will engulf them to their possible dismemberment and destruction. There is virtue and a great meed of praise due in organizing our fellow-workers that they may defend and further their interests. No tribute too great can be paid those engaged in the past and in the present who have done and who are doing this splendid work; but virtue, merit, and tribute must be effaced unless we meet the conditions, aye, the awful calamity which is inevitable if trade union lines are not recognized and enforced—enforced not so much by an edict of this Federation, but by the common sense and power of the organizaitons themselves. The advocates of the so-called industrial system of labor organizations urge that an effective strike can only be conducted when all workmen, regardless of trade, calling, or occupation, are affected. That this is not borne out by the history of strikes in the whole labor movement is easily demonstrable. Though here and there such strikes have been temporarily successful, in the main they have been fraught with injury to all. The so-called industrial system of organization implies sympathetic strikes, and these time and experience have demonstrated, that as a general proposition they should be discarded, while strikes of particular trades or callings have had the largest number of successes and the minimum of defeats. Quite apart from these considerations, however, are the splendid advantages obtained by the trade unions without the necessity of strikes or the interruption of industry. No one will attempt to say that a sympathetic strike shall under no circumstances occur. Under certain conditions it may be not only justifiable but practical and successful, even if only as an emphatic protest against a great injustice or wrong; but generally and normally considered, such strikes can not be of advantage. One feature in connection with a system of industrial organization and its concomitant, the sympathetic strike, has been overlooked. By its methods any one of our international organizations could be financially drained and actually ruined in a very brief period in an effort to sustain the members involved: while, on the other hand, in a well-formulated trade union movement, a large number of men of different crafts, belonging to their own respective international trade unions, could be indefinitely sustained financially and victory achieved. At least the organizations maintained, not only to continue that battle, but to take up the cudgels in defense of their members elsewhere. The advocates of the industrial system of organization undertake to correct an error by the commission of a graver one, the failure of our international trade unions to primarily provide themselves with large funds to protect their own members and to assist their fellow-unionists of other trades when they are engaged in conflict. We should bear in mind that in our labor movement we are not building simply for the day in which we live; we are building for all time to come, if we but build wisely. The trade union movement is the historic development of the wage-earners' struggle for fairer conditions of life, for right, and for justice. That movement has stood the test of time. It has secured for the workers the vantage ground they now occupy. To strengthen that movement, yet keep it as near as possible to the lines upon which it has demonstrated its usefulness and capacity; to bring about a still closer federation among the distinctive organized international trade unions, to help bear each others burdens; to be helpful to each other in every vicissitude and effort for labor's disenthrallment; these will not only encourage the yet unorganized to unite with us, but more firmly cement the consciousness of solidarity and the bond of fraternity in the A. F.of L.; that each international union, that is, each wing in the grand army of labor, will itself feel more self-reliant, and all feel more greatly interdependent, the whole phalanx surely gaining day after day and year after year until we shall be invulnerable in peace, unconquerable in contest, indubitable in the fulfillment of our mission in the establishment of good will among men.

Because of the industrial unionism agitation applications were made by one or two organizations for the revocation of 30 charters which if granted would have brought many more of the same character, and the A. F. of L. would have been divided up into fragments contending in open warfare against each other instead of co-operating in an honest and intelligent effort to accomplish the best results.

(1914, p. 353) Refused to endorse the organization of labor by industries instead of crafts.

(1905, p. 22) A number of federal labor unions and laborers' unions, induced by misrepresentations of a few lacking the knowledge of the trade union movement, left the A. F. of L. several years before and organized what they termed an international laborers' union, with the avowed purpose of bringing into that organization all the laborers of the country, regardless of their occupation or the industry in which they were employed. How utterly absurd were their claim and position they then could not know. If their policy could have been brought to any degree of fruition, it would have all the sooner brought about its own destruction. It was a poor imitation of the old and now defunct "Knights of Labor." It would have prevented the organization, which we have accomplished, of a large number of international unions of the so-called unskilled trades and unskilled laborers. The idea entertained by its promoters was so-called industrialism, industrialism carried to its logical conclusion.

It has been the purpose of the A. F. of L. to encourage, first, organization of workmen into trade unions; second, to bring about international unions of such trades, crafts, and callings, and then to bring about co-operation and amalgamation of kindred trades. We could not grant a charter, or encourage the formation of an organization that would not only destroy itself, but others with it. Its claim to jurisdiction practically covered all callings. New officers of that organization recognized the mistake made in its early history and make-up, and expressed the desire for a common-sense organization, based upon the recognition of true trade union law, policy, and principles. It was frankly admitted that even in the institution of that "industrial" organization, industrialism, as understood both by the foun-

ders of that organization and as understood by some recent advocates, is fallacious, injurious, and reactionary. We entertain the hope that our fellow workers in that organization will under its new administrative officers work toward a closer unity with the trade union movement, the A. F. of L., and efforts to its complete fulfillment should be continued.

Inheritance Tax—(1906, p. 159; 1907, p. 336) Favored tax that would increase with the inheritance.

Initiation Fee, Only One—(1904, p. 221) Where a local union has been transferred from one jurisdiction to another its members who are in good standing should not be compelled to pay a new initiation fee.

Initiation Fees—(1915, p. 308) Refused to endorse a resolution instructing labor organizations not to charge a higher initiation fee than $10.

Initiative and Referendum—(1892, p. 45) The convention finds the principle of direct legislation, through the initiative and referendum, approved by the experience of Switzerland as a most valuable auxiliary in securing an extension of opportunities of the wage earning classes. As a nonpartisan reform of political methods it is our judgment its adoption by the United States would greatly facilitate the securing of desired legislation for social conditions. We give emphatic endorsement to these principles and urge agitation be inaugurated for their incorporation in the laws of the various states.

(1894, p. 46) Each affiliated organization urged to establish a standing committee on direct legislation to assist in the gradual introduction of the systematic practice to the extent feasible in state and local governments.

(1895, p. 81) Demanded the initiative and referendum should be adopted by the federal, state and municipal governments.

(1900, p. 75) The American Federation of Labor believes the voters of each state ought to have the power to submit constitutional amendments by petition to the referendum. That the right of people to change their constitution and enact laws, by petition and vote, is a clear, unquestionable and vital right. That the present monopoly of the law-making business by the legislatures of the various states is the source of all the forms of monopoly that oppress labor and rob the public. Therefore, the state branch of the A. F. of L. in each state is hereby instructed to petition the legislature for a change in the Constitution, providing for the submission to the people of constitutional amendments on petition of voters. And the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is instructed to ask for a like amendment to the Federal Constitution.

(1900, p. 88) Convention refused to endorse a plan to go into national politics with the initiative and referendum as the only demand, but reaffirmed its former declarations on the principles.

(1901, p. 28) One of the great ills from which the political morale of our country suffers is the party domination, which in turn is usually dominated by a political boss. We find our people arrayed in parties against each other, when, in truth, many find themselves in sympathy with measures for which the opposite party is the sponsor. Under the party system, which implies the party boss, that which is supposed to be the lesser of the two evils is chosen. To stand for measures and principles so that we as workers may have an opportunity of petitioning for favorable, or vetoing vicious, legislation, and each question or measure being determined upon its specific merits or demerits, are some of the causes upon which the A. F. of L. predicates its demand for direct legislation by the initiative and the referendum. During the year the people of Winetka, Ill., inaugurated a system by which they have secured the practical application of direct legislation without any change in the written constitution of the state or the local charter. In view of the successful experiment there, it has been deemed advisable to issue an address to the organized workers of the country, calling their attention to the methods employed at Winetka, and suggesting a like experiment in their respective municipalities. A copy of this address will be placed before the appropriate committee of this convention for such consideration and action as they may give it, so that after the same is properly digested it may be reported to the convention for final action.

(1901, pp. 28-187) Under the party system, which implies the party boss, that which is supposed to be the lesser of the two evils is chosen. To stand for measures and principles, so that we as workers may have an opportunity of petitioning for favorable, or vetoing vicious legislation, are some of the causes upon which the A. F. of L. predicates its demand for direct legislation by the initiative and referendum. Winetka plan of questioning candidates indorsed.

(1902, p. 225) Declared the need for an increase in the power of the voters to be obtained by the adoption of the initiative and referendum—that is by extending the veto power of the people so as to include not only the changes in the written constitution but all the lesser changes in the laws except the usual appropriation acts and measures immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health or safety. Nowhere in public life is there an official who is openly opposing the increase in the powers of the voters. To that end we demand a people's veto, the direct ballot to be called for by not to exceed 5 per cent of the voters and a direct initiative by not to exceed 8 per cent. Questioning of candidates is recommended.

(1903, p. 32) The secret ballot, an achievement of labor, is in line with our work, but the power of the party machine has developed, and to such an extent that the only practical way to re-establish the will of the people is for the people to extend their right to a direct vote on legislative questions—extend their veto power by means of the referendum, and establish a right to a direct initiative. This final power in the people in place of the party machine restores to the representatives a right to individual action, uninstructed, resulting in the passage of bills in the interest of the whole people. In short, representative government is restored and greatly improved. (p. 202) Called attention of state federations to the nonpartisan system whereby organized labor is securing the submission of constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum.

(1904, p. 31) There is no doubt that of

the ills of our governmental life not one is more prejudicial to the interests of the people than our present political partisan form of determining the people's judgment. Apart from the corruption incident thereto is the fact that political parties are guilty of larger or minor offenses against the interests of the people, or are more or less indifferent to their constantly growing need. The political party system deprives the people of the opportunity of manifesting their judgment upon great and important public questions. There can be no question but that there is an overwhelming sentiment among the people for an eight-hour day on work for the government; for the restriction or abolition of the abuse of the writ of injunction. There is a well-defined diversity of opinion of the policy of expansion or so-called "imperialism," of protection and free trade, as there was of gold and silver and other important questions too numerous to enumerate; yet the people have no alternative but to vote for one or the other of the parties, regardless of how distasteful many of the propositions in their platforms may be to them. The party successful at the polls takes for granted that not only its position but every proposition that it has put forth in its platform and every action that it has taken has received the endorsement of the people. As rational men we understand that it is impossible to remove all the ills or impediments at once from our national life and progress, and for that reason we apply ourselves to the natural and gradual process of elimination and construction. It is for this reason, therefore, that the convention of the A. F. of L. advocates the introduction of the initiative and the referendum, for its establishment will give the opportunity for the best intelligent expression of the people upon any definite, important question. (p. 173) Every voter is urged to agree with his fellow citizens that he will vote for such legislative candidates only as are pledged to the immediate establishment of the people's rule. Today, as in 1776, the establishment of political liberty is the dominant issue. Why should voters choose between rulers when they can at once become the sovereign power?

(1905, pp. 78-233) The nonpartisan movement for the establishment of the people's sovereignty through the right to a direct vote on public questions is making progress. During the past year this reform has become assured, in one seystem or another, in Texas, Montana, Nevada and Delaware, with success almost attained in Missouri, Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts and Maine, and with growing strength in the remaining states. Among the cities other than those in the states that have established the people's sovereignty, the following are reported to have secured initiative and referendum amendments to their city charters: Grand Rapids, Mich.; San Diego, Cal.; Fort Worth and San Antonio, Tex. In Houston, Tex., the council and mayor refused to vote for an initiative and referendum charter amendment, but were forced to do so in the next campaign. The systematic questioning of candidates did the work. At Memphis, Tenn., the optional referendum was established as to franchise ordinances. At Buffalo, N. Y., the advisory initiative has been established by the city council. Detroit, Mich.; Toronto, Canada; Chicago, Ill.; Winnetka, Ill., and other cities continue to use the advisory system, which is a stepping stone to a legally binding referendum system. Much of this progress in city and state has been due to the educational work of the A. F. of L. and of its affiliated organizations. Nationally, too, our program for more power in the people is advancing steadily. Twelve of the sixteen Congressmen of Missouri are pledged to the three measures on which they were questioned last year by organized labor, namely, the National Anti-Injunction bill, National Eight-hour bill and the Advisory Initiative and Advisory Referendum. Equally good results could doubtless have been attained in most of the other states had there been an equally zealous questioning of candidates. Experience demonstrates more and more the strength of the nonpartisan questioning of candidates. (p. 233) There are few questions before the public of greater importance to the wage earner than the initiative and referendum.

(1907, p. 337) Resolved, That we proclaim to the world that the epoch-making achievement of restoring self-government to the American people will not be due to any political party but to the nonpartisan movement, a leading part of which is the federated trades unions.

(1908, p. 35) Maine adopted a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum. In the present National House of Representatives 114 members are pledged to the establishment of the advisory initiative and referendum on national questions. These gains were made through the questioning of candidates and the leading factor in both state and national campaigns has been the A. F. of L. In Montana the state federation used the initiative to propose the direct election of U. S. Senators, a law to regulate injunctions and an employers' liability act.

(1911, p. 288) "We renew our adherence to the principles of the initiative, referendum and the recall. We realize that these principles, which we have long contended for, are now being very generally accepted and the last stand is being made upon the right of the recall of judges. We can not see the soundness of such a stand. Judges are like other men, good, bad and indifferent. The selection of any man as a judge dies not thereby change his character or make him infallible. It is not always possible to know in advance whether or not a person selected for a position is qualified to fill it, either mentally or morally, and whenever it becomes apparent that anyone who has been selected as a judge is incapable of meting out justice to all parties coming before him, the safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled." This declaration was reaffirmed by the 1912 convention ((pp. 40-345) as follows: "The last eleven words of this concise declaration of 1911 tell the concrete and exact truth, with the greatest possible dynamic force; they are worthy of repetition: 'The safety of society itself requires that he should be recalled.' This is a complete answer to all of the mythical tradition, glibly voiced by the 'elder statesmen,' those who would hurl the Constitution at every new thought and every proposition made in behalf of the welfare of the whole people. In their mental desperate straits to preserve inviolate the strong grip of 'vested interests'

and privilege, they bandy words and terms, in the effort to confuse the public mind by unwarrantably inveighing the Constitution against all economic, political, and legislative reform. That great English statesman, William Ewart Gladstone, is credited with saying that the Constitution of the U. S. is the greatest work ever written by the hand of man. The organized labor movement accepts this as a truism, but it suggests the thought that the Constitution, good as it is, and wonderfully comprehensive as its provisions are, was not expected nor intended by its authors to extend to the people of the U. S. for all time; neither was it ratified by the people of the several states after presentation to them as the last word in the progress of human government. Indeed that this is true is evidenced by the provisions in the Constitution itself by which that instrument can be changed. We say that for the safety of society itself, judges who are incapable of meting out justice should be recalled. This country, this government of ours in America, belongs to the people who for the time being live in it—while they are alive. We have had enough of government by dead men—dead issues—dead principles, and iron-clad restrictions. We must expand and progress; we can not stand still. We must have restored to the people the unrestricted power of changing their statutory or organic laws whenever they find the occasion and necessity warrant it, regardless of whether the 'elder statesmen' should term it the 'voice of clamor' or 'the voice of the mob.' As intelligent, aspiring American citizens, we resent such outrageous aspersions as are hurled at us when we urge humane social legislation, judicial restriction, and executive restraint. The safety of society impels us to seek for ourselves the safest and sanest way to preserve our institutions. This can best be done by expanding the power of the people through direct legislation by means of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. Men of America, we dare not halt! We must press forward or we will be driven back." (p. 345) We warn our members and the friends of the initiative and recall against so-called "safeguards and restrictions" calculated to destroy their usefulness. (p. 379) We favor embodying those principles in the federal Constitution.

(1913, pp. 68-394) A survey of the struggles in the various state legislatures and constitutional conventions conclusively prove the most dangerous enemy of direct legislation is the legislator or candidate who "favors the principle," but under "proper restrictions and safeguards." There are three direct limintations under the power of the people which should not be permitted. They are: (1) Restricting the scope of the initiative to statute laws and denying the people the right to propose or adopt an amendment to the Constitution. (2) Restricting control of public funds. To deny the right of the people to file a referendum petition against "appropriation" measures. (3) Restricting the number of questions. to place an arbitrary limit on the number which may be submitted to the people in any one election. Jokers: (1) To require an enormous number of signatures. (2) To require a distribution of petitions in a large number of counties or congressional districts. (3) To prohibit circulation of petitions for pay. Injunction—Amendments should specifically provide for speedy court decisions in case injunctions are filed against petitions, and those filing petitions should be forced to prove insufficiency or fraud. Nonsuspension joker—A referendum petition filed against a law passed by the legislature should suspend the law until voted upon by the people. The emergency joker—To permit time to secure referendum petitions legislative acts should not go into effect for ninety days. The majority joker—To require a too difficult or impossible majority for the enactment or rejection of a measure by the voters. Publicity joker—Failing to provide an adequate and efficient means of informing voters regarding measures submitted to them. "General principle" a fraud—It is frequently advocated, especially by constitutional lawyers, that a complete initiative and referendum amendment is too long to be placed in a state constitution. In Utah, for example, an amendment was adopted containing the "general principle," which permitted the people to exercise the initiative and referendum "under such conditions and in such manner and within such time as may be provided by law." For thirteen years the legislature refused to put the amendment into effect, although bills were introduced at every session. Idaho adopted the "general principle" feature and the legislature defeated a bill to carry it into effect. Texas in 1914 submitted an amendment providing for 20 per cent petitions and everything else left to the legislature. Every case has failed in which the legislatures have been given power over the initiative and referendum. (p. 71) Executive Council reported it had co-operated with a movement to organize the National Popular Government League, nonpartisan in character and composed of the active friends of popular government throughout the nation. Repeated the warning given in 1912 (pp. 40-35). (1914, p. 97) The warning given in 1912 and 1913 proved to have been necessary. In Arkansas, for example, the State Federation of Labor had successfully secured petitions for mining and bank guarantee bills, but they were enjoined by the mining and banking interests and the questions were kept off the ballots by court decisions. Proper laws would have prevented this defeat so costly to the men of labor. In Oklahoma the United Mine Workers secured referendum petitions upon a law passed by the legislature dangerous to their interests. It cost the United Mine Workers thousands of dollars to circularize the state and educate the voters upon the justice of their position. They defeated the law but had Oklahoma provided the Oregon pamphlet system of advertising measures and arguments thereon, this cost would have been saved. In Washington, after great expense and trouble, a joint committee of the State Federation of Labor, the State Farmers' Union, the State Grange, and the Direct Legislation League initiated seven important laws known as "The Seven Sisters." Three of these laws have been kept off the ballot through unjust court decisions and organized labor had to meet with defeat after a heavy expense of time and money to secure petitions and defend the lawsuits. These are but a few samples of what is going on and should be sufficient to arouse our membership and the people generally to the necessity of exercising the greatest care in securing effective laws and amendments providing for direct legislation. It is difficult, after years of agitation, to reject at the

hands of a state legislature initiative and referendum amendment provisions which while not perfect, seem to grant something and to be an advance. It is natural to feel that it will be wise to compromise and take what you can get with the hope of improving the provisions later. But costly experience has taught us that it is far wiser to reject imperfect proposals and to fight on until we can secure direct legislation in a form which the people can use. It must be remembered that an amendment to a state constitution is a vastly different thing from a statute law, which can be amended from year to year. In 1913 the Iowa legislature submitted a worthless initiative and referendum amendment. It must be passed again in 1915 before going to the people. The greatest objection perhaps is that it gives the legislature power of 60 per cent on petitions; for the initiative anywhere between 12 per cent and 22 per cent; for the referendum anywhere between 10 per cent and 20 per cent. These percentages must be secured in each of the congressional districts. Iowa has over 500,000 voters. It is an agricultural state and has no large cities. Clearly then if the legislature should do the best it could and place the initiative at 12 per cent, and the referendum at 10 per cent, it would be impossible to secure a petition except with an enormous expense of time, labor, and money, which neither labor organizations nor farmers' organizations could endure. Further, any constitutional amendments proposed by the initiative, if such a thing could be possible under these conditions, would have to be passed by a vote of the people at two successive elections, so that it would take from three to five years to have the constitution amended. These are but two of the major "jokers."

(1915, p. 111) We note a disposition by corporation interests and political partisans in some states, notably Washington, to undo and offset the progress accomplished. They see in the initiative and referendum an agency hostile to their privileges, their schemes and the stranglehold they have heretofore held.

(1917, pp. 104-411) Despite the distractions of war the cause of popular government goes forward. Twenty-one states, aggregating one-third of the voting population of the U. S., now have the initiative and referendum in some form in their constitutions. It is a satisfaction to remember that the A. F. of L., in 1892, was the first national organization to endorse this great reform, now accepted by all progressive statesmen, the present President of the U. S. being its most distinguished champion. Organized labor has taken a conspicuous part in the struggle to establish the initiative, referendum and recall. It has been and still is bitterly contested by the forces of reaction. That there are still some opponents of progress who are active is amply proven by the fact that even in this wartime three national organizations have been formed specifically to fight the progress of democratic government. These are the Sound Government League of the United States with headquarters at Chicago, the National Association of Constitutional Government and the National Citizens' Union, with offices at Washington, D. C. The avowed object of these is to fight against the establishment of "mere majority rule," through such instruments as the initiative, referendum and recall; to defeat the growing demand for easier methods of amending the federal constitution and to protect what they are pleased to call the "sacredness of the courts." The arbitrary power exercised by judges in passing on the constitutionality of an act of Congress is in conflict with the best thought and opinion of the delegates to the convention that drew up the Constitution of the U. S. Endorsed bill which automatically removed from office any judge attempting to pass on an act of Congress.

Injunctions—(1908, p. 80) Constant abuse of the injunction writ by the courts became so flagrant that a conference was called by the Executive Council of officers of national and international unions and farmers' organizations to take some action in protest. An address to Congress and another to the workers were adopted. That to Congress urged immediate relief, saying in part: "There is something ominous in the ironic manner in which the courts guarantee to workers: The 'right' to be maimed and killed without liability to the employers; the 'right' to be discharged for belonging to a union; the 'right' to work as many hours as employers please and under any conditions which they may impose. Labor is justly indignant at the bestowal or guaranteeing of these worthless and academic 'rights' by the courts, which in the same breath deny and forbid to the workers the practical and necessary protection of laws which define and safeguard their rights and liberties and the exercise of them individually or in association." That to the workers declared: "We have appealed to Congress for the necessary relief we deem essential to safeguard the interests and rights of the toilers. We now call upon the workers of our common country to stand faithfully by our friends, oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial. Each candidate should be questioned and pledged as to his attitude upon all subjects of importance to the toilers, whether in factory, farm, field, shop or mine. It rests with each of us to make the most earnest, impressive and law-abiding effort that lies within our power to restore these liberties and safeguard our rights for the future if we are to save the workers and mayhap even the nation itself from threatened disaster. This is not a time for idle fear. Let every man be up and doing. Action consistent, action persistent, action insistent is the watchword."

Injunctions and Judiciary—(1885, p. 15) Declared a Washington police judge should be removed from office for violent language toward labor unions in a suit against the right of unions to employ pickets during a strike.

(1891, p. 18) Condemned decision of a justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which said: "Inasmuch as the wage-workers do not own the product they can not have a label certifying the character of the labor employed in its production." (p. 24) Pledged aid to printers in testing constitutionality of Pennsylvania conspiratory laws.

(1892, p. 9) These charges were made: A judge became virtually the attorney for a giant corporation and a common prosecutor of striking workmen; he declared unions tyrannies, while the treasonable acts of the Carnegie Corporation in making war on the state was justifiable. Another judge said unions were rapidly getting under control of

men unacquainted with our tongue and antagonistic to our institutions. Child labor laws have been treated with contempt by the minor judiciary. "It is said 'the blood of martyrs was the seed of the church.'" It is possible that through the blood of the men who died on the Monongahela in July may come a realization of the true condition of affairs, and that the legislation of the future will be in favor of the masses rather than for the aggrandizement of the few. The true status of labor conditions in Pennsylvania were the comparative lack of organization and that wage earners had been owing allegiance to political parties first and to themselves as a class last. If the organized workmen were to hold in check the political powers of the state and make their rule "workers first, party last," then the legislature would make laws and judges construe them in the interest of the workingmen.

(1893, p. 14) Injunction against printers affirmed. (pp. 13-42) There appears to be a tendency on the part of courts and officers of the government to make all strikes, and particularly those on railroads, an offense against the laws of the country. Judge Ricks issued an order compelling railroad employes to continue at work and convicted and sent to prison an engineer who had not complied. An order by Judge Taft went even farther in its effect on the denial of the right to cease work to obtain fairer conditions of labor than did that of Judge Ricks. Such interpretation of the Interstate Commerce law is at variance with its plain intent. When it was under consideration an amendment covering the exact provisions contained in Judge Rick's order was defeated. These decisions, though based on the responsibilities imposed upon the common carrier, indicates a reckless disregard for the spirit and intent of the American Constitution, and undoubtedly an invasion of the laborers' rights to effectually protest against irksome conditions while they in no wise protect him against discharge for any whimsical reason advanced by the corporation.

(1894, p. 48) Executive Council directed to secure legal advice on limiting or regulating the penalties in contempt cases and if deemed advisable to secure laws to prevent interference of courts in strikes where no destruction of property or loss of life is caused by strikers. (p. 50) Protested against unjust decrees of Massachusetts courts in behalf of capitalistic enemies of labor.

(1896) p. 50) Demanded amendments to the U. S. Constitution depriving judges of the power to set aside laws enacted by Congress, "as we believe the proper function of courts is to expound and administer law but not to make it."

(1897, p. 23) Several bills were introduced in Congress dealing with the evils which have grown up in recent years by the issuance of writs of injunction in labor disputes, restraining officers and members of labor organizations from performing those lawful functions which have been recognized as within the rights of the workers. Of these bills, dealing with various phases of the subject, one passed the Senate providing for trial by jury in contempt proceedings for violation of the injunction. While the bill which passed the Senate, if enacted into law, would obviate a great wrong (namely, by providing for a trial by jury), yet it is deemed entirely inadequate and insufficient. We not only demand the right of trial by jury for any offense charged, but also that we, as workers and citizens, shall not be restrained in the exercise of our lawful and natural rights. Courts do not and can not issue injunctions restraining persons from committing crimes or misdemeanors and should not when there is another complete remedy at law. The police power is presumed to be a preventative, and, when that is insufficient, the arraignment at the bar of justice to answer for offenses is the means by which the State seeks its safety and the maintenance of its dignity. It is but just that the workers insist upon being regarded as equals before the law, and that in their activity to prevent infringement upon their rights, and their hopes and struggles to maintain their manhood, extra-judicial proceedings should not lie against them as is now the case by the use, or, more properly stated, abuse, of the powers of the courts in the issuance of writs of injunction. (p. 21) On behalf of the railroad companies a bill has been introduced amending the so-called "Anti-trust Law," designed to overcome the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring that agreements of traffic associations of a non-competitive nature are unlawful. Except in the instance named, the real effect of the present law has been to hold that the organizations of labor are unlawful combinations. No amendment to this law ought to pass, unless it contains an additional provision exempting organized labor, in direct terms, from the provisions, or the judicial constructions of the provisions of the law, holding that organized labor is amenable to the charge of being "in restraint of trade," or conspiracies. (p. 87) An extraordinary feature of this industrial struggle is the use made of writs of injunction. While writs of injunction have a legitimate and proper function we hold that when used to prevent free speech or public assemblage to discuss grievances, be they political or industrial, and to compel men to continue to labor for private individuals against their will they amount to judicial usurpation and are a flagrant infringement of the rights of the citizen, are wholly un-American and destructive of popular government. Any judge who will use his sacred position for such purposes should be promptly impeached and removed from office.

(1898, p. 23) We insist that the workers have the right to quit their employment, either singly or in unison, whenever the conditions of employment become irksome, or a change or improvement is desired; that when any representative of the workers engaged in a contest is directed by them to perform any duty for the furtherance of the purpose for which the cessation of work was inaugurated, that he shall have the right to perform that duty without judicial interference by injunction. If a representative of labor is guilty of a violation of law, he is amenable to that law, the same as any other citizen. The law knows no writ of injunction prohibiting any of its citizens from committing a breach of the law. If any wage-earner engaged in a dispute is guilty of an offense against the law, he may be brought to trial and punished as any other citizen. This the law recognizes as a complete remedy, and it is a firmly estab-

lished rule of law that a writ of injunction shall never lie when there is another complete remedy. We assert that what is legal for one man to do can not be made illegal when done by another without endangering the fundamental principles of justice and liberty. (pp. 107-129) We believe judges should stand in the same position as every other officer of the government, and every power and safeguard be exercised to protect the people against unjust encroachments from judges, as from all other officials, and that the power of impeachment should be used in all cases where courts have clearly violated the law and the constitutional rights of the people.

(1899, p. 148) Instructed president to seek legislation curbing the power of courts in issuing injunctions in labor disputes.

(1900, p. 24) A bill and an amendment to the constitution had been introduced in Congress. They are ostensibly to curb the power of trusts, but beyond question designed and framed to strike a blow at the organizations of labor. The trusts, against which this species of legislation was conceived, have successfully defended themselves, or averted its application. "From the time of the first organization of labor, the courts have stigmatized the trade unions as combinations in restraint of trade, and the dockets are filled with indictments, and the jails filled with men charged with conspiracy because they were members of trade unions; this, too, notwithstanding the fact that the trade unions are the most beneficent organizations the world has ever witnessed to promote the welfare of all the people. We protested against the passage of the constitutional amendment, for we discerned that there was the gravest possible danger to the workers, and to the people of our country. We insisted that if the anti-trust bill should pass, it should contain an amendment that would eliminate the possibility of any court's making victims of the toilers because they have sufficient intelligence and manhood to unite for their own and the common protection. An amendment to the so-called anti-trust bill was submitted as follows: "Provided that nothing in this act shall be construed as to apply to trade unions or other labor organizations instituted for the purpose of regulating wages, hours, or labor, and other conditions, under which labor is to be performed." The bill as amended passed the House, practically by unanimous vote; but when pressed for passage in the Senate, the bill, robbed of its sting against organized labor, was practically killed, at least for the session, by its reference to the Judiciary Committee, from which source no report was possible. Passage of the bill should be prevented unless the amendment excluding trade unions and labor organizations from its provisions and operations is retained. (p. 25) Two bills were introduced through officials of the A. F. of L. to limit the meaning of the term "conspiracy" and restraining orders and injunctions. It was insisted that the bill should contain provisions that an agreement between two or more persons to do, or to procure to be done, any act in furtherance of any trade dispute bteween workmen and their employers, should not be deemed criminal, or indictable, or punishable as a crime if such an act, when committed by any one person would not be punishable as a crime.

(1901, p. 21) Representatives of organized labor preferred the defeat of the "anti-injunction bill" in the shape in which it was before the House. While it did not become a law its defeat was an overwhelming rebuke to those who sought to engraft on the statutes of our country the legal authority for the monstrous injunctions which not only have been, but which would have been more wantonly issued had this iniquitous provision of the bill become a law. (p. 23) In judicial injunctions there are a great warning and a lesson to the workers of our country. Some years ago the Federal Congress passed a law for the incorporation of our trade unions. Beyond question, the advocates of that bill really believed they were doing the organized workers a real service; but at the time, and since, we have repeatedly warned our fellow-unionists to refrain from seeking the so-called protection of that law, which, in the cases referred to, justified the suspicion and conclusion that the courts would in time have declared our unions liable to be mulcted in damages and their funds confiscated—a repetition of the history of the robbery of the guilds a few centuries ago. It is the same species of legislation as the enactment of the law to regulate the interstate commerce law and the so-called anti-trust law, both of which were ostensibly enacted for the protection of the interests of the people, when, as a matter of fact, the only uses to which they have been put have been to furnish some pretense or excuse for the issuance of injunctions against organized workers engaged in disputes with their employers, and for the indictment and the possible imprisonment of men for the exercise of their natural and lawful rights. During the year several of the courts have still further extended the scope of injunctions, even going so far as to restrain workmen from "persuading," even by peaceable means, other workmen from taking employment in establishments in which a strike prevails. When the fact is borne in mind that there is neither constitutional nor statutory law under our Federal or State governments by which these injunctions are warranted, that they constitute an invasion by the judiciary of the legislative functions of the Congress and the legislatures, we are all the more reminded of the warning of the founders of our Republic that, unless the people are alert at all times and shall safeguard themselves, the judiciary will silently but steadily filch from us the rights we have acquired and which we assumed to be constitutionally guaranteed. (p. 159) In view of the extraordinary stretch of power assumed by the courts in issuing injunctions in labor disputes, we are firmly convinced that the future ability of the organized labor movement of our country to attain economic and social progress by the peaceful and lawful means we employ makes it essential that the Federal Congress shall enact at the earliest possible moment a law prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, that is, a law which shall prohibit the issuance of an order of a court denying to the workers the rights enjoyed by all other citizens. (p. 184) Of hostile legislation perhaps none is better known to workingmen than the insidious efforts made to tack on amendments to anti-injunction bills or to pass anti-trust bills or like legislation which by judicial interpretation is made applicable to the members of trade unions and the

trade unions themselves. Against this specious legislation we can not be too persistent in warning our members.

(1902, p. 144) The use of the injunction in labor disputes is becoming more and more general; its value to the employer, and its danger to the workmen, is becoming better and better understood. It is an effort to retain, through judicial decisions and orders, the power over the working people which has long been legislatively surrendered, and seems to have as its governing cause, the concept that the ownership of a mine, a factory, or a means of transportation carries with it the ownership of so much of the working power of the laboring class as will make such factory, mine, or means of transportation profitable to its owner. This concept has in it an idea of peonage which, if permitted to grow, will re-establish peonage in its most objectionable form. If through the use of the equity power, vested in the courts, our rights as workers to quit work at will, and to induce others to quit with us, can be taken away, then the peaceable evolution towards industrial democracy is cut off, and the workers will be compelled to look to more revolutionary measures for redress of existing grievances, and the obtaining of better conditions in the future. If we are permitted to withdraw our labor in unison from any establishment where we have grievances to be redressed, then the development may go on the lines of the development in England towards political democracy, through parliamentary control over taxation and appropriation. If it is to be taken away, then we might as well now realize that peaceable development will stop.

(1903, p. 24) There is not now upon the statute books of the Federal Government or of any of the state governments any law which authorizes or contemplates the issuance of writs of injunctions as they have been and are being issued in trade disputes between workmen and their employers.

(1904, pp. 28-171) Reaffirmed demand for anti-injunction legislation.

(1905, pp. 32-193) Injunctions always have been a prerogative of sovereignty, delegated at times, used direct at others. It came to us from England in the same way as our common law and the habeas corpus. (p. 193) Executive Council instructed to select an injunction pending in the courts and test its constitutionality.

(1906, pp. 21-178) In England it became necessary to prohibit the use of injunction except for the specific protection of property and property rights when such were in immediate danger and there was no other adequate remedy at law.

(1907, p. 317) It is the opinion of the A. F. of L. that our laws should be so amended that no Federal court of less jurisdiction than the Supreme Court of the United States shall have authority to declare any state or federal law unconstitutional, and that the Supreme Court shall not have power to declare such laws unconstitutional except by the unanimous vote of the court sitting en banc; and, further, that no state court of less jurisdiction than the Supreme Court of the state shall have power to declare any state law unconstitutional and that the Supreme Court of the state shall not exercise such power except by unanimous vote of the court.

(1907, pp. 34-206) Approval was given circulars appealing to all trade unionists to safeguard their interests in an effort to pledge candidates for public office to express themselves fully as to their attitude upon the subject of the injunction abuse and their attitude toward bona-fide relief from that species of gross injustice.

(1908, p. 18) In injunction cases the burden of proof is shifted from the prosecution or plaintiff, upon the shoulders of the accused or defendant. It is not necessary to prove his guilt. He must prove his innocence. And yet the acts which he is charged with doing may be in violation of no law, though they may be enjoined by a court's injunction. (p. 218) It is only by assuming business is property that the barest shadow of justification can be found for the acts of the judiciary in issuing injunctions. Business consists of a location, of stock, and patronage. Location and stock are property; patronage is not. Patronage rests upon nothing except the good will of the patron. There can be no business without patronage; hence, business can not be property. Courts used to be concerned, and justly so, with the preservation of property as such; not with the profitable or unprofitable use thereof. When courts shall have been compelled to retrace their steps back to this fundamental position, government by law and equal freedom will to this extent have been restored. (p. 27) If it is the intention of those who are hostile to the interests of the toilers of our country to take advantage of the trend of court decisions for the usurpation of the toilers' rights by the injunctions, let them proceed as they will without our assuming to do the impossible; that is, to be represented by competent legal counsel. If the situation is to become so acute, let us personally, as best we can, defend our rights before the courts, taking whatever consequences may ensue. We can see no remedy for these outrageous proceedings, unless there shall be a quickening of the conscience of our judges or the relief which the Congress of our country can and should afford. (p. 219) And we therefore declare that we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed us by the Constitution and laws of our country, and insist it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards, and we declare that such be our action, taking whatever results may come. We further declare that when cited to show cause why such injunctions should not be issued, we should make no defense which would entail any considerable cost, and when cited for contempt the proper policy is as outlined above. We further desire to warn our fellow unionists that testimony extorted under equity process may be partially used in a damage suit under the Sherman Anti-trust Law. However, when blanket injunctions are applied for or issued by the courts against the members of unions for no other reason except that they are members of the unions, and these injunctions are applied for or issued solely for the purpose of intimidating the members, we believe that such legal advice and protection as may be necessary should be provided for them by the organizations in interest.

(1909, pp. 22-25-311) Injunctions in labor disputes are innovations in our modern jurisprudence. The original purposes for which injunctions were issued was to restrain parties to any dispute about the title

or damages to property from interfering with this property in question, until the courts had determined the property rights involved. These restraining orders were made returnable at the next term of court, or at the session of court where the cases were to be heard and determined, and consequently were never permanent, expiring by their own limitations when the court had convened to determine the questions at issue. That they are clearly intended to protect property rights and property rights only, is demonstrated by the fact that the courts invariably insist upon a bond being furnished by the parties suing out the writ to indemnify the parties enjoined for any loss that may accrue to them by virtue of the writ having been issued. When such an order of court has been violated it is not a difficult matter for the court to determine the actual damages, if any, that have been sustained through the issuance of the injunction, thereby protecting the restrained parties against any unwarranted invasion of their rights, but when the court issues an injunction in a labor dispute, restraining persons in controversy with employers from doing those things that they have a legal and moral right to do, and as a result of that injunction the contest is lost to the workers, there is no court on earth that can determine the damage that has been sustained by the persons enjoined, and, consequently they cannot recover from the bond. When the court arrogates to itself the power to issue injunctions never contemplated by the rules of equity, and in direct violation of constitutional and statutory law, and assumes the right to issue injunctions for the purpose of enforcing criminal law, it departs from the domain of property rights and invades that of personal rights in a manner for which there can be no excuse except that the court thereby becomes the sole judge of the law and the fact, and, if the parties enjoined are declared guilty of contempt, the extent of the punishment. All of which is in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land and the Anglo-Saxon concept of human liberty. The great charter of human liberty, the Magna Charta of Great Britain, the basis upon which British and American freedom rests, in Clause 39, declares: "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, disseized, or outlawed, or banished or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, save by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." The Bill of Rights enunciated by the British Parliament for the protection of the common people and signed by William and Mary upon their accession to the British throne as a condition upon which their title to a sovereignty would rest, declares: "1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, without consent of Parliament is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority as it hath been assumed, and exercised of late, is illegal." The Declaration of Independence declares: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and it further assigns as one of the causes for the separation from the mother country and the establishment of an independent government, "for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury." The Constitution of the United States which creates our judiciary gives to it whatever power it can possibly exercise and limits its jurisdictions, says:

First amendment—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the overnment for a redress of grievances.

Sixth amendment—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Ninth amendment—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Tenth amendment—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

Thirteenth amendment, Section 1—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

It must be apparent to even the most casual investigators that the courts of the United States hold the same relationship to the Government of our country that the courts of Great Britain held and now hold to the legal power. No one will contend that any judge in Great Britain, either at the time of the adoption of our Constitution, or since that time could have any greater power than that conferred by regal authority expressed by the Parliament and approved by the King. It naturally follows that our courts can have no greater power than that granted to them by the Constitution. When the Constitution granted to our judiciary jurisdiction in equity, it could not have conveyed any wider authority than that which existed in English jurisprudence at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and the quotations we have just cited from the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, absolutely deny the right of equity courts to infringe upon personal liberty or existing law. Our government is not only one of delegated powers, but also of reserve powers. The same instrument that created the judiciary and delegated powers to it, reserves all the powers that are not thus delegated to the various states and to the people. When, therefore, any court assumes to exercise powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, it invades the right specifically reserved by that document to the States and people; its action becomes void from lack of jurisdiction and should not be obeyed. Notwithstanding the constitutional limitations mentioned, modern injunctions

have taken three distinct lines, two of which are unconstitutional, arbitrary and unjust.

1. Injunctions are issued to protect property rights from irreparable injury where there is no remedy at law. That is the only province in which an injunction properly belongs.

2. Injunctions have unwarrantably been issued for the purpose of enforcing existing statutory and common law arbitrarily invading the jurisdiction of the legislatures and the law courts, thus wiping out of existence that protection against false accusations that free men have fought for and forced from the hands of autocratic kings and tyrannical governments and defended at the cost of their lives, from the days of Guthram the Dane to the present generation of man, the right of trial by jury. When the legislative branch of the government has specified the punishment for any violation of law, it has provided what, in its judgment, is an adequate remedy, and means of prevention, and having provided such remedy, no court has any right to step in over the head of the legislature and provide another remedy,

3. Modern American courts assume the right to issue injunctions interfering with the personal rights of man in exercising free speech, free press, peaceable assemblage, and in their personal relationship with each other. The rights of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage are specifically guaranteed by the Constitution. They are the fundamental safeguards of a free people which neither courts, kings nor cajolery should be permitted to destroy. The personal relationship between man and man comes clearly within the jurisdiction of the law courts and has no place in the courts of equity, unless upon the assumption by the courts that man is property, an assumption repugnant to the sense of right of all civilized communities and specifically forbidden by the XIII Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is under this class of injunctions that the courts have assumed jurisdiction in the now famous Buck's Stove and Range Company case.

In this case, the court, in violation of the expressed terms of the Constitution, enjoins the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage, in addition to proclaiming the false doctrine that patronage and good will in business is property. Business is divided into two elements. The first element, the stock in trade is property beyond question. The second element, patronage and good will, cannot by any stretch of the imagination, or by any method of reasoning or logic be considered the property of the man engaged in business. If it is property at all, it can only be the property of the man who has the patronage or the good will to give. We are pleased to note that upon an appeal to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, Chief Justice Shepard dissents from the decision of the majority of the court. The division of opinion of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in this case, together with the widely divergent opinions expressed by different federal courts in various parts of the country, making it practically impossible for even those that are learned in the law, not to mention the ordinary layman, to determine with any degree of accuracy the extent of the jurisdiction and powers of our courts in injunction cases, shows the imperative need that the Supreme Court should pass upon the entire subject matter involved. No better case has yet presented itself for that purpose than the Buck' Stove and Range case and the contempt proceedings growing out of it. We deem it incumbent upon us to emphasize the warning against the so-called "Life-Savers" injunction bills. Most of these bills concede a statutory right to the courts which they do not now possess—to issue injunctions in labor disputes, and then provide a trial by jury in contempt proceedings. Our contention is that when an injunction is issued a labor dispute, irreparable injury is done to the parties enjoined and to the cause of labor, which no court can compute and no bond can indemnify. The remedy lies in remanding the courts to their proper functions in law and equity. Until some change has been secured in the practices of the courts, either through Supreme Court decisions, or legislative enactment, every answer to a writ of injunction or a citation for contempt shall insist upon our constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assemblege and freedom from interference with our personal rights by the equity courts, and the denial of their authority to assume that anyone has a property right in man, his good will or his patronage.

(1911, p. 45) During the entire life of the Sixty-first Congress it was impossible to obtain any direct action on the bills amending the antitrust law for the limitation of the issuance of injunctions. (p. 281) For the first time in the history of the Supreme Court it has taken occasion to divide contempt into two elements, one remedial and the other criminal. As long as the practices of the courts caused them to use that form of punishment which the Supreme Court designates as criminal, that is imprisonment for contempt or a fine, going to the court, it would have been good policy to have declined to employ the services of counsel and to have defended our rights personally before the courts, taking whatever consequence might ensue. But with the suggestion made by the Supreme Court that punishment for contempt may be remedial in character that is, the court may impose threefold damages for the benefit of the person or corporation suing out the writ, it becomes clearly apparent that the funds of every labor organization in the country are at the mercy of the courts whenever an injunction is issued, and we might just as well spend these funds in defending them and our members as to allow the courts to take them in the form of damages. Members should therefore be defended whenever possible when they are cited to show cause why an injunction should not be issued or why they should not be punished for contempt. (p. 364) The crass ignorance of corporation lawyers and a hostile press is so rampant on the position and attitude of labor upon the abuse of the injunction process that we deem it a public service as plainly and concisely as possible to submit labor's attitude and contention. It will be seen that labor neither questions the integrity of nor desires to "shackle" the courts; that it stands for and insists upon absolute equality before the law—nothing more, nothing

less. We believe we have the right to demand that the press, however hostile, shall not wilfully misrepresent or misinterpret Labor's position. We ask a careful consideration of Labor's contention upon this all-important question of our time, and we challenge a discussion of the points here submitted. Labor insists that: The writ of injunction was intended to be exercised for the protection of property rights only. He who would seek its aid must come into court with clean hands. There must be no other adequate remedy at law. It must never be used to curtail personal rights. It must not be used ever in an effort to punish crime. It must not be used as a means to set aside trial by jury. Injunctions as issued against workmen are never used or issued against any other citizen of our country. It is an attempt to deprive citizens of our country, when these citizens are workmen, of the right of trial by jury. It is an effort to fasten an offense on them when they are innocent of any unlawful or illegal act. Is is an indirect assertion of a property right in men when these men are workmen engaged in a lawful effort to protect or advance their natural rights and interests. Injunctions as issued in trade disputes are to make outlaws of men when they are not even charged with doing things in violation of any law of State or nation. We protest against the discrimination of the courts against the laboring men of our country which deprives them of their constitutional guarantee of equality before the law. The injunctions which the courts issue against labor are supposed by them to be good enough law today, when there exists a dispute between workmen and their employers; but it is not good law—in fact, is not law at all—tomorrow or next day when no such labor dispute exists. The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes is not based upon law, but is a species of judicial legislation, judicial usurpation, in the interests of the money power against workmen innocent of any unlawful or criminal act. The doing of the lawful acts enjoined by the courts renders the workmen guilty of contempt of court, and punishable by fine or imprisonment or both. Labor protests against the issuance of injunctions in disputes between workmen and employers, when no such injunctions would be issued when no such dispute exists. Such injunctions have no warrant in law and are the result of judicial usurpation and judicial legislation rather than of Congressional legislation. In all things in which workmen are enjoined by the process of an injunction during labor disputes, if those acts are criminal or unlawful, there is now ample law and remedy covering them. From the logic of this there is no escape. No act is legally a crime unless there is a law designating it and specifying it to be a crime. No act is unlawful unless there be a law on the statute books designating and specifying it to be unlawful; hence it follows that no act is criminal or unlawful unless there is a law prohibiting its commission. It is agreed by all, friends and opponents alike, that the injunction process, beneficent in its inception and general practice, never should apply and legally can not be applied where there is another ample remedy at law. We assert that Labor asks no immunity for any of its men who may be guilty of any criminal or unlawful act. It insists upon the workers being regarded and treated as equals before the law with every other citizen; that if any act be committed by any one of our number, rendering him amenable to the law, he shall be prosecuted by the ordinary forms of law and by the due process of law, and that an injunction does not lawfully and properly apply and ought not to be issued in such cases. The injunction process as applied to men engaged in a dispute with employers includes the allegation of criminal or unlawful acts, as a mere pretext, so that the lawful and innocent acts in themselves may also be incorporated and covered by the blanket injunction. And the performance of the lawful and innocent acts in themselves despite the injunction renders them at once guilty of contempt of the court's order which is summarily punished by fine or imprisonment, or both. In itself the writ of injunction is of a highly important and beneficent character. Its aims and purposes are for the protection of property rights. It never was intended, and never should be invoked, for the purpose of depriving free men of their personal rights, the right of man's ownership of himself; the right of free locomotion, free assemblage, free association, free speech, free press; the freedom to do those things promotive of life, liberty and happiness, and which are not in contravention of the law of our land. We re-assert that we ask no immunity for ourselves or for any other man who may be guilty of any unlawful or criminal act; but we have a right to insist, and we do insist, that when a workman is charged with a crime or any unlawful conduct, he shall be accorded every right, be apprehended, charged, and tried by the same process of law as any other citizen of our country. With our position so often emphasized and so generally known, it is nothing less than wilful untruth and misrepresentation for any one to declare that it is our purpose to obtain any special privilege, particularly the undesirable and unenviable liberty of creating a privileged class of wrongdoers. When the real purposes and high aspirations of our movement and the legislation it seeks at the hands of the law-making power of our country shall be better understood by all our people, and the great uplifting work which we have already achieved shall find a better appreciation among those who now so unjustly attack and antagonize us, our opponents will be remembered for their ignoble work and course. The injunctions against which we protest are flagrantly and without warrant of law issued almost daily in some section of our country and are violative of the fundamental rights of man. When better understood, they will shock the conscience of our people, the spirit and genius of our republic. We shall exercise our every right, and in the meantime concentrate our efforts to secure the relief and the redress to which we are so justly entitled. Not only in our own interest, but in the interest of all the people of our country, for the preservation of real liberty, for the elimination of bitterness and class hatred, for the perpetuation of all that is best and truest, we can never rest until the last vestige of this injustice has been removed from our public life.

(1912, pp. 130-349) The Supreme Court of the United States appointed two justices thereof to make a thorough investigation of the rules of practice which obtained in the administration of the courts of equity in various countries with the view of the

application of the best of them to the rules in the United States. Rule 73 refers to preliminary injunctions and temporary restraining orders as follows: "No preliminary injunction shall be granted without notice to the opposite party. Nor shall any temporary restraining order be granted without notice to the opposite party, unless it shall clearly appear from specific facts, shown by affidavit or by the verified bill, that immediate and irreparable loss of damage will result to the applicant before the matter can be heard on notice. In case a temporary restraining order shall be granted without notice, in the contingency specified, the matter shall be made returnable at the earliest possible time, and in no event later than ten days from the date of the order, and shall take precedence of all matters, except older matters of the same character. When the matter comes up for haring the party who obtained the temporary restraining order shall proceed with his application for a preliminary injunction, and if he does not do so the court shall dissolve his temporary restraining order. Upon two days' notice to the party obtaining such temporary restraining order, the opposite party may appear and move the dissolution or modification of the order, and in that event the court or judge shall proceed to hear and determine the motion as expeditiously as the ends of justice may require. Every temporary restraining order shall be forthwith filed in the clerk's office."

Of course we appreciate the fact that Rule 73 as promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States is a correction of and a reform in the practice and the abuses of some of the judges sitting in courts of equity. And yet, in so far as the rights of the working people of our country are concerned, or more properly speaking, the wrongs which the working people of our country for the past several years have endured, Rule 73 fails in its most essential features. The equity courts have extended their field of jurisdiction to the regulation of personal rights and personal relations instead of confining their jurisdiction to the useful purpose for which they were created —the protection of property rights from immediate and irreparable injury. Rule 73 fails to take cognizance of or deal with this abuse of power by the equity courts.

(1915, p. 104) This model Antitrust Limitation Injunction Law was sent to all state and city federations with recommendations that efforts be made for its enactment:

"Be it enacted, etc.: Section 1. It shall not be unlawful for working men and women to organize themselves into, or carry on labor unions for the purpose of lessening the hours of labor or increasing the wages or bettering the condition of the members of such organizations; or carrying out their legitimate purposes as freely as they could do if acting singly.

"Section 2. No restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of this state, or any judge or judges thereof in any case involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

"Section 3. No restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment or from ceasing to perform any work or labor; or from recommending, advising or persuading others so to do; or from attending at any place where any person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information, or from persuading any such person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize any party to such dispute; or from recommending, advising, or persuading others so to do; or from paying or giving to or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by a single individual; nor shall any of the acts specified in this section be considered or held to be illegal or unlawful in any court of this state.

"Section 4. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and the right to enter into the relation of employer and employe or to change that relation; or to assume and create a new relation for employer and employe; or to perform and carry on business with any person in any place; or to do work and labor as an employe, shall be held and construed to be a personal, and not a property right. In all cases involving the violation of the contract of employment, either by the employe or employer, where no irreparable damage is about to be committed upon the property or property right of either, no injunction shall be granted, but the parties shall be left to their remedy at law.

"Section 5. No persons shall be indicted, prosecuted, or tried in any court of this state for entering into or carrying on any arrangement, agreement, or combination between themselves made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or increasing wages or bettering the condition of workingmen, or for any act done in pursuance thereof, unless such act is in itself forbidden by law if done by a single individual."

(1916, p. 69) The Supreme Court of Massachusetts declared unconstitutional the state law which was taken as a basis for the first model law drawn up by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to protect associations of wage-earners from the perverted application of anti-trust legislation, and from the abuse of the writ of injunction. The decision of the Massachusetts court has been heralded by the opponents of organized labor as a final refutation of the principles for which Labor has contended and as reason for repudiating all similar legislation. The plain purpose of the lawyers in the employ of the Antiboycott Association is to create the impression that the methods by which workers have sought protection and the maintenance of their rights will have to be abandoned. (p. 277) It is the sense of this convention that it seems to be the settled purpose of interests antagonistic to the freedom of men and women who labor to persuade and then use the judiciary to misconstrue constitutional guaranties, and

thereby nullify legislative enactments so as to leave but one remedy, and we, therefore, recommend that any injunctions dealing with the relationship of employer and employe, and based upon the dictum, "Labor Is Property," be wholly and absolutely treated as usurpation and disregarded, yet the consequences be what they may. Such a decision as that rendered by the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts has its roots in class interests; it is usurpation and tyranny. Freedom came to man because he believed that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God; as it came so it must be maintained. Kings could be and were disobeyed, and sometimes deposed. In cases of this kind judges must be disobeyed, and should be impeached.

(1917, p. 393) All workers and affiliated unions urged to spare no time or effort to secure the early enactment of laws hereafter denying our courts the opportunity of interfering with and restricting the constitutional guarantees of our people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and to again firmly establish the right to trial by jury and the presumption of innocence in all cases of law and equity.

(1918, p. 87) The District Court of Appeals reversed the finding of the lower court in the case of Hitchman Coal and Coke Company vs. United Mine Workers of America. In 1907 the company had inaugurated an anti-union policy and campaign. It secured an injunction from Federal Judge Dayton forbidding the organizers of the United Mine Workers from even asking employes of the company if they wished to become members of the union. The company then imposed upon all employes that each enter into a "contract" as a condition of employment not to become members of the United Mine Workers of America. This "contract" was the only condition under which miners could obtain employment, and it was offered them after they had been defeated in a strike for better conditions. The condition of these men who had contracted away their right to appeal to the only organization that could render them effective aid became worse and worse. The United Mine Workers responded to an appeal for help and attempted to assist the men in organizing. The work, of course, had to be done secretly. The company then brought suit in the United States District Court for the Northern District of West Virginia to enjoin the efforts of the organizers. Judge Dayton granted a restraining order which was later made a permanent injunction. An appeal was taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals, which court reversed the lower court in the following opinion:

"The growth and development of a common law occurred when property rights were recognized as paramount to personal rights. At that time there was little, if any, concert of action on the part of the laboring people owing to their helpless condition due in the main to their ignorance. Their dominion by the landowner and capitalist was absolute in most respects and as a result they were as helpless as those held in slavery before our great war. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that we have many decisions in the past at common law, as well as the enactment of statutory laws, by virtue of which it was almost a physical impossibility for those who earned their living by honest toil to accomplish, by organized effort, those things necessary to elevate them to a plane where they could assert those rights so essential to their welfare. The industrial development of the world within the last half century has been such as to render it necessary for the courts to take a broader and more comprehensive view than formerly of questions pertaining to the relation that capital sustains to labor. It is now recognized by all civilized countries that labor is the basis of all wealth and without which it is utterly impossible to accomplish anything in the industrial world, and such being the case, the laboring man is entitled to the fullest protection in the assertion of his right to demand adequate pay for any labor that he may perform. However, in this instance the plaintiff has adopted a policy by which only non-union men may be employed. If the plaintiff may, for the purpose of protecting its interests, adopt a policy by which only non-union men can secure employment in its mines, and such conduct be sanctioned by the law, by what process of reasoning can it be held that the defendants may not adopt the same method in order to protect their interests? If the plaintiff is to be protected in the use of such methods, and the defendants are to be restrained from using lawful methods for the purpose of successfully meeting the issues thus raised by the plaintiff, then, indeed, it may be truthfully said that capital receives greater protection at the hands of the court than those through whose efforts capital in the first place was created. But such is not the law. Surely we have not reached the point when capital, with its strong arm, may adopt a plan like this for protecting its interests, while, on the other hand, the laboring class are to be denied the protection of the law when they are attempting to assert rights that are just as important to their well-being as are the rights of those who have been more fortunate in accumulating wealth. 'He who seeks equity must do equity.' In other words, he must 'come into court with clean hands.' If the courts in this country should, by injunctive relief, protect the mine owner in the enjoyment of his property rights and restrain the laboring people from organizing their forces by declaring such organizations unlawful would not the mine owner then be in a position to control the situation so that he who has to toil for his daily bread would be placed in a position where, if he exists at all, he must do so at such wages and upon such terms as organized capital may see fit to dictate. This is an age of cooperation through organization. In fact, organization is the only means by which united effort can be secured in any plane of human endeavor. The doctor, dentist, school teachers, wholesale and retail manufacturers, bankers and manufacturers, and, in fact, every branch of industry in this country, are organizing for the purpose of the mutual protection of the respective parties interested. Such being the case, it is just as essential, and perhaps more important, that the laboring people should organize for their advancement and protection than it is for any of the vocations we have mentioned.

"In the first place, it should be understood once and for all that so long as capital employs legitimate means for the protection of property rights, it is to be secured the protection of the law, but this does not mean that capital may, by improper methods, form combinations for the purpose of pre-

venting labor from organizing for mutual protection. Likewise, it should be definitely understood that the laboring men have the right to use peaceable and lawful methods to unite their forces in order to improve their condition, as respects their ability to earn a decent living, give their children moral and intellectual training, and to secure the enactment of legislation requiring mine owners to adopt such methods as may be necessary to keep their mines in a sanitary condition, and above all, to adopt methods to minimize, as much as possible, the occurrence of the awful catastrophes by which so many human lives have been lost. The relative rights of the parties are entitled to equal consideration and we feel sure that when such controversy arises that it will be dealt with in the same spirit that actuated the courts in adjusting the difference between individuals wherein questions are involved affecting the ordinary transactions of life."

However, a stay was granted pending application to the Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari. The writ was granted March 13, 1916, and the case was argued before the Supreme Court. On December 10, 1917, the court rendered its decision, six justices concurring in the opinion of the court delivered by Justice Pitney. Justice Brandies wrote a dissenting opinion in which Justices Holmes and Clark concurred. The decision of the court did not sustain the District Court in declaring that the United Mine Workers of America and its branches constituted an illegal organization, which was a common law conspiracy in restraint of trade and also a conspiracy against the rights of non-union miners, but the Supreme Court did take the amazing position that an employer may require employes to enter into contracts foregoing constitutional right to membership in their trade organizations and then secure the assistance of courts in carrying out such an anti-union policy through an injunction restraining the only persons who could render assistance to these employes from taking any action for their protection. The majority opinion of the court states:

"If there be any practical distinction between organizing the miners and organizing the mine, it has no application to this case. Unionizing the miners is but a step in the process of unionizing the mine, followed by the latter almost as a matter of course. Plaintiff is as much entitled to prevent the first step as the second, as far as its own employes are concerned, and to be protected against irreparable injury resulting from either. Besides, the evidence shows, without any dispute, that defendants contemplated no halfway measures, but were bent on organizing the mine, the 'consent' of plaintiff to be procured through such a control of its employes as would render any further independent operation of the mine out of the question. That the plaintiff was acting within its lawful rights in employing its men only upon terms of continuing non-membership in the United Mine Workers of America is not open to question. The same liberty which enables men to form unions, and through the union to enter into agreements with employers willing to agree, entitles other men to remain independent of the union and other employers to agree with them to employ no man who owes any allegiance or obligation to the union. In the latter case, as in the former, the parties are entitled to be protected by the law in the enjoyment of the benefits of any lawful agreement they may make. This court repeatedly has held that the employer is as free to make non-membership in a union a condition of employment as the working man is free to join the union, and that this is a part of the constitutional rights of personal liberty and private property, not to be taken away even by legislation, unless through some proper exercise of the paramount police power. That the employment was 'at will,' and terminable by either party at any time, is of no consequence. The fact that the employment is at the will of the parties, respectively, does not make it one at the will of others. In short, plaintiff was and is entitled to the good will of its employes, precisely as a merchant is entitled to the good will of his customers, although they are under no obligation to continue to deal with him. The value of the relation lies in the reasonable probability that by properly treating its employes, and paying them fair wages, and avoiding reasonable grounds of complaint, it will be able to retain them in its employ, and to fill vacancies occurring from time to time by the employment of other men on the same terms. The pecuniary value of such reasonable probabilities is incalculably great, and is recognized by the law in a variety of relations. The right of action for persuading an employe to leave his employer is universally recognized—nowhere more clearly than in West Virginia—and it rests upon fundamental principles of general application, not upon the English statute of laborers. It is suggested as a ground of criticism that plaintiff endeavored to secure a closed non-union mine through individual agreements with its employes, as if this furnished some sort of excuse for the employment of coercive measures to secure a closed union shop through a collective agreement with the union. It is a sufficient answer, in law, to repeat that plaintiff had a legal and constitutional right to exclude union men from its employ. But it may be worth while to say, in addition: First, that there was no middle ground open to plaintiff; no option to have an 'open shop' employing union men and non-union men indifferently; it was the union that insisted upon closed-shop agreements, requiring even carpenters employed about a mine to be members of the union, and making the employment of any non-union man a ground for a strike; and, secondly, plaintiff was in the reasonable exercise of its rights in excluding all union men from its employ having learned, from a previous experience, that unless this were done union organizers might gain access to its mine in the guise of laborers."

A minority opinion said there was nothing in the character of the agreement which should make unlawful means used to attain it, which in other connections are recognized as lawful. January 14 the officers of the United Mine Workers of District No. 6 were cited to appear before the court to show cause why they should not be adjudged guilty of contempt. In April, on motion of the attorneys for the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company, the contempt proceedings instituted against the officers of the United Mine Workers were withdrawn. Although this action puts an end to the contempt pro-

ceedings against the officers of the United Mine Workers, still the decision of the Supreme Court on the Dayton injunction remains as a precedent. Under the principle upon which that opinion is based the right of labor organizations to perform their necessary and constructive functions has been seriously impaired. A practically identical case was decided by the Supreme Court at the same time that it handed down its decision upon the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company. In its opinion in this case (Eagle Glass and Manufacturing Company vs. Rowe) the court reaffirmed the reasoning in the Miners' case, dissolved the injunction and dismissed the case upon a technicality. Employers hostile to organized labor have lost no time in taking advantage of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company vs. United Mine Workers. (p. 280) Hostile employing interests will no doubt take advantage of this decision by requiring their employes to enter into contracts, as a condition for their employment, not to join or affiliate with the trade union movement. It is therefore necessary and essential that we clearly declare and define our attitude on this subject. We hold that the requirement as a condition of employment by any employer, that the workers shall not join a union, is a direct violation of the constitutional right to freedom of action, and places into the hands of the employing interests the sole power of determining the conditions of life of the overwhelming mass of our people. This requirement is therefore clearly and unmistakably in conflict with every principle and ideal of democracy. In our opinion, the same principles which impel governments to enact rules to prevent fraud—to protect those who observe the accepted moral code against those who disregard every moral principle, to protect the weak against the strong, demands enactment of laws to protect the workers against the power, influence and dominance of those in possession and control of the opportunities of employment. We affirm that contracts of employment entered into by force of hunger and distress, by suffering and denial of an opportunity to freedom of choice, are unilateral in character and accepted only by force of industrial duress, and therefore not binding either in law or morals. Relief from such decisions lies not only in legislation but in educating public opinion and in changing the personnel of the Judiciary so as to secure judges who not only understand economic problems, but who will respond to the necessities of our time in fully protecting the workers in the assertion of their right to a just reward for service given.

Injunction by Judge Anderson—(1914, p. 445) Executive Council directed to aid street railway employes of Fort Wayne in fighting injunction issued by Judge Anderson restraining them from exercising their constitutional liberty under the Clayton act of suspending work in order to protect their interests.

(1915, p. 278) After a hearing Judge Anderson sustained all contentions of the street railway employes, deciding the Federal Courts had no jurisdiction over the strike case.

Injunction Law in Alabama—(1902, p. 227) Condemned plan to enact an injunction law in Alabama to take from workingmen their constitutional rights and retard growth of organized labor.

Inspection Laws—(1881, p. 4) We demand strict laws for the inspection of mines, factories and workshops and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

Inspectors, Fireplace—(1893(p. 65) Favored appointment by municipal governments of fireplace inspectors; in interest of safety of tenants.

Insurance Against Unemployment—(1918, p. 116) Resolution providing for investigation into the advisability of establishing national insurance against unemployment came up for consideration in the House and was defeated.

Insurance Agents Refused Charter—(1902, pp. 58-210) Refused charter to insurance agents because union card carried by them induces families to insure for petty sums, which in the aggregate are large, and would defer the time when wage-earners will establish their own protective insurance features in the trade unions.

Insurance, Savings Bank—(1908, p. 177) Recommended Massachusetts savings bank and annuity system by which the wage-earner is enabled to get absolutely safe life and old age insurance at the lowest possible cost out of his monthly earnings.

Insurance, Social—(1908, p. 179) Indorsed principle of government insurance of a voluntary nature.

(1906, p. 160) Refused to indorse plan for compulsory life and other insurance.

(1910, p. 42) Commissioner of Insurance of South Carolina had notified the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America it must pay a license to do business in that state on the ground it was a fraternal organization. It must also show it admits one race only and each agent of the union who visits the state must register with the commissioner on penalty of $100 fine. Affiliated unions in all states urged to have discriminatory laws repealed.

(1913, p. 269) We are now, as heretofore, in favor of national and international unions paying strike, unemployment, old age, partial disability, sick and death and other benefits. Executive Council instructed to secure expert testimony and legal advice and report: The cost for each benefit, a skeleton law covering its application to all unions, the laws of other countries, cost of insurance by private companies and advisability of A. F. of L. establishing an insurance department to be run without profit and in which membership shall be voluntary.

(1914, pp. 66-361) These suggestions by the Executive Council were adopted: "In every local union of an international the initiation fees and dues should be uniform. The initiation fee should be low, the dues high enough to fulfill every usual obligation of the organization and to create a reserve fund to meet trade emergencies as well as extraordinary situations of health and life, such as epidemics. There should be but one strong general fund in the international union. Where circumstances permit, the funds should be held by the local unions subject to call of the international executive board, or the funds, under proper regulations and after local expenses have been met, should be sent to headquarters of internationals for safe investment in the name

of the international. In either event the funds should be in amount and in availability in a position properly to support the contentions of the membership with strike or lockout pay, as well as to provide for commendable incidental trade union benefits, and for the constructive interests or general development of the organization. The sums to be paid in the form of benefits, including insurance, should be well calculated and absolutely within the means of the organization to meet the obligations. It is better that the stipulated payments of benefits be small, with the opportunity of increasing them as experience shall warrant, than to place them at so high a figure as to make meeting obligations impossible, thus destroying not only the system of insurance but the confidence of the members in the organization itself. While a study of these systems is recommended, it is to be said also that international unions which are among the largest and most stable of those affiliated in our Federation maintain separate funds under various headings—'pensions,' 'mortuary,' and the like. Our American labor movement in itself furnishes models for the study and imitation of unions either not yet having insurance features or not having all the forms possible for them to develop.'' Workers are urged to be on their guard against the requirement of physical examinations as a condition of employment, as they are disguised methods of eliminating employes whose health has been impaired by the work. (p. 67) We indorse the advisability of an insurance department for the A. F. of L. to the extent of approving of a serious study of the first steps of organization and administration. It must be independent of other departments of the Federation with a federal or state charter. It should be under the control, probably, of a board of managers composed of members of the Executive Council. Insurance would be voluntary and extended only to members of unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. It should be inaugurated with straight life and then extended to other forms of benefits as experience warranted. Instead of aiming at profits the object would be to give the workers the highest security at the lowest possible rates. The chief argument against mutual insurance companies—the impossibility of recruiting ''new blood''—does not apply to trade unions, as their membership grows.

(1916, pp. 144-279) Persistent agitation during the year for compulsory social insurance laws originated with an organization that is neither responsible to the wage earners or representative of their desires. The proposed legislation was drawn without consultation with the wage earners and introduced in legislatures with professional representatives of social welfare as their sponsors. A joint resolution was presented in Congress to investigate compulsory social insurance without the advice of the responsible representatives of the wage earners of the country. The measures themselves and the people who present them represent the class of society that is very desirous of doing things for the workers and establishing institutions for them that will prevent them doing things for themselves and maintaining their own institutions. It is something not yet generally understood how essential it is for the labor movement of our country to maintain the fullest freedom of normal activities and free from supervision, censorship, direction and control of government agencies. We believe social insurance in all its phases should be given greater consideration and extension by the unions and preferentially by the national and international unions, as well as by local unions; and in any event, in so far as social insurance by the state and national governments is concerned, if established at all, it shall be voluntary and not compulsory. (pp. 145-278) After considering the matter and possible plans for the establishment of an insurance department by the A. F. of L. for its directly affiliated unions we declare it is impracticable and ill-advised. (p. 300) We declare against private insurance, or insurance for profit, as it may apply to industrial, social or health insurance. Regardless of the form the insurance may finally take, and declaring against compulsory insurance of any kind, we are unalterably opposed to private insurance companies for profit and they should be eliminated from any kind of industrial, social or health insurance.

(1918, p. 282) We believe that trade and occupational diseases should be considered in law as well as in fact an obligation on industry, and that those who contract for the employment of the workers should be required to provide compensation to those suffering by health impairment due to their employment. Executive Council directed to appoint a committee to make a thorough study of the subject.

''Intellectuals''—(1918, p. 285) Although we welcome the advice and the suggestions and the sympathetic support of any and all who are willing to give them to our men and women we decline to yield the leadership of our movement to those who do not work. We object to those who undertake to be the censor and mentor of the American labor movement.

Involuntary Servitude for Transportation Employes—(1894, p. 45) Condemned efforts to have the involuntary servitude features of the maritime laws extended to employes of the transportation companies, declaring: ''We will hold all advocates of this barbarous method of force and reactionary principle of legislation to the strictest accountability.''

Ireland—(1881, pp. 12-18) Adopted resolution of sympathy for Ireland and the oppressed of all other nations. (p. 21) A plan to appoint a committee of three each to represent America, the Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain and the Syndical Chamber of France, who were to proceed to Ireland to investigate the cause of discontent and then repair to France to publish results, was indorsed, but later fell through because all expected to participate failed to do so.

(1895, p. 49) The president, who had made an official visit to Ireland, reported: ''In our visit to Dublin we learned of an incident in the career of the Trades Council of that city, which is not only noteworthy for the consistency of the trades unionists, but is also a tribute to the recognition of the principle that the labor movement in its essence is a class struggle in the interests of humanity. The incident to which we refer occurred a few years ago when the feeling and excitement ran high among Irishmen, each allying himself with

the "Parnell" or "Anti-Parnell" wing of the Irish National movement. Each wing insisted that the Trades Council declare for its side of the bitter controversy. Despite the fact that every delegate was an ardent devotee to Ireland's cause, and an active disputant on the mooted question, the Trades Council, as a council, decided that it would remain neutral. As a result, we found the trades unionists in Dublin as near a unit in spirit and action, as we have in any city on our travels."

(1904, p. 102) Michael Davitt addressed the convention, saying: "From the bottom of my heart I wish you every success in this convention and victory in your aims and aspirations."

(1914, pp. 52-472) Congratulated Ireland on encouraging progress of home rule.

(1918, p. 336) "No people should be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live and we reaffirm our oftrepeated declaration in favor of the freest kind of home rule for Ireland and for all liberty-loving nations."

Irish Trade Union Congress—(1914, p. 472) This convention extends to the trade unionists, the organized working men and women of Ireland, greetings of fraternal good fellowship, good luck and best wishes, but any action granting official recognition of the Irish Trade Union Congress and labor party is deferred until the Executive Council obtains further and more definite information from the three parties at interest, namely, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the British Trades Union Congress, and the Irish Trade Union Congress.

Irrigation—(1901, p. 148) Irrigation of vast areas of vacant arid public lands in the West is a national function, not local or state, as they now belong to the government, and the proposed undertaking involves interstate relations. All of the public domain irrigated should be reserved for actual settlers of quarter sections or less under the Homestead act, the sole principle in obtaining title to be occupancy and use.

Japanese Labor Movement—(1916, p. 390) While recognizing the menace of unrestricted Asiatic immigration we note with extreme pleasure and satisfaction that the working people of Japan are organizing into unions and federated under the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan; that we bespeak for them and their movement all the success possible; that the Executive Council continue its friendly office in an effort to be helpful to the organization of the workers of Japan in every way possible by correspondence, and that it send a message of fraternal greeting, good will and best wishes for the success of the movement to organize more thoroughly and practically the wage-workers of Japan to bring light in their work and their lives.

(1917, pp. 65-454) Two fraternal delegates from Japan were extended the courtesies of the convention. They presented an invitation from the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan for the president of the A. F. of L. to visit that country. (p. 454) The convention declared: "The spirit of democracy which recently has been kindled in the minds and hearts of the people of all lands, should be nurtured in Japan. Perhaps the present is opportune. A fearless, insistent demand for democracy, self-government and the right to organize should be the slogan. The American Federation of Labor cannot depart from the principles that the destiny of the workers of each country lies primarily in their own hands. We express the hope that our fellow workers in Japan may now or in the near future obtain nothing less than a government with the right to organize a bona fide labor movement." The president felt his duties and obligations here made it inadvisable to journey to Japan at this time.

Judges Against Freedom—(1914, p. 98) The unwarrantable interference of courts in initiative and referendum matters is further proof of the historic fact that the judiciary, generally speaking, has almost inevitably stood as an obstacle against progress and freedom.

Judges Elected by the People—(1906, p. 158) We hereby express it as the sentiment of the convention of the A. F. of L. that all judges, including the federal judges, be elected by the people of their respective districts or states, and that no judge shall be elected for a longer term than four years, with the privilege of being re-elected.

Judges, Federal—(1909, p. 208) Executive Council authorized to make recommendations to the president of the United States respecting appointments of judges to be made by him.

Judges, Ignorance of—(1908, pp. 20-218) The lifelong environment of men may pervert their judgment, and that the environment of the respected gentlemen who even compose the justices of the Supreme Bench has been such that they have not been brought into practical and personal contact with industrial problems; that, on the contrary, their associations have largely been with business and financial men; that naturally a man absorbs most of his point of view from his environment; that it is, therefore, quite understandable that the justices of the Supreme Court should have little knowledge of modern industrial conditions, and less sympathy with the efforts of the wage-workers to adapt themselves to the marvelous revolution which has taken place in industry in the past quarter of a century.

Judges, Limit Tenure of—(1912, pp. 42-345) In connection with the subject of the usurpation of power and extension of jurisdiction, as well as twisted interpretations by the courts, of law enacted in the interests of the people, the tenure of office of judges is an important factor. That the courts should remain untrammeled in independent judgment and decision in litigation and cases coming before them, no right-thinking citizen will dispute, but that such judgment and decision should be more in accord with the needs as well as the safety of our people and our country is equally true. To accomplish this purpose the propositions of the recall of judges and the recall of decisions are receiving the consideration of our people. What I venture to suggest in addition is, that the judges of the courts created by acts of Congress (not the Supreme Court, which is created by the Constitution) shall have a time limit, say of four or six years for their terms, subject to reappointment by the President by and with the consent of the Senate. In the absence of the popular election of such judges

it would afford the opportunity for the President and Senate not to reappoint the judge whose term has expired who has proven by the course he has pursued that he is out of touch and out of sympathy with new legislation and the administration of the law, and yet whose conduct has not been of such a character as legally to warrant his impeachment or removal. It has too often been demonstrated in our country that judges appointed for life, due to their trend of mind and their environment, are filled with a concept of the old; without the knowledge of the modern industrial and social condition; without the concept of present-day understanding of liberty, equality, and of social justice; have nothing but contempt for these principles or for the rights of the people. It is true that judges who pervert the law, who act arbitrarily, who deny equal justice to our people, are not necessarily corrupt or inefficient, and the course they pursue may not have carried with it moral obloquy, malfeasance, or misfeasance. Impeachment proceedings carry with them all these and are therefore cumbersome and have proven unsatisfactory to attain the ends which the people aim to secure. The limitation of the terms of office, subject to reappointment or not, at the discretion of the President and the Senate, would be materially helpful in securing more general satisfaction and the accomplishment of just results.

Judicial Usurpation—(1910, p. 28) If the House of Representatives had exercised the power and the rights with which it was originally endowed, the men of labor would not have occasion to persistently protest against the application and abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes. Neither would they be confronted with the confusing interpretations of law which have emanated from our courts in the latter's attempts to link up a trade union with an industrial or commercial trust dealing in the products of labor. For ages before our Government was organized there had been an irrepressible conflict between two distinct forms of government—government of law and personal government, or government by discretion. In the long run civilization has always made progress toward government by law, not court-made law, but law formally enacted by representatives of the people (and at least in theory) with the people's approval. One of our chief grievances is the tendency of our modern American courts to get away from government by law—statutory law—law enacted by the peoplet hrough their duly accredited representatives—and to hark back to the old system of personal government, government by discretion, that discretion resting with men; good men, strong men, frail men—judges. To submit to such a reaction would be the extreme of folly; it would be equivalent to setting the hands of the clock backward. It would be an admission on our part that the struggle of the Revolutionary fathers was all in vain and that government by the people is a delusion. We can not, we dare not, permit this tremendous power to be in the hands of any one man or any few men, and we most assuredly must not permit one man, or a small proportion of men, to arrogate to themselves a discretion amounting to dominion over the lives and the liberties of the people. Yet when our courts issue unwarranted injunctions in labor disputes restraining men from persuading, from inducing, from congregating, from soliciting, from speaking, from printing, from performing the simplest acts clearly compatible with the inherent and inalienable rights of every citizen, or of a number of citizens, the courts have come to assume a power that the Constitution and the laws do not confer upon them, and indeed explicitly deny to them. Judges must have a substantial basis of concrete law upon which to base their decisions. The Congress must provide this basis; if it has been and still is unwilling or incapable, the people in their might and by the exercise of their constitutional rights must compel the remedy. The habit of countenancing courts in their invasion of the most sacred rights of man, and then allowing such invasion to be followed because of precedent, no people deserving freedom can long tolerate or, tolerating, can long retain their freedom. Congress must come to the rescue in an intelligent, courageous, progressive manner and reassert the personal rights of man and lay down definite laws from which the courts may not depart. The courts are made for the people, not the people for the courts. The Massachusetts constitution has contained this guarantee since 1780: "In the government of this Commonwealth the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; to the end that it may be a government of laws and not of men." That declaration contains the whole pith of genuine representative republican government. If the Congress and the courts and the executive had observed these first principles there would not now be any need of protest on this issue from the men of labor, who, by reason of their position in and relation to society, must of necessity be the defenders and standard bearers of true freedom.

Judicial Vacancies—(1909, p. 107) We recommend that organized labor take appropriate action looking toward the naming of citizens for filling vacancies by appointment that may occur in the Supreme Courts of the United States, Federal Courts throughout the Judicial Districts and Circuits in the United States, and for new courts that may be hereafter created.

Jurisdiction Disputes, Policy in—(1907, p. 299) Rejected: "In acting on jurisdiction disputes where bona fide labor organizations are involved only a conciliatory and advisory policy be pursued by the A. F. of L., and that final action on the question be left entirely in the hands of the contending unions; also, that, whether or not the contending parties agree, it shall in no way affect their eligibility for affiliation with this organization."

Jurisdiction Disputes, Year's Truce in—(1904, p. 158) Plan to declare a truce for a year in jurisdiction disputes, during which time each organization shall retain jurisdiction so far as it actually has been established and their members can choose to which they shall belong, was rejected.

Jurisdiction, Opposed Forcing—(1898, p. 127) Refused to indorse proposition requiring unions have work to do to give it to the union controlling the work on penalty

of revocation of charter at discretion of Executive Council.

Knights of Labor—There were 107 delegates to the first convention in 1881, 49 representing the K. of L. from Pittsburgh and vicinity. In 1882 (pp. 15-6) "local trade unions" was added to Article 4 to distinguish them from K. of L. assemblies. The suggestion was made that (p. 16) harmony should prevail, that the two grand bodies of organized mechanics should not so far forget themselves as to emulate the great religious denominations of the world, which, instead of harmonizing together were quarreling among themselves.

(1884, p. 17) Legislative Committee instructed to invite K. of L. to cooperate in the general eight hour movement.

(1885, p. 9) No answer was received to the request.

(1886, p. 8) While replies from the grand master workmen of the K. of L. are reported to be in a tone of fairness, the continued hostility of the K. of L. to trades unions leads us to believe it was a "promise to the ear broken to the hopes," or that its power for good was sadly overestimated by the delegates to the last convention of the Federation. (p. 10) A conference of representatives of trade unions was held in Columbus at this time and the Federation of Organized Trades of the United States and Canada adopted this resolution: "The Trades Union Conference has formed an organization known as the American Federation of Labor, with a constitution better protecting the interests of the trade unions. We have agreed that all moneys, papers and effects of the old Federation be turned over to the officers of the new organization and that all per capita tax due the old Federation be collected by the new Federation. The new Federation agrees to print and publish the proceedings and reports of this Federation in the official proceedings." The constitution of the A. F. of L. provided that only delegates from such trade and labor unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations were eligible to seats in the conventions. This eliminated the K. of L. After the first convention in 1881 the K. of L. was not represented, although the constitution made them eligible. (p. 14) Refused to admit delegate from K. of L. Not a trade union. (p. 16) The Standing Committee of the federation made a report of efforts to secure a treaty of peace with the K. of L. This provided that the K. of L. should not initiate any person or form an assembly of persons following any organized craft without the consent of the nearest national or international union affected; that no one should be admitted who worked for less than the regular scale fixed by the union of his craft or had been convicted of scabbing, ratting, embezzlement or any other offense against his union until exonerated; that the charter of any K. of L. Assembly of any trade having a national or international union shall be revoked; shall not interfere in strikes nor establish any trade mark or label in competition with any then in existence or thereafter issued. This was rejected by the general assembly of the K. of L. at Cleveland and later at its Richmond convention. (p. 17) A joint conference of representatives of the A. F. of L. and K. of L. was held while the convention was in progress but without result. (p. 19) Condemned K. of L. and called on all workmen to join unions of their respective crafts centralized under one head—the A. F. of L.

(1887, p. 26) The convention declared: The attitude of the K. of L. toward many of the trade unions connected with the A. F. of L. has been anything but friendly, and while its declarations of principles advocate assistance to trade unions its practices have been entirely foreign to them. While a conflict is not desirable we also believe that the power that attempts to exterminate the trade unions of the country should be met with unrelenting opposition, whether that power consists of millionaire employers or men who title themselves K. of L. The K. of L. during the past four years has persistently declared trades unions must go, but the absolute failure of that plan is seen in the demand of its members for trade charters. The K. of L. unites men of all trades into mixed assemblies. But dissension arises. The A. F. of L. grew rapidly because of the discontent against the K. of L., whose members had left it to become members of a union of their respective trades. Besides many were driven out of the K. of L. because of the great strikes of the previous year, as it had been customary to allow tens of thousands to strike, and after local funds were exhausted order strikers back to work on employers' terms. Another reason is a strong sentiment in favor of open organization, as the time has arrived for the workers of the country to demand the rights granted them by the laws and Constitution and to assert the rights of labor openly and fearlessly.

(1889, pp. 13) All conferences with K. of L. had proved fruitless. (p. 20) Conferences in future were estopped. (p. 36) An address was issued to the working people of America which said in part: "We seek no quarrel. We deprecate antagonism in the ranks of labor organizations. We cast no reflections on the honesty and sincerity of purpose of the rank and file of the order of K. of L. For years the officers of this organization have sought to establish amicable relations with that order even at a period when certain of its leaders were seeking the very life of the trade unions. Watever friction may have arisen in the past between the two organizations the cause must be looked for in the desire of the Federation. This Federation plants itself squarely on this position: 1. That the K. of L. shall discountenance and revoke the charters of all trade assemblies or districts within their order. 2. That in turn the A. F. of L. and affiliated trade unions will urge their members and encourage the working people to become members of mixed assemblies of the K. of L. We assert the natural right of the trade unions to occupy the trade union territory. When that right is conceded discord will end and organized labor be more closely united." (p. 38) A letter was read from the grand master workman in which he denied any delegate in the Atlanta convention of that order had said "no trade unionist should be allowed to be a member of the K. of L."

(1890, p. 35) Executive Council directed to protect the Brewery Workmen's Union No. 33 from annihilation by the K. of L.

(1891, p. 29) Denounced treacherous action of K. of L. in interfering with a legitimate union of garment workers in New

York. (p. 48) The following propositions were received from the K. of L.: "For the purpose of terminating the unfortunate and regrettable differences and disagreements which have at times arisen in various localities between assemblies of the K. of L. and unions of various trades, and between members of such assemblies and unions, and with a view of avoiding such differences and securing harmonious action in future the general assembly submits to the A. F. of L. and all other bodies who may become parties to the agreement, and declares the following propositions: 1. In future all K. of L. working in a trade or calling shall recognize and respect the working cards of all unions of the same trade or calling attached to or affiliated with the A. F. of L., or connected with any labor organizations who are parties to the agreement, when such unions and their members shall in like manner recognize and respect the working cards of such K. of L. 2. All labels the property of the federation or of any body attached to it, or of any of the labor organizations that are parties to the agreement shall be recognized and officially endorsed by the K. of L., and all K. of L. labels shall be recognized and officially endorsed by the Federation and the other parties to this agreement. 3. No person who is a suspended or expelled member of any union in affiliation with the Federation, or any other body a party to this agreement, or who is in arrears for dues or assessments or in any other way indebted to such union or organization, shall be admitted to membership in any assembly of the K. of L. without the consent of such union or organization in writing; and in like manner no person who has been expelled or suspended by an assembly of the K. of L., or who is indebted or in arrears for dues and assessments to such assembly, shall be admitted to membership in any union affiliated with the Federation or in any of the organizations that are parties to this agreement. 4. The provisions herein made shall be promulgated as soon as practicable and go into effect on and after January 1, 1892, and, Resolved, first, That no local or other assembly of the K. of L. shall form an alliance or affiliation with any body or organization that shall refuse to enter into an agreement as above with this order. Should the A. F. of L. at its coming annual session refuse to enter into the agreement as outlined above it shall be the duty of the general officers of the K. of L. to issue an address to the workingmen of America setting forth all the facts."

This answer was made by the A. F. of L.: "The records show much time and energy has been spent in efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of difficulties between the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. Since 1886 conferences have been held at intervals and the A. F. of L. has used every effort to end a useless and wasteful struggle. It has submitted propositions for settling all real or alleged differences, but these were at all times rejected by the K. of L. The trade union movement of America has neither time nor inclination to deviate from its mission by seeking quarrels with other organizations. Experience proves that the wage earner is the natural and proper guardian of his inherent rights. Hence the trade union becomes a necessary outgrowth of existing conditions in the industrial world. History justifies the trade union movement in its present form, and teaches that permanent industrial progress can only be achieved by organization on craft lines. It thus becomes imperative that the autonomy of the trade union be carefully guarded and defended. The A. F. of L. is organized to maintain and strengthen the prestige, authority and autonomy of its affiliated bodies. Any proposition from an organization conducted upon an entirely different plan must be carefully considered as to its bearings upon the component parts of the A. F. of L. Each organization attached to the A. F. of L. is guaranteed freedom from dictation or interference in managing its own affairs. Hence any agreement with another organization, even if satisfactory to the A. F. of L., can only come as a recommendation to its affiliated bodies. They are entirely free to adopt or reject it. As a proof of the independence and freedom of action obtaining among its affiliated bodies, the A. F. of L. never has denied their right to recognize such cards and labels as they may deem proper. Nor can it under any circumstances deviate from this policy of allowing self-government to its federated bodies. The platform of the K. of L. shows clearly that it never was intended to be other than an educational organization. Thus it can have no legitimate place in the field occupied by trade unions. Wishing, however, to bring an end to any cause for division or discord in the ranks of organized labor we submit the following basis for an amicable adjustment of differences between the A. F. of L. and the K. of L.: 1. That the K. of L. shall revoke and issue no more charters to mixed federal labor unions. 2. In return the A. F. of L. shall revoke and issue no more charters to mixed federal unions. 3. The A. F. of L. will recommend to affiliated unions that they urge their members to become members of mixed assemblies of K. of L. The acceptance of these conditions will necessarily obviate any conflict regarding the recognition of labels or the relations of expelled or suspended members."

(1892, pp. 17-31-32) Request of A. F. of L. officials for a conference to consider the two propositions was met with an answer that was "discourteous and insolent." All unions were urged to concentrate their efforts in defense of those attacked by the K. of L.

(1893, p. 54) Accepted an invitation called by the K. of L. of all national labor organizations.

(1894) pp. 57-59) Delegates to conference called by K. of L. reported the latter wanted the A. F. of L. to join with it in annual meeting to consider questions in the industrial and political world, one of them being endorsement of the People's Party. The convention declared: The A. F. of L. holds itself at all times in readiness to meet with sincere men in the reform movement, but it refuses to meet the K. of L. as at present constituted, and until that body recognizes the principle of trade autonomy and ceases to encourage dual authority in any one trade. Three delegates were appointed to the next conference of trade unions.

(1895, p. 82) Trouble in Brewery Workmen's Union declared caused by K. of L.

(1896, p. 70) Changed constitution to prevent central bodies admitting delegates from any organization owing allegiance to a body hostile to the A. F. of L.

(1897, p. 92) Charge made the K. of L.

was an organization "on paper only." From this time on little was heard of the K. of L. and it gradually disappeared as an organization.

Label Leagues—(1900, p. 72) Label leagues had increased in large numbers. American Federation of Labor had sent a woman organizer through the country. (p. 157) Endorsed Executive Council's action in fostering the women's label leagues. (p. 141) Endorsed the work of the Ladies' Label League, which sought to educate women and especially housewives to encourage the purchase of union labeled articles and sustain the boycott. (1905, p. 26) Recognizing the valuable aid of the wives, daughters, sisters, and friends of union men in being organized into auxiliary bodies and union label leagues in every city and town throughout the country, we should organize and aid and encourage these organizations to the fullest. Wherever such auxiliary bodies or women's label leagues have been formed they have proven of inestimable advantage in furthering the work of organization among wage-earners, and have materially contributed toward improvement in labor conditions.

Label, Union—(1881, p. 22) The first union labels endorsed were those of the Cigarmakers, International Union, White Cigarmakers' Union of California and the Cigarmakers' Assembly of Pittsburgh, all of which guaranteed clean, honest workmanship and discouraged illegitimate systems of manufacture by Chinese in California, prisoners in state prisons and by the filthy tenement house system in New York and Brooklyn.

(1882, p. 22) We will refrain and use our best efforts to influence all workingmen to refrain from smoking cigars or frequenting places where cigars are sold that do not bear the union label. (1885, p. 15) Label of the Canmakers' Mutual Protective Association endorsed.

(1886, p. 17) Voted hearty support of the Hatters' Union label. (p. 19) Urged all union men to buy bread with the union label. Endorsed blue label of the Cigarmakers' International Union as the only label in the trade. Pledged delegates to patronize union labeled articles and urged all members of local unions to do the same.

(1888, p. 29) Favored enactment of a federal law to protect union labels.

(1890, p. 34) Endorsed plan for a general union label for American Federation of Labor organizations, but not to supersede any in existence. (p. 46) Instructed officers to get up a union label for unions not having an international or national.

(1891, p. 18) Pennsylvania judge decided "that inasmuch as wage workers do not own the product made by them they can not have a label certifying the character of the labor employed in its production." If upheld would render nugatory all efforts to place a union label on products of union labor. All unions urged to get state laws legalizing labels and trade marks of unions. (p. 28) Called on Congress to enact a law placing trade union labels on the same legal standing as trade marks. Refused to endorse the yellow label of the shoemakers adopted at the convention held in Baltimore in 1887, but endorsed that of the Label Conference of Boot and Shoe Makers of America. (p. 29) Endorsed label of the United Garment Workers.

(1892, p. 44) Urged an amendment to the U. S. Constitution if Congress could not enact a law to protect labels.

(1893, p. 51) Executive Council instructed to run down and convict all using counterfeit labels. (p. 53) Also ordered to print cuts of labels for advertising purposes and to seek enforcement of laws against counterfeiting them. (p. 56) Recommended that unions having labels use that of the A. F. of L. in conjunction with their own.

(1894, p. 60) Again favored federal law to protect union labels and trade marks.

(1896, p. 42) Instructed Executive Council to furnish local unions with enameled tin signs of labels for advertising purposes. (p. 61) It is manifest from the legal opinions presented that at this time it is beyond the power of federal authorities to properly protect trade union labels, even though if under the dilatory rules we could secure that prompt attention from United States Courts so essential to success in such cases as involve the use of counterfeit label. (p. 72) Declared union labels "mainstay of trade unions" but deemed it inexpedient to charter local, state and district label leagues as all label trades are represented in the A. F. of. L.

(1897, p. 30) Union labels aid boycotts, which should clearly demonstrate that demanding the label is a potent force in boycotting. It is interesting to note the constantly increasing demand for union labeled products. Every union formed or educated to demand union labeled products is the best promoter of the principle of solidarity and the sentiment of fraternity among the workers. Since the publication in the American Federationist of the group of union labels a very large number of trade papers and labor papers follow the example. These have been splendid means of agitating and advertising the union label question. A number of clubs and associations, auxiliary to the labor movement, are being constantly formed, and are aiding in the general education of the people as to the economic, moral, and sanitary advantages resulting from encouragement and purchase of union labeled products. (pp. 39-76) Executive Council directed to confer with officers of unions having labels to consider this plan of union label publicity and agitation against unfair firms: Issuing large posters of the unfair list, the same to be suitable for posting in committee and meeting rooms where the members of unions congregate; issuing large posters containing the fac simile of the union labels of all unions affiliated; the same to be posted in all meeting rooms, etc.; issuing a small book containing a fac simile of all union labels, and explanation on what kind and part of goods the same are to be found; starting by circulars an agitation for the formation of Label Leagues in every city and village under the jurisdiction of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., said leagues to be connected with or part of the central body in the vicinity where said leagues are formed, said leagues to pay a per capita tax to sustain said bureau; putting in practice that oft-quoted phrase of an exchange of labels.

(1898, p. 21) President reported that matrices had been made of union labels and furnished to labor papers. "This system of agitation and advertisement has been productive of great good. Apart from this, we have encouraged the organization of the

union label leagues as auxiliaries to the local central bodies. Then again, sympathizers with our movement have been requested to form, and have formed, consumers' leagues and union label leagues, these more particularly of the wives and daughters of union members. Apart from this, too, men in sympathy with our movement have had printed bulletins upon cardboard, reproducing in their original colors all the union labels endorsed by the A. F. of L." (pp. 84-99) Government urged to buy union labeled goods. (pp. 108-129) Thanked labor press for advertising labels.

(1899, p. 10) The union label has been in more general demand than during any previous time since its introduction in the labor field as a guarantee that the article which it adorns was made under fair, union conditions. It has been our constant aim to encourage this growing sentiment among our fellow-workers and the public generally. We who have been in the movement for years and have watched its progress, know the splendid influence which the union label has had in encouraging better sanitary, material, and moral conditions among the workers. The union label has not only been the means of organizing large numbers of non-unionists, but better than all, it has stimulated and strengthened unity and fraernity among the organized workers of the different trades and callings. The demand for the union label upon the product of any other trade than that at which the member is employed, is in itself a manifestation as well as a recognition of the solidarity and the identity of the interests of labor. In demanding the union label, we do not necessarily antagonize the non-unionist or the unfriendly employer, other than by indirection, as we give our patronage and encouragement to those who are associated with us in the effort to benefit the entire working population; in other words, we give our practical support to our associates, and our friendship to our friends. The more faithful, intense, and persistent we shall be in the demand for union labeled goods, the greater will grow the fraternal sentiment, feeling, and interest which shall entwine the hearts of the workers in one grand brotherhood of labor. (p. 140) Instructed Executive Council to aid the Allied Printing Trades Councils of the U. S. to have their label placed on school books. (p. 161) Any product represented to be "union made" shall not be so considered unless it bears the label of the craft producing such commodity.

(1900, p. 29) There has been a constant increase in the demand for the product of union labor bearing labels of our affiliated organizations as well as of the A. F. of L. itself. Coincident with this increased demand for articles bearing the A. F. of L. union label has come the want for a union stamp, by reason of the fact that it has been deemed by employers as impracticable to use as a paper gummed label. A study of the question, together with correspondence with the officers of national unions having union stamps and brands, has not appreciably minimized the difficulty of the situation. Among the obstacles in the way may be enumerated the proper administration and control of the union stamp and union brand. In issuing the paper or linen labels to the unions, the absolute control and legal right to their exclusive issuance has been reserved to the A. F. of L. In granting the use of a union stamp by the A. F. of L., control is likely to be lost by reason of the fact that ours is a federation of trade unions, rather than one organization; the control of such stamp and its protection from either improper use or imitation and counterfeiting, would be greatly impaired; and the very purpose for which the A. F. of L. label is authorized and issued would likely be perverted. (p. 98) Resolution providing no delegate could have a seat in the convention unless all wearing apparel on his person bore the union label was defeated because of impracticability. But the end sought by the resolution is correct and the principle sound from a trade union standpoint, one that should apply not only to the delegates but to all wage-workers. (p. 99) We reaffirm the principle that union men should buy union made goods and the matter of fines is recommended to the different national unions, central bodies, state branches and federal unions.

(1901, p. 19) In issuing labels to local unions we insist that all the workers in the establishment shall be members of the union; that stipulated agreement as to wages shall be made; that the hours of labor in no case shall be above ten per day; that the labels shall be issued for one week's product at a time so as to avoid accumulation of labels; that the agreement shall be for a specific period; that disputes shall be adjusted, if possible, by conciliation, or submitted to arbitration where conciliation may fail; and that the conditions of the agreement shall be approved by the President of the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. discountenances the use of and will not approve or endorse a union label issued by any local union as such. Where local unions desire a label they should use that of the A. F. of L. The union label carries with it the badge of goods made under clean, sanitary and comparatively fair conditions to the workers. It is not violent, nor does it carry either threat or reproach. It appeals to the higher and better judgment, and not only assists honest toil, but aids fair-minded employers against the more rapacious and conscienceless of their competitors. Every union member should insist upon union labeled goods. The fair-minded public will soon then be glad to give our movement its moral assistance, particularly when so much good can be accomplished with so little effort. (p. 177) All members and friends of organized labor are warned not to place confidence in malicious statements by shoe dealers that union stamp shoes "cost more" or are "inferior in quality." Executive Council directed to introduce a bill in Congress protecting and legalizing union labels.

(1902, p. 148) In order to make the campaign for union labeled goods more effective at least fifteen minutes of all meetings of local or central bodies should be given to the discussion of the subject and the members should induce their wives, daughters and female relatives to join or organize women's union label leagues.

(1903, p. 22) Demands for union labeled goods largely increased in previous year. The increases in the number of organizations and the membership in existing unions have not only of themselves relatively increased the demand for union-labeled products, but these in turn have enabled us

to secure a larger ratio of friends and sympathizers with our movement among the general public, which in turn has given a greater impetus to the demand for products bearing the union labels. This has also been aided by more extensive and systematic methods of advertising the union labels by the organizations issuing them, and the general discussion of the subject in the labor press; 33,250 bulletins were issued containing the exact reproduction in original colors of all the union labels issued by affiliated international unions and endorsed by the A. F. of L., as well as the union label of the A. F. of L. itself. The hours of labor in any factory desiring the label were reduced to nine a day. In the suspended industry where the hours had been ten to fourteen they were reduced to eight to secure the label and fourteen Suspender Workers' Unions were organized as a result. (p. 22) In some cities well-meaning, philanthropic women organized consumers' leagues and issued a label simply because the sanitary conditions where the employes worked had been improved and without regard to wages, hours or other conditions. When a protest was made these leagues gave assurance their labels would be discontinued. (p. 118) Unions were urged to make arrangements with the labor press to systematically advertise their labels. (p. 175) Officers of A. F. of L. instructed to buy seals bearing label of the Iron Molders' Union of America. (p. 178) Cloth label recommended where possible instead of paper. (p. 203) Recommended that all unions amend their obligations to read: "And I do further solemnly promise on my word of honor that I will patronize only strictly union made goods and that I will use my best endeavors to get others to do the same, and that if I should become faithless to my obligation, may I then be expelled from the union."

(1904, p. 24) The union labels have been a source of great advantage to labor and to all the people. It is at once an assurance and a guarantee that the conditions under which an article is produced have been comparatively fairer and better; that the labor or children has not entered into its production; that convict, Chinese, sweat shop, or other inferior labor is no component part entering into the production of the article; that the sanitary conditions attending its production are of the highest order, thus affording the friends of our movement the opportunity to sympathize with its purposes, as well as giving our own constituent membership the opportunity of exercising their power of patronage, that they may give their material as well as their moral support and encouragement. (p. 154) All unions and central bodies urged to agitate for the formation of union label leagues.

(1905, p. 26) The issuance of a label by our unions is at once a declaration of our earnest desire to serve all our people best, and a guarantee that the article it adorns is the product of labor under the most sanitary and comparatively fairer conditions than otherwise obtained. It is an appeal to the sympathy and the co-operation of our fellows to be helpful in the work for material, moral, and social improvement of all our people. In no more tangible way can a sympathetic public render effective service to their brothers and sisters of toil than by demanding the union label. There is no duty which our fellow workers, and particularly our fellow unionists, should more cordially and consistenty adhere to than the demand for the union label and the union card. Because of the good it does and can do, because of its effectiveness as a potent factor in our life's work as individuals and in our organized capacity, we should, in our national conventions, international unions, state, central, and local bodies, propagate the work of creating a healthier and more general demand and insistence for the insignia of honest, sanitary, and fair conditions of labor, the union label. (p. 79) Millions of union labels and union stamps are issued monthly by our affiliated organizations. The A. F. of L. has issued several millions during the past year. There is no more effective assistance which our fellow unionists and friends can give our movement than by demanding the union label. Business men will sell and have on sale the articles that their patrons or prospective patrons desire. We should so use our patronage that business men may come to understand that it is to their advantage to always have fair goods—goods bearing the union label. During the year 10,000 Union Label Bulletins were issued, making 33,250 in all. (p. 166) A. F. of L. calls on all friends of this humane movement to demand the union label, the emblem of justice, on all articles purchased. (p. 231) All unions requested to set aside half an hour to discuss union labels and the formation of label leagues.

(1906, p. 67) Our affiliated unions are expending considerable money and energy in advertising and creating a demand for union labeled goods. We, for the A. F. of L., are encouraging this by all means within our power, by our union label bulletin, by our literature, by our organizers, by urging our fellow workers and friends, and great good is accomplished. The union label stands not only for higher wages, more reasonable hours of employment, but generally for the quality of the articles as well as the sanitary conditions under which such articles are produced. In the label trades it is the insignia which distinguishes the product of fair labor under comparatively fair conditions as against the unfair, sweat shop, convict labor product or even the product of young and innocent children. (p. 68) Thirty thousand copies of the Union Label Bulletin were distributed. (p. 223) Urged all central bodies to publish list of firms handling union labeled goods in book form, pocket size. (p. 254) Recommended that local unions form city label leagues of locals having international labels.

(1907, p. 46) Effective aid to our fellow-toilers can be rendered by union workmen and sympathizers with our cause, insisting on the union label. Its reward both to consumer and user is as great as to the producer. No service which we can render our fellows entails less effort and expense and brings larger results than the demand for the union label upon every article purchased. It is not too much that our movement asks of our fellow-unionists and friends that they give their loyal support to the demand not only for union labor products but union labeled products. The union label is the silent harbinger of better things to come.

(1908, p. 97) Owing to the recent court decisions all unions were urged to pay

greater attention to creating a demand for labeled goods. The publication of a Union Label Law Digest was ordered and all unions having labels were requested to contribute to defray the expense.

(1909, p. 90) A conference was held in Washington to consider the formation of a label department, which was accomplished, and devise means for the economic, effective and comprehensive distribution of products bearing union labels. (p. 257) General organizers instructed to report strength of union labeled products in localities visited by them. (p. 260) All internatoinal and national unions requested to add to their rituals and initiation ceremonies instructions to candidates of the necessity of buying union labeled goods, and that they also be added to the various constitutions.

(1910, p. 56) After the label department was organized a wider interest was shown than ever before. (p. 323) Officers instructed to prosecute any illegal use of the A. F. of L. label, and see that local unions receiving them shall safeguard them properly. Cloth labels should be used and stitched on neckties, suspenders and other merchandise where practicable. Labels should be issued at cost price. (p. 325) Officers directed to prosecute counterfeiters of the A. F. of L. label in New York City. Endorsed the plan of the Brooklyn Union Label Fair.

(1911, p. 131) Complaint made to the District Attorney of New York that the A. F. of L. label was being counterfeited and arrangements were made to prosecute those who undertake to secure contributions from business men and employers of labor in the name of organized labor and who counterfeit the union label. Several who fraudulently used the name of organized labor were sentenced to prison. (p. 206) A. F. of L. condemns union men and women who fail to purchase union made goods or to hire union labor if possible to obtain them.

(1912, pp. 331-396) Endorsed plan of Label Department, which provided for the most complete publicity for union labeled goods. (p. 250) Believed it inadvisable to urge on any one a hard and fast law regarding the wearing of union label apparel. (p. 262) That all unions print this on their stationery: "Remember the union label when purchasing any article." (p. 260) Officers instructed to secure data as to cost of maintaining union labels.

(1913, pp. 98-559) One of the questions that was discussed in the Label Department in connection with the union label was that of the best means of advertising and giving publicity to the union label. It was decided by the department that the most effective way to advertise the union label was through daily, weekly and monthly publications, in the form of newspapers or magazines, and there can be no question that this decision is a correct one, so far as most of the union labels are concerned, and that it is a most proper way to secure publicity. But advertising that will prove profitable on the label of one organization will not be so profitable in advertising the label of another organization. For example: The product of the members of the Cigarmakers' International Union is cigars, and a very large percentage of the cigars manufactured by the members of the Cigarmakers' Union are consumed by laboring people, and advertising that will appeal to the laboring man or be constantly before him during his working hours and at his home will be the most effective advertising that can be done. In this case, novelties that are used by himself or his family, match safes or lead pencils, which he carries in his pocket, bearing the label of the cigarmakers, are effective advertising, for the reason that they are always before him, and if he desires to purchase a cigar, naturally his mind reverts to the blue label, the advertising which he finds before him practically all the time. On the other hand, take the label of the International Typographical Union or the Allied Printing Trades Association; it is necessary to do publicity work and advertising that will appeal to an entirely different class of people. The bulk of the printing that is done is purchased by business men, and in order to secure the demand for the allied printing trades or printers' label that is desired, advertising must be done that will appeal to this business man, advertising that will be useful upon his desk, and that he will keep there at all times; or else advertise in a publication which the business man continually uses and carefully examines to find out the value of its advertising space. As a proposition referring to labels generally, too much advertising and publicity work can not be done, and the organization that continuously and properly keeps the idea of its label before the public will, in the end, secure the patronage of that public, and when this is done it can reap the full benefit that the label should be to its organizations, and in this manner secure for its members the full meed of benefit which they should have through connection with the organization. No union label is properly supported by the members of labor organizations. Every member of a labor organization should expend all of the money which he receives in wages or salaries, in amounts very much augmented because of the organization to which he belongs, for goods produced by members of labor organizations and bearing the union label. We recognize that if this policy were carried out by all members, it would only be a short time until no manufacturing business in this country could successfully continue except it carried on its work by union labor. We believe that in this manner the necessity for strikes could be entirely eliminated, for the reason that the manufacturers would realize that any reasonable and just demand of a labor union must be met in a fair and impartial manner and properly and promptly discussed, and where demands are made in this manner and discussed impassionately, as they should be, there is almost always opportunity for a settlement of the differences existing between the union on one hand and the manufacturer on the other, without the necessity for any drastic action.

(1914, p. 489) All affiliated unions urged to thoroughly explain to their members the power of the union label.

(1915, pp. 119-479) Under the new federal trade-mark law, the name and the label of a labor organization can be registered and thereby prevent any unauthorized person from using the same. Infringements upon the rights of the organizations that have registered their names and labels are punishable by damages equal to three times the amout of the damage actually sustained.

Any action growing out of such infringements comes under the jurisdiction of the federal courts when the label is used in interstate commerce. The registration can be secured at the cost of $35. We have had the title of the "American Federation of Labor" registered. This, of course, prevents any other organization from making use of that name and also gives the greatest possible protection to the labels which bear the name of the A. F. of L. It is recommended that all affiliated nationals and internationals secure the registration of their names and labels. It is a protection that is well worth the trouble and the slight expense.

(1916, p. 36) National and international unions again urged to register their labels and titles. (p. 393) Officers directed to communicate with unions and employers using the union label to ascertain their willingness to finance pro rata a traveling exhibit of union made articles. (p. 394) Directed that number of local union be printed on A. F. of L. label in red ink to eliminate counterfeiting.

(1917, pp. 145-146-431) Executive Council instructed to issue instructions to all organizers to aid the work of popularizing the union label.

(1918, p. 271) No paper labels should be issued where cloth can be attached by sewing. (p. 272) Despite the war there has been an increased demand for goods made and distributed under union conditions since our last convention, and we cannot too strongly impress upon our fellow-workers the need of a continual and persistent demand for union made goods. Union labor is morally bound to support union labor, and one of the most practical ways to do this is to spend money earned under union conditions only for commodities made and distributed under union conditions. Be consistent and practice what you preach.

Label, Universal Union—1887, p. 28) Convention refused to endorse a universal label, declaring that as a voluntary organization it did not have the power to adopt it for affiliated unions even if it were deemed practicable. (1896, p. 79) Reaffirmed.

(1898, p. 129) Made subject for discussion the following year.

(1899, p. 163) Executive Council empowered to employ legal counsel to investigate what legislation is necessary to maintain and preserve the integrity of a uniform label design.

(1900, p. 29) For several years past there has been an agitation for all affiliated unions to surrender the use by them of any union label of the trade or craft, and the adoption by the American Federation of Labor of a universal union label. The question of practicability has been discussed at previous conventions, and finally the legal status and its effective protection became a subject of contention. A legal opinion was requested from a competent attorney, and one in entire sympathy with our movement and our cause, and who associated with himself some of the best legal talent. The opinion rendered is published in the current issue of the American Federationist, and from a perusal of it it will be observed that such a universal label could have legal control, protection, provided the affiliated unions now having labels, would refrain from using any particular label for its organization, and that all would concede that the A. F. of L. was one organization for the purpose of authorizing it to issue, protect, and defend a universal label. The issuance of a universal label, without its legal protection, would be fruitless; and there should be hesitancy on our part to surrender the identtiy and autonomy of each affiliated national union, and thus transform our movement into "one organization" with all that it implies, rather than to maintain its successful career as a federation of the trade unions of America. (p. 98) Again rejected universal label idea.

(1901, p. 156) A universal label would be unwise until Congress enacts a law properly protecting it. (1903, p. 179; 1904, p. 156). Reaffirmed.

(1906, p. 67) Further investigation of the universal label brought this decision by legal counsel: "I have not had any reason to change from my view of six years ago regarding a universal label, and do not think it desirable from either legal reasons or those of policy. A cigar maker, for example, would not spend one-tenth of the money or the energy to advertise a universal label affixed to cigars, that he does now, and so it would be with the other label crafts. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, and the feeling of common interest has not been able to overcome this. A universal label would hardly get the protection of the law, as the statutes are now framed. The new suggestion of having the A. F. of L. seal on all the labels would necessitate reregistration of all the labels, as it would make such a change in the present labels as to require it. This would be certainly the case with small labels where the question of finding a place for the A. F. of L. seal would be difficult. I do not see how we could put it on without increasing the size of many labels, a very undesirable thing to do. With the Typographical Union Label, I see no chance for it at all. The question of legality of the seal being on the labels would not make any difference, as far as I can see. Two labels that now differ, such as the Garment Workers and the Tailors, would, by adoption of the seal, acquire a strong point of resemblance. In the absence of a clear understanding on the part of both organizations, such resemblance would make more trouble of the kind that was threatened a year or more ago. The affiliation of an organization with the A. F. of L. is not so close that any property right it may have in a label need or ought to be shared with it. The handling of 2,000,000 men under one head even now presents many difficulties and serious problems, and there is the possibility that things may reach a point where the organization will be unwieldy. It, therefore, seems to me that the policy of the Federation should be not to engage in any activities that may further raise questions between the various unions affiliated, but rather it should attend to those very general things common to all the unions in their relations with the outside world. The miner or sailor who has no label is just as loyal to the various labels now as he would be were the A. F. of L. seal thereon, as the affiliation of the organizations is just as well known now as it will be then." (p. 108) Considered the subject worthy of further consideration for another year.

(1907, pp. 86-295) In a matter of such importance, involving large financial considerations and affecting what may be termed

the "vested interests" of those unions which have already expended large sums of money and a great deal of time and labor in the dissemination of their labels, nothing short of a practically unanimous approval upon the part of these unions would warrant the A. F. of L. in recommending a change to the so-called "universal label." We believe the present system of craft labels, by appealing directly to the members of the respective crafts, to their friends and to the consumers and users of the particular articles, is best calculated to serve the purpose for which the union label is designed by creating so many centers of active, personal interest, from which the union label sentiment may radiate until it embraces all classes of the people. In proportion as the latter condition is brought about the suggestion of a "universal label" will become a practical one. In the existing circumstances it is distinctly premature.

(1910, p. 324) Rejected universal label plan.

(1912, p. 134) Executive Council, Label Department and national and international union officers requested to again consider the universal label.

(1913, p. 359) The investigation showed that unions during the year expended amounts for advertising the label from nothing to $56,424.24 by the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Of the entire number of unions having labels only seven reported having spent more than $1,000. The labels that are the best known to the general public and those the most used and the most frequently demanded, are the labels belonging to the organizations that have done the greater amount of publicity work and expended the larger amounts for advertising. There has for a number of years been considerable agitation going on looking to the adoption of what is known as the universal label—that is, a label that could be used by all organizations affiliated with the Federation. This idea of the universal label, of course, has received enthusiastic support of those organizations that do not spend money for the purpose of creating a general public demand for their individual labels. It is also most natural that those organizations that have spent large sums of money and created a demand for their individual labels that has resulted in making them a source of profit to the organizations and their members, object at this time to giving up those labels that have been so popularized and adopting something, the result of which must be most uncertain, for the sake of assisting those organizations that have shown apathy in label work and have not evinced a willingness to spend money sufficient to make the label the revenue producer to the organization that it should be.

Labor Benefit Day—(1911, p. 361) Setting aside a day in each year to be known as "Labor Benefit Day," when theatrical performances would be given and the proceeds donated to central bodies is deemed unwise.

Labor, Committee on—(1899, p. 59) Executive Council suggested to the Speaker of the House the names of congressmen they wanted on the Committee on Labor and he said he would give serious consideration. Also asked that the chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor be favorably disposed toward labor. (1900, p. 67) Speaker complied in the main with the request.

Labor Day—Labor Day, which has become labor's greatest holiday, was first suggested in the New York Central Labor Union, composed of a small group of earnest union men, in May, 1882. It was decided to observe the first Monday in September as a festal day during which a parade through the streets of the city would permit public tribute to American industry. Picnics and speechmaking followed. There were other holidays representing the religious, civil and military spirit, it was contended, but none the industrial. In 1884 (p. 16) the first Monday in September was declared Labor Day by the Federation. All wage earners, irrespective of sex, calling or nationality, were urged to observe it until it should be as uncommon (1886, p. 7) for a man to work Labor Day as on Independence Day. State legislators were asked to make the day a legal holiday and thirty-two enacted laws to that effect. Congress made it a legal holiday (1894, p. 73) for the District of Columbia and the territories and while a number of states have no law the federal act has been accepted by all of them.

(1903, pp. 137-188) An unsuccessful attempt was made to change Labor Day from the first Monday in September to May 1.

In 1912 (p. 31-267) Labor Day had become universally recognized in this country and Porto Rico. It had proved of incalculable value to union members and fixed the attention of those indifferent or unfamiliar with the objects of organized labor. Such demonstrations of loyalty and devotion stimulate the spirit of brotherhood and unity in the common life.

(1914, pp. 54-312) Shall Labor Day lose its distinctive character and become a mere holiday for general meaningless purposes and for the exploitation for private profit? Labor Day belongs to the working people of America. It is for them to determine its value and significance. Those outside the labor movement test its strength and virility by the way in which Labor Day is observed. Their test is justified by the fact that the power of the labor movement consists in its appeal to the hearts, minds, and wills of the workers. Rouse the working people to a sense of their rights and interests, and the labor movement becomes an irresistible power for their realization. In the labor movement as in every human endeavor we become familiar with the heart forces and the ideals that brought the movement into existence, and sometimes forget that these spiritual forces must be revived and nourished or they wither and die. Some labor organizations have fallen into this error. They have abandoned regular Labor Day demonstrations, parades, meetings, addresses, in the belief that such expenditure of time, effort, and money is wasteful. This is a most serious mistake. Such labor demonstrations are not wasteful and they do pay even if only through publicity for the cause of Labor. Men and women marching shoulder to shoulder typify impressively the purposefulness and the unity of the labor movement. They are a physical demonstration of devotion to principle—a proof that none can fail to understand. Observance of the day is a means of educating public thought and agents for molding public opin-

ion in regard to the principles and purposes of the labor movement. When our movement is understood it will be recognized and established as a potent agency for justice and humanity. The objections and opposition now interposed by employers will no longer be tolerated. No human movement remains at one level—it must increase or it must decrease. As new members come into unions, they must learn the traditions and ideals of the cause of Labor. The spirit of fellowship and the brotherhood of man are the life of the labor movement. If this life be not nourished, the whole will become as a dead thing. The American Federation of Labor urges that every central body plan to make observance of the coming Labor Day demonstrate to the whole nation the dignity, strength, and importance of the labor movement, and to make the spirit of the day of such a nature that every worker shall appreciate more keenly the value of his union and shall be ready to perform his duties with greater enthusiasm and more perfect understanding. Labor Day typifies a movement for life and humanity. Do not pervert it. Each city central body and all organized labor have a duty to perform.

(1916, p. 66) Labor Day up to this time never was more generally observed than in this year. The achievements of the labor movement during the past twelve months and the many activities in which Labor had been engaged made all of the workers very keenly appreciative of what had been accomplished through the instrumentality of organized labor. This appreciation was manifest in the general observance of the day and in the character and tone of the celebration. In the majority of labor centers there were Labor Day parades and Labor speeches. The day's celebration brought to all those who participated in it renewed inspiration and deeper insight into the meaning and the scope of the labor movement. During the past year there have been revealed the great possibilities of the labor movement. It has been demonstrated that there are no interests of wage-earners that can not be furthered by this economic organization. The attention that the wage-earners themselves called to this fact on Labor Day was reflected in the great publicity secured in the labor and daily press of the country. There was no paper that did not give conspicuous place to the cause of Labor not only on Labor Day but on the days immediately preceding and following. By celebrating Labor Day in an appropriate manner, in accord with Labor ideals, there will be secured for the labor movement added prestige and understanding that will help the cause of labor in all its relations during the remainder of the year. There are many agencies at work which aim to divert the thought and meaning of Labor Day, and those who desire to commercialize Labor Day to their own personal profit and who combinedly attempt to make of Labor Day a mere holiday for pleasure seeking. We, therefore, again urge upon all local bodies that they utilize the great opportunity afforded in the distinctive celebration of Labor Day to place emphasis and prominence upon the doings and activities of Labor and thereby secure greater opportunities for the labor movement. Labor Day touches the lives and interests of the majority of the citizens of our country more closely and more vitally than any other national holiday. Let us seek by proper celebration to maintain that spirit in purity and in power.

In 1918 Labor Day was observed in every part of the country, the slogan suggested by the convention (1918, pp. 132-211) being: "Win the War for Freedom." When Labor Day became law:

Alabama	Dec. 12, 1872
California	Mar. 23, 1878
Colorado	Mar. 15, 1887
Connecticut	Mar. 20, 1889
Delaware	Feb. 14, 1893
Florida	Apr. 29, 1893
Georgia	Oct. 16, 1891
Illinois	June 17, 1891
Indiana	Mar. 9, 1891
Iowa	Apr. 5, 1890
Kansas	Mar. 4, 1891
Louisiana	July 7, 1892
Maine	Feb. 10, 1891
Massachusetts	May 11, 1887
Minnesota	Apr. 18, 1893
Missouri	Apr. 9, 1895
Montana	Mar. 4, 1891
Nebraska	Mar. 29, 1889
New Hampshire	Mar. 31, 1891
New Jersey	Apr. 8, 1887
New York	May 6, 1887
Ohio	Apr. 28, 1890
Oregon	Feb. 21, 1887
Pennsylvania	Apr. 25, 1889
Rhode Island	May 26, 1893
South Carolina	Dec. 22, 1891
Tennessee	Mar. 11, 1891
Texas	Feb. 11, 1893
Utah	Feb. 23, 1892
Virginia	Feb. 5, 1892
Washington	Feb. 24, 1891
Wisconsin	Apr. 19, 1893
U. S. Congress act	June 28, 1894

Labor Day of Europe—After the A. F. of L. in 1889 had indorsed the general strike for eight hours proposed by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners the president of the A. F. of L. sent a request to the International Labor Congress in Paris to urge mass meetings throughout Europe to express sympathetic cooperation and moral support for this initial step of the brotherhood in the general movement by the A. F. of L. to establish the eight hour day. The request was granted and for a time Europe celebrated May 1 as its Labor Day. Liebknicht and Bebel voted against the proposition, saying they could not vote for it as long as the Hohenzollerns ruled Germany.

Labor, Displacement of—(1905, p. 234) Committees authorized to investigate the apprentice question, displacement of labor by machinery, insidious child labor, trade schools, manual training and schools of technology, and unsanitary conditions in home and shops. (1906, pp. 82-224) Committees appointed in Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, Boston, Chicago and New York but were not prepared to report.

Labor Forward Movement—(1912, pp. 27-386) Organized labor of Minnesota inaugurated a successful Labor Forward Movement to arouse members to renewed activity and zeal, to develop more militant enthusiasm and disseminate more widely information of the principles of trade unionism. Indorsed. (1913, p. 90) Forward movements had been inaugurated in various

parts of the country and stress was laid on their importance. (1914, pp. 59-312) Organization is the life-giving power of the labor movement and the Labor Forward Movement is one of the most effective supplements to the regular organizing work. (1915, p. 468) Feeling of local officers they are being neglected would be eliminated through a Labor Forward Movement. (1916, p. 65) Great increase in number of Labor Forward Movements reported and central bodies are urged to adopt some plan to generate and foster enthusiasm for unionism.

Labor Guarantee—(1900, pp. 70-156) Refused to indorse a company to insure contractors against loss by strikes. The condition on which the guarantee was to be given was that the contractor should agree to wages, hours and other union rules and a union man would be president of the guarantee company. It was decided the scope of the proposal was too gigantic and it would be inexpedient to indorse it. Great care should be exercised in matters which involve indorsement of financial proposals, as in their very nature they are foreign to the well-tried policy of the labor movement.

Labor Inquiry—(1894, p. 13) Indorsed House bill creating a commission to be named by the President to inquire into the condition of industry and to what extent the people have been deprived of their constitutional rights. Commission to be composed of representatives of unions, business and farmers.

Labor Institute, National—(1900, pp. 72-156) Warned unions against any organization claimed in the interest of labor, with national characteristics and proportions, that had not received approval of A. F. of L. Institute promised to confine its activities to its local jurisdiction.

Labor, International Conference on—(1907, pp. 29-205) Executive Council authorized to participate in an international conference on labor composed of not only representatives of labor and employers but of the several governments of the civilized world, the United States to extend the invitations. These subjects to be considered: Child Labor, its restriction and regulation; woman's labor, its restriction and regulation; hours of labor; safety appliances on railroads and machinery in factories and workshops; sanitation in workshop and mine; ventilation in mines; employers' liability, and kindred subjects.

Labor Journal, International—(1889, p. 35) Refused to contribute to an international journal in French, German and English to be printed in Switzerland, but recommended that if any money was to be appropriated it should be given to labor papers in the U. S.

Labor Legislation—(1899, pp. 14-148) Progress made in legislation along lines of reform has been notable in states where there are State Federations of Labor affiliated to the A. F. of L.

Labor Legislation Memorial—(1897, p. 20) The Executive Council together with the Advisory Board and a number of other representative unionists waited upon the President of the U. S., members of the Cabinet, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and other members of Congress, with a view of impressing upon each and all the necessity for the enforcement of the laws enacted in the interest of labor and demanding, in labor's name, such remedial legislation calculated to promote the welfare of our people. A memorial was presented to each and subsequently a number of letters were transmitted and personally handed to a number of the officers of our Government, all tending to the same purpose. In an interview with the President he expressed himself in favor of labor organizations and equally so in favor of legislation in the interest of labor. It was suggested that he might use his great office to recommend this legislation to Congress. He expressed regret that his first annual message would contain so much important and pressing matter as would preclude the probability of his being able to touch upon labor's interest, but if this was omitted in his first message it would be made a subject of a special message to Congress.

Labor Movement not "Narrow"—(1909, pp. 16-307) "The narrowness of trade unionism." This phrase passes current, at full face value, in every camp and even in every grouplet of "intellectuals." In going the whole round of the "isms," sociological, ethical, legal, political, reformatory, played-out popular crazes, or "just-out" social panaceas, one will hear expressed by the leaders a sentiment that the trade unionists are hide-bound conservatives—because they decline to rush in a body to take the magic medicine for social ills offered by the particular "ism" advocated by the critic in each particular case. It is a fact that trade unionism in America moves on its own set and deliberate way. In so doing, it has outlived wave upon wave of hastily conceived so-called "broad" movements that were to reconstruct society in a single season. And it has sufficiently good cause for continuing its own reasoned-out course. A full defense of trade unionism against the charge of narrowness would require many volumes, were each to be separately devoted to counter-statements and argumentation addressed to every critic advocating his own special "ism" as against trade unionism: But there is one broad bottom fact underlying all the criticisms of trade unionism based on its alleged narrowness. That fact is, that trade unionism is not narrow. The locomotive engine is not "narrow" because it is not fitted to run on highways and by-ways and waterways as it is for railways, nor is the steamship "narrow" because it can not be made to run on land. But steam, the motive power, can be so applied that it is effective on both land and water. An engine is adapted to a special use; steam in its applications is universal. Similarly, a trade union is not a machine fitted to the work of directly affecting all the civic, social, and political changes necessary in society. But it first of all teaches the working classes the power of combination. Thenceforward it disciplines them, leads them to perform tasks that are possible, and permits the members of any of its affiliated bodies to attempt any form of social experiment which does not imperil the organization as a whole. The spirit of combination has the immediate effects of self-confidence for the democratic elements in the unions, of growth in the loyalty of workingman for workingman, of constant progressive achievement not confined to

restricted limits. It is therefore a motive power continuously and variously applicable as the masses move forward and upward in their individual and collective development. The spirit of combination in the wage-workers has as a motive power many points of resemblance to that of steam (or for that matter electricity) in the mechanical world. One of these points is that the machine to be moved must not be too big or too complex for the engine. Theorist social reformers beyond enumeration have in vain offered their utopian inventions to the masses because the latter, endowed with common sense, have, on due observation, refused to supply the needed wasteful power to make the inventions go. If they had done so for a time, they could but have exhibited the folly of going to greater pains and troubles than the present social machinery requires. The history of the United States is plentifully illustrated with millenial experiments, illusory for the reason that their maintenance in some way overtaxed their supporters, accustomed to making progress in the freedom and opportunity of America even as it is. No other mechanism for carrying out the will of the wage-workers in the domain in which they can especially benefit themselves has equaled the trade union and the trade union movement in bringing desired results. No other has equally stood the test of time. No other has thrown anything like the light upon the state of mind of the masses with respect to their economic education. No other has been able to show how intensely practical the workingmen are—nor how devoted they can show themselves to a clearly defined principle, nor how ready they are to trust to their own leadership, nor how they invariably refuse, as a class, to embark in fiction-born utopian ventures. The trade union has been broad enough for all practical purposes. It is the soundest base yet laid for every project that gives promise to the working class for a firm and solid advance. Moving step by step, trade unionism contains within itself, as a movement and as a mechanism, the possibilities for establishing whatever social institution the golden future shall develop for the workers as the predestined universal element to be in control of society.

Labor Papers Refused Seals—(1914, p. 349) State federations and central bodies notified to take up union seals being used by privately owned labor papers, believing the practice of printing them in "these publications" is a temptation to those employed to solicit advertisements to turn aside from honest business methods for the handful of silver.

Labor Politics, Nonpartisan—(1907, p. 219) Resolution declaring that "true labor politics never can be nonpartisan and always must be partisan" ruled out of order, as the constitution provides partisan politics of whatever character shall have no place in the conventions of the A. F. of L.

Labor Power—(1907, pp. 37-213) The ownership of a free man is vested in himself alone. The only reason for the ownership of bondmen or slaves is the ownership of their labor power by their masters. Therefore, it follows that if free men's ownership of themselves involves their labor power, none but themselves are owners of their labor power. Hence, it is essential that the product of a free man is his own. If he by choice or by reason of his environment sells his labor power to another and is paid a wage in return therefor, this wage is his own. To question or to attempt to destroy the principle enunciated, involves the entire structure of civilized society. The free man's ownership of himself and his labor power implies that he may sell it to another or withhold it; that he may with others similarly situated sell their labor power or withhold it; that no man has even an implied property right in the labor of another; that free men may sell their labor power under stress of their needs, or they may withhold it to obtain more advantageous returns. Any legislation or court construction dealing with the subject of organizations, corporations or trusts which curtail or corner the products of labor, can have no true application to the association of free men in the disposition or withholding of their labor power. The attempt to deny to free men, by injunction or other process, the right of association, the right to withhold their labor power or to induce others to withhold their labor power, whether these men be engaged in an industrial dispute with employers, or whether they be other workmen who have taken the places of those engaged in the original dispute, is an invasion of man's ownership of himself and of his labor power, and is a claim of some form of property right in the workmen who have taken the places of strikers, or men locked out. If the ownership of free men is vested in them and in them alone, they have not only the right to withhold their labor power, but to induce others to make common cause with them, and to withhold theirs that the greatest advantage may accrue to all. It further follows that if free men may avail themselves of the lawful right of withholding their labor power, they have the right to do all lawful things in pursuit of that lawful purpose. And neither court injunctions nor other processes have any proper application to deny to free men these lawful, constitutional, natural and inherent rights. In the disposition of the wages returned from the sale of labor power, man is also his own free agent. All things he may lawfully buy, he may also lawfully abstain from buying. He may purchase from whomsoever he will, or he may give his patronage to another. What he may do with his wages in the form of bestowing or withholding his patronage, he may lawfully agree with others to do. No corporation or company has a vested interest in the patronage of a free man. If this be true, and its truth can not be controverted upon any basis in law, free men may bestow their patronage upon any one or withhold it, or bestow it upon another. And this, too, whether in the first instance the business concern is hostile or friendly. It is true for any good reason, and in the last analysis, for no reason at all. It is not a question as to whether we like or dislike lockouts or strikes, boycotts or blacklists. The courts have declared that lockouts and the blacklists and all that pertain thereto are not unlawful. It is difficult to understand, then, unless there is some conception in the courts of an employer's property right in some form in the laborer or the laborer's patronage, how they stretch their authority,

pervert the purpose of the law and under take by the injunctive process to outlaw either the strike or the boycott. To claim that what one man may lawfully do when done by two or more men becomes unlawful or criminal, is equal to asserting that nought and nought makes two.

Labor Press—(1881, p. 15) All labor journals are considered a special help and mouthpiece of the Federation.

(1882, p. 13) Suport of the labor press is one of the chief duties of workingmen, and all should see this powerful means of educating the laboring masses into their rights and duties should be sustained and encouraged in every way possible. All unions should subscribe direct from their treasuries, supply each member with a copy and distribute as many free as they can afford.

(1885, p. 14) Selected two labor papers as official journals until the Federation established a paper of its own.

(1886, p. 17) Hearty support of the labor press voted.

(1889, p. 23) A. F. of L. recognizes the power of printers' ink.

(1899, p. 17) One of the methods by which we endeavor to accomplish the purposes of our movement is to aid and encourage the labor papers. The extension and efficiency of the labor press of America is an excellent barometer of the marvelous strides which have been made. The few struggling labor papers in the early days of the trade union movement helped to pave the way. Today we have official trade papers and magazines appearing monthly, and some weekly, of a most creditable character. There are but few of our national and international unions which do not publish an official journal or magazine, endowed with vast trade and technical information and rich in literary merit. These, supplemented by the general labor papers issued by local central bodies or through private enterprises to espouse the cause of labor in their respective localities, reflecting the sentiment of the organized labor movement in their respective centers, each vieing with the other to do yeoman's service for the unification of the labor forces of the country, aid very largely, by every means within their power in crystallizing public opinion, so that by peaceful and legal methods the interests of all organized labor, and hence of all the people, may be advanced.

(1902, p. 227) It is the plain duty of all members of trade unions to give all the support possible, both financially and morally, to the labor press.

(1905, p. 37) Though better support is now given to the labor press than heretofore, it is still of an unsatisfactory character. The service which the labor press renders our fellow-workers is incalculable in dollars and cents. In saying the right word at the right time to place labor's side before the world upon any given controversy or point at issue, many advantages are gained as well as the best possible showing made for the cause and the movement which, despite their nobility and grandeur, yet have too few friends and advocates. We can not too strongly urge our fellow-workers and friends to give the labor press loyal and tangible support.

(1906, p. 39) We wish we could state more strongly and emphatically the appreciation we all feel for the great work of the labor press of America. The A. F. of L. requests all national and international unions, state and city central bodies and federal labor unions to assist such bona fide labor journals by endeavoring to increase their circulation and by patronizing their job printing offices.

(1907, p. 48) The influence of the labor press is even as wide if not wider outside of our own ranks than is generally known or asknowledged. A bona fide labor paper, apart from the direct good work which it does, compels the general public press to be more decent in its consideration of and attitude toward our cause and our movement. I regard it as an imperative duty which all members of organized labor should perform to give their moral and financial support to the labor press of our country. (p. 346) It becomes the duty of every labor organization and every individual member of organized labor to encourage and foster labor papers by liberal patronage and every assistance that can possibly be rendered.

(1909, p. 317) The labor press is one of the best avenues of education available to the trade union movement. Its subscribers are found in all parts of the country and in the aggregate are numerous. If properly utilized, it can wield a wonderful influence in moulding public opinion. Through its columns, the same thought can be impressed upon thousands of minds, in widely scattered communities, at the same time. It could be made the means of conveying, correctly, the position of organized labor on the question of injunctions and other legislative measures which we are interested in thereby creating greater unanimity of action than could otherwise obtain. (1910, p. 51; 1912, p. 57; 1913, pp. 91-267; 1914, pp. 164-347) Reaffirmed.

(1915, pp. 153-321) Labor editors who dedicate their lives to the cause of publicity for labor usually work in a secluded office. Their reward has been frequently but a meager living and the satisfaction of a great work done. The labor movement stands for fair wages—an ideal that must be extended to labor editors. Yet, on the other hand, great care must be exercised lest the power that comes through a labor paper should fall into the hands of those unfit to use it. Labor papers must be kept clean, free from outside or political partisan domination.

(1916, p. 112; 1917, pp. 133-271) At no time in the history of the American labor movement has the labor press given more effective and indispensable service.

(1918, pp. 170-319) In the face of all good accomplished by the labor press for the organized workers and the continual sacrifices made by them they should be given stronger support from the rank and file. We urge the officials of international unions to urge their members to support the labor press in their respective localities who are doing so much to advance the cause of unionism and humanity.

Labor Press, Associated—(1897, p. 81) A. F. of L. notified of the formation of the Associated Labor Press for the interchange of news, fraternal intercourse and assistance. Its members pledged to support prin-

ciples of the American labor movement and must carry a card in a bona fide union.

Labor Publicity Association, National—(1917, p. 416) Invitation to take part in convention of National Publicity Association referred to Executive Council and if found of merit to accept it.

Labor Sunday—(1909, p. 252) Sunday preceding Labor Day was designated as Labor Sunday and the churches of America were requested to devote some part of this day to a presentation of the labor question. Central bodies were urged to cooperate with churches to secure large audiences. (1910, p. 48) Jews and Seventh Day Adventists were urged to celebrate the day on Saturday, their Sabbath.

Labor Statistics, National Bureau of—(1881, p. 4) We recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created in several states and we urge on our friends in Congress the pasasge of an act establishing a National Bureau of Labor Statistics and recommend for its management the appointment of a proper person identified with the laboring classes of the country. (1883, p. 14) We urge Congress to establish a Department of Industry and Statistics with sufficient funds to collect information relating to industry and labor conditions of the working people as compared with other countries. (1884, p. 14) Law was enacted but protests made against the failure of the President to appoint a chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (1893, p. 15) Through the efforts of organized labor measures which a few years ago were regarded as chimerical and a useless expenditure of money have come to be loked on as a prime necessity to the proper conduct of governmental affairs. Besides the Department of Labor we have Bureaus of Labor Statistics in 32 states and factory inspectors in 19. The issue of a journal by the United States Department was recommended. (1900, p. 62) The establishment of state bureaus of labor statistics and free employment offices is a direct concession to organized labor, and the first demand for such bureaus was made by a convention of workingmen in Cleveland in 1867. The first bureau was established in Massachusetts in 1869. The eight-hour agitation and the evils known to exist among women and children were factors that induced the establishment of this bureau.

Labor Temples—(1896, p. 76) Recommended unions cooperate to erect Labor Temples in the various cities. As such buildings are strictly local affairs the A. F. of L. can take no part in their erection. (1917, p. 397) Rejected a proposition to create a Labor Temple Department of the A. F. of L. and the raising of funds by per capita tax or otherwise to build a chain of labor temples throughout the American continent. Convention declared that under this requirement the A. F. of L. would be compelled to enter into a building project of gigantic proportions, altering and interfering with the autonomous rights of affiliated unions and subjecting the A. F. of L. to a new system of laws governing the cooperative ownership and conduct of realty and add to it activities not only undesirable but burdensome. Building of labor temples is a subject best covered by a community of workers. By that method existing relations will not become involved in difficulties regarding questions of location, etc. In no other way can the subject be undertaken with any degree of success.

Labor Trials to be Printed—(1913, p. 377) A. F. of L. voted to print status of labor trials for the information of local central bodies, local unions and the sympathetic press, so that "innocent men shall not be convicted and imprisoned for attempting to enforce their constitutional rights."

Laborers' International Union—(1902, p. 143) Forming an international laborers' union would be unwise because incorrect in principle. It is a reactionary move, as it fails to recognize the specialization and the separate interests created by the different conditions of each kind of labor, which can be taken care of only by those immediately concerned, who have the proper knowledge.

Labor's Key to Growth—(1905, pp. 18-187) We do not underrate the value of the fraternal and sentimental bonds which unite our memberships, but these bonds are strengthened instead of weakened by the possession of ample financial resources in our treasuries. In its capacity as a labor exchange, the trades union cannot exempt itself from the necessity of compliance with sound business principles. It is only wildcat schemes of finance which profess to pay out more than is received into the treasury. Altruism, most commendable as a virtue, cannot coin money or draw unlimited sight drafts upon its bankers. Trades unions whose members are taught to, or who expect, in times of trouble, to rely entirely upon the generosity of others are industriously weaving ropes of sand. Trades unions should practice the doctrine of self-help, in order that there may be no weak links in the mighty chain of our defenses. No other business concern in the world is so feebly financed, relatively speaking, as the average trade union, nor from any other enterprise is so large a return expected by the average investor. It is high time that wage-earners should disabuse themselves of the belief that they can lift themselves by their own bootstraps, distill gold from seawater, or erect substantial defenses for the living rate of wage on a contribution of a nickel a day to their trade union funds. Neither the timidity of trade union officials nor the inertia of the membership should stand in the way of a policy of higher dues and more extended benefits. That union which fails to provide ammunition for the bruising industrial struggle until the battlefield is reached, is not alone guilty of negligence as to its own interests, but is a handicap upon sister organizations.

Labor's Law of Growth—(1904, p. 15) Much gleeful speculation has been indulged in by our opponents in what they are pleased to characterize as a "slump" in the organization of the wage earners in the trade union movement of our country. They would hail with jovous acclaim, could they record the total extinction and destruction of our movement. With them the wish is father to the thought that they might bring about what their chief spokesman, Parry, lately declared their purpose to be, "the annihilation of labor unions." They take unction to their souls that the slight falling off in membership in the trade union movement

for a brief period within the past year was the beginning of the decline of the organized labor movement of our country.

The law of growth, in organized labor is as little understood by them as it is by others who lack the experience, or who have not had the time, opportunity, or inclination to inquire and study. From the formation of the first bona fide trade union movement in modern times it has grown with each era of industrial activity and receded to some degree with each industrial depression, but with each recurring revival in industry the degree of growth has been greater, and with each recurring period of depression it has receded to a lesser degree than its immediate predecessors. All students of our movement appreciate these facts and count with them. The antagonists and the ignorant view these natural economic changes with exultation or alarm.

The wage earners have come to realize that their only hope for the protection of their material interests in our time, the only opportunities for the promotion of these interests in the future, as well as the mainstay for the rights and liberties in the present to which they and those who may follow are entitled, lie in unity, organization, and federation. And they have recognized, too, to a greater extent than heretofore, that their cohesion during a period if industrial reaction is the effectual check upon the material deterioration in their condition with all that that implies. To these reasons and causes, together with greater intelligence and a fair conception of their rights, may be attributed the almost infinitesmal decline in membership within the recent past.

When it is borne in mind that the trade union movement of America is, comparatively speaking, still in its infancy; when there is taken into consideration the vast extent of territory as well as the makeup of different nationalities speaking foreign tongues, the great development in industry and the concentration of wealth, using its powers to prevent or crush out organizations; when all these things are given due consideration, that we have brought about any degree of fraternity and homeogenity should be counted to our credit rather than to our detriment.

(1907, pp. 18-201) Our state federations, and particularly our city central bodies, have increased in numbers, power and influence. They all have helped in the fullest in carrying on the great work of organizing and aiding in the common uplift of all our people. Upon them we must largely depend in enforcing the decisions and policies declared by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. It is with pleasurable pride that it can be stated to their credit that now more than ever exist closer fraternal relations and more loyal support to the principles and purposes for which our great movement stands. And of the local unions of affiliated international unions and those directly attached to our Federation, let me say that there is clearly manifest the spirit of fraternity and solidarity; the faithful effort not only to initiate but to carry to its fulfillment the work for the material, moral, political and social improvement of the toilers and of all our people. The great rank and file of organized labor in all its ramifications are earnestly engaged in the movement to bring betterment and light into not only their own homes but into the homes and lives of all. In the last analysis it must be realized that upon the membership of the local unions rests the responsibility for the success and perpetuity of our movement. In connection with this it may be well to call attention to the fact that there is a natural law of growth in the labor movement. When there is a falling off of membership, no matter how slight, our opponents point to it with satisfaction as an indication of disintegration or dissolution of the labor movement. The unthinking in our own ranks view it with alarm. The fact of the matter is that any temporary falling off in membership is due largely to the failure on the part of those organizations to adopt the means by which the members' best interests are safeguarded. After all, a better intelligence and a revived spirit of workmen soon demonstrate the necessity of organization to protect their best interests, and they soon return to their Alma Mater of the labor movement, the trade union. With this revived spirit the enthusiasm penetrates into the ranks of the unorganized, and these, together with the trend of events in industry and labor conditions, have their compelling force upon the minds of the wage-earners, who in constantly larger numbers join the ranks of the grand army of organized labor, to make common cause for the protection and advancement of all the wage-earners. Let pessimists and opponents take unction to their souls for their mastership of the past. The present and the future are for labor, which in its organized, federated movement will stand as a protest against injustice and wrong toward any of our fellow-men, as the vanguard to proclaim and achieve the rights to which the toilers, the masses, are entitled.

Labor's Protest and Progress—(1910, pp. 32-312) There are men prominent in the industrial and political affairs of our country who do not or will not understand the present trend of economic and social development, nor the position which the organized labor movement takes relative thereto, expressing as it does an orderly and rational progress, and they consequently set themselves against the projects and aspirations of the toilers. They will, as a matter of grace, yield a crumb of materiality, yet deny to the toilers the fundamental principle of freedom—freedom to exercise those personal activities necessary in the struggle to work out their own amelioration and emancipation. It is most unfortunate that opponents assume such an attitude of hostility to the growth of the much misunderstood and misrepresented labor movement of our country and our time, and endeavor to circumscribe its activities within such limitations as would deprive its members of their inherent, natural, and constitutional rights. For what does organized labor contend if not to improve the standard of life, to uproot ignorance and foster education, to instil character and manhood and an independent spirit among our people, to bring about a recognition of the interdependence in modern life of man, and his fellow-men? We aim to establish a normal workday, to take the children from the factory and the workshop and give them the opportunity of the school, the home, and the playground. In a word, the unions of labor, recognizing the duty to toil, strive to educate their members, to make their homes and lives more cheerful in every way, to contribute an earnest effort toward

making life the better worth living, to avail their members of their rights as citizens and to bear the duties and responsibilities and perform the obligations they owe to our country and to our fellow-men. In the constant struggle, in the struggle of the ages, as well as of our time, the self-same elements of bitter antagonism have been and are now encountered. Labor contends that in every effort to achieve its praiseworthy ends all honorable and lawful means are not only commendable but should receive the sympathetic support of every right-thinking, progressive man. The wheels of industry must not be turned back nor the movements of commerce halted. The industrial and commercial development can not and must not be checked. Concentration of wealth continues. The tools of labor have been alienated from the toilers. Vast and intricate machinery has supplanted them. The toilers must work. Their economic position in society is changed. They can no longer act as individuals to redress a wrong or to attain a right. They must pool their individual effort for their asociated protection and weal, and if the concept of the sovereignty of citizenship is not a meaningless phase the toilers must in their common effort under modern industrial conditions be accorded the exercise of their rights as citizens, as men, and as workers, to protect themselves from the tyranny which concentrated wealth and industry impose if left unchecked, and wherever necessary to contend against that tyranny and to work for a higher and better opportunity to live and to progress. Judicial decisions and legislative enactments are to be expected in the course of the evolution through which we are passing, but whatever their character the workers in our Republic must be accorded at least the same rights as those enjoyed by the subjects of every other civilized country. Because the labor movement in our country is so thoroughly imbued with the consciousness and the responsibility to rationally, naturally, and in an orderly manner work out the great problems of the relations of the workers to society and to the evolution of industry and commerce, and particularly with the necessity to work for a higher and better life for the workers and for common humanity, we regard the attitude of such hostility from men prominent in political and industrial affairs as not only unjustified, but highly prejudicial to the best interest of all our people and particularly dangerous to an orderly adjustment and solution of the economic problems and social difficulties of our time. In all countries of the civilized world the economic problem is up for discussion, and its solution, gradual, peaceful, or otherwise, is a question of imminent importance. What in many other countries is sought or accomplished by force or the show of force is in our movement undertaken or achieved by the American methods of agitation, education, and organization, and the exercise of the personal rights of man in association with his fellows —rights which must not under any pretense be denied by the subterfuge of injunctions or outlawed by the perversion or interpretation of law. If the labor movement of America can be outlawed and its normal endeavors in the interests of the toilers and all the deprived stratum of humanity made impossible, the discontent of our people with existing wrongs and their efforts for relief will find their expression in another form, a form perhaps not quite so rational or orderly. On another occasion we have expressed this thought, whereupon malicious opponents have perverted it to make it appear the utterance of a threat. It is not a threat; it is a diagnosis of societary conditions; it is a prediction—a prediction based upon a knowledge of the struggles of the peoples in the past and an understanding of human nature. The toilers must, for their own safety now and for the future, organize. Their organizations must be accorded the full legal status recognized in all voluntary associations dealing with purely personal affairs and instituted not for profit. In the same degree that these rights are recognized and conceded by present irrational opponents will be the great economic and industrial problems of our time and of the future be rationally, safely, and peacefully solved. Solved they must be at all hazards.

Labor's Responsibility—(1918, p. 133) The American labor movement faces the difficult problems of the future with an organization numerically stronger and more effectively united than ever before. During the past months the trade union movement has earned for itself a recognition and a value more adequate than that ever previously achieved. It has stood the most difficult tests and demonstrated that it is an indispensable part of organization for production, and therefore an integral part of organization of society. Because it is an agency that promotes efficiency and is indispensable to the quickest and most effective production of war materials, it is inevitable that the coming months will bring great opportunities and increasing organization. Let us strive to take every advantage of these opportunities in order that the workers may be in a position to deal wisely with the difficult problems of the reconstruction period that will follow the war, and thus to establish permanently higher standards of life and work.

Labor's Right to Representation—(1916, p. 108) Labor has a right to representation on all agencies that control or determine public policies or matters of general concern. This assertion of rights has come with the startling challenge of a new demand. Democratic organization of society is a commonplace term that has not the force of full reality in the affairs of life and work. Under the constant pressure and the irresistible surge of demands for human rights and human justice, demands for equal opportunity carried the additional weight of an accepted principle, and aristocratic forms and concepts have given way to the ideals of democracy, in theory at least. But the prinicples of democracy have become reality only through the assertion of rights and insistence upon demands. Under a republican form of government the working men presumably have equal voice in the government with any other group of citizens. Politicians have tried to flatter them by making them believe that they have real representation in the government through sympathetic, humanitarian representatives. The "dignity of labor" has been largely a politician's catch-phrase used for the purpose of vote-getting. The workers know they can be truly represented best by those who have lived their lives, worked at their work, borne their burdens, experienced their

wrongs and the deep-rooted sense of injustice that comes from denial of what gives life, hope and opportunity. However much the workers may have been misled and wronged in the past they have out of it all evolved a better understanding of what constitutes real participation in government and of the character of representative government. Out in the world of labor and life the workers have put a real meaning into the phrase, "The Dignity of Labor." That reality has been created out of the power of the bones and sinews and the brains of those who work for wages and has been given concrete form in our material civilization. They have given not only their working power but have broken their bones, mangled their flesh, spilled their blood, and have expended the best in life and spirit on the work of the world. It has given the dignity of labor a deeper and more permanent expression in the ideals of humanity, justice and freedom that the workers have been made a part of the guiding and directing forces of our nation. Every day's work has been a demonstration that the workers can and do accomplish things. They supply the creative power that is a necessary part of the processes of material production. The work of their hands and brain is everywhere —buildings of industry and railroads that unite the distant parts of our country, the material agencies of transportation and communication, articles of daily food, use and wear, and in all of that which pertains to the material agencies of life and work. They have contributed something more than mechanical producing power. It is the mind and the insight controlling the muscles of the workers that give them value as producers and as members of society.

Without the miners the wheels of industry and commerce would cease. Workers go down into the depths of the earth, never free from peril to their lives, to fasten securely the foundation of our great steel structures. The structural iron workers climb to dizzy heights and careless of the slight barrier between them and the depths below, join together marvelous skeleton structures. They build the marvels of our great cities and our highways, yet when it comes to formulating the policies, the plans that affect intimately their lives, safety and welfare, they are rarely given a voice in these determinations. In so far as economic affairs are concerned, wage-earners have established an agency by which they have a voice in the administration of industry and commerce; that agency is the organized labor movement by which the needs and the ideals of wage-earners are presented and considered. As the labor movement is extended, the spirit of industry and commerce will become increasingly democratic. Wherever it has made its influence felt, the labor movement has sought for human rights and human welfare. It has always called attention to the human side of every problem. But many economic problems and propositions merge into political ones. Although the political phase may be expressed in political terms and discussed from political viewpoints, yet there still remains the human side. No plan or policy can be put into effect except through human agencies. It has been all too common in the political affairs of our country that human agencies have been ignored in industry and commerce and in political administration. This has been due to the fact that those who were interested primarily in the human side of all issues have not been accorded equal representation in the government with all other elements that constitute the nation. Manufacturers, financiers, the captains of industry and commerce have been accorded ample representation consequently profits and business expediency have been given first consideration. But the wage-earners are fully aware of the necessity of being represented in all organizations or commissions authorized to determine questions affecting their welfare, and they are now demanding a full right of representation in all of the activity of the nation's life. They demand representatives of their own choosing from among wage-earners who know of the life and the problems of wage-earners.

Many situations and problems have developed in both the economic and political organization of society that have resulted in the frequent use of commissions to aid and facilitate governmental agencies provided under our constitution. These commissions, either temporary or permanent, have been authorized to deal with both national and international matters, such as the Pan-American Commission; the Commission on Industrial Relations; the Tariff Commission; Interstate Commerce Commission; Advisory Board of Military Defense, etc. All of these commissions have to deal with great issues that have a human side. The human as well as the material ought to be represented in the commission. Plans and policies for defense and preparedness for our republic must be safeguarded to prevent militarism from becoming the dominating characteristic. This evil can be prevented only through establishing and maintaining democracy of organization, administration and control. The workers—the masses of the people—are the most insistent advocates of democracy. Their participation in the formation of plans for defense and defences is an assurance that democratic ideals will prevail—that the interests of the people will be of primary consideration. The wage-earners must have representation in the council's deliberations and in the initiation of plans and policies in addition to having a voice in deciding upon the adoption of plans and policies. No national plan or policy can be really effective if it does not have the advice, consent and the co-operation of the wage-earners who constitute the masses of our citizenship. There are many other problems that must be acted upon in the near future, such as workmen's compensation, industrial education, and vocational training, rural credits, organization of markets, the laying on and distribution of taxes—in the determintion of these and all similar problems Labor demands and has the right to real representation and participation. The workers have a right to that representation and participation because they are human beings with lives, hearts and imaginations affected by the determinations of these questions. The basis for representation and particapation in the affairs of organized society is man, not property. The purpose of social organization is the furtherance of human rights, interests, justice and liberty—it seeks to achieve a beautiful ideal—fullness of life and opportunity for all. The workers, the

masses of the people therefore have a right to participate and will insist upon this participation in the determination and control of all that concerns their lives and the lives of the generations yet to come. (p. 349) We desire further to lay emphasis upon the urgent need for labor representation on city school boards, state boards of education, and last, but not least, on the governing boards of our state-owned universities. What we need badly in many of our so-called higher institutions of learning is more of the spirit which has recently found trite expression here in Congressional enactments, i. e., that human rights must always take precedence over property rights. Every state-owned university should serve all the people, but this can scarcely be expected if none but captains of industry, bankers, lawyers, etc., direct its affairs and inspire its policy to ward the workers who comprise the majority of each state's citizenship.

Land Grants—(1881, p. 19) Resolution declaring railroad land grants forfeited by nonfulfilment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government and reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers was ruled out as not germane to the purposes of the convention.

Land, Indian—(1902, p. 225) Memorialized Congress to buy mining and coal lands from Choctaw Nation for the use of the citizens generally.

Land Ownership, Alien—(1885, p. 18) Endorsed Senate bill permitting aliens to own only one section of land.

Land Question—(1887, p. 29) Endorsed bills providing for prevention of speculation in coal lands. (1893, p. 46) Protested against the ceding of arid lands to states, individuals or corporations, holding they should be reclaimed and leased to actual settlers in lots of not more than 160 acres to any one settler. (1894, p. 28) Demanded legislation to abolish land monopoly and to support no title except occupancy and use. (1905, p. 116) Refused to favor government buying segregated asphalt lands from Choctaw Indians and donate them to state for permanent school fund, allowing state to sell surface to actual settlers. 1912, p. 379) Favored small tax on land values instead of some of the more burdensome tariff taxes.

Land Should Be Restored to the People—(1914, p. 357) We will do our utmost to restore individual, social and racial health by making the employment of women as congenial as possible and sending children to school and to such places as will help them to grow up to become efficient men and women; that to this end the land should be restored to the people and made available without paying unjust tribute to land owners.

Land Tax—(1912, p. 379) Favored small tax on land values in place of some of the more burdensome tariff taxes.

Lattimer Massacre—(1897, pp. 18-87) While a body of unarmed and defenseless miners were marching upon the public highways from Hazelton to Lattimer, Pa., they were met by the sheriff of the county with a posse of armed mercenaries, who, without cause or provocation, and in violation of the constitutional and natural rights of men, turned upon them and in cold blood murdered twenty-two and maimed and crippled as many more of them. All reports agree that the men attacked were violating no law, guilty of no wrong, many of them shot to death while fleeing from their malignant pursuers. This crime against our laws, this brutality against inoffensive men, the wail of widows and orphans, the wounded pride of American citizenship and common humanity cry out not only that justice shall be meted out to these modern hyenas, but that never again shall so great a wrong be inflicted upon any of our people. An attempt has been made to becloud the judgment of our people, under the cry that the men killed and wounded are "foreigners," but even though this be true, these foreigners were lured here by the cupidity of mercenary corporations. It is submitted that, though a man be a foreigner, there are some rights, some protection, to which he is entitled, which even corporations and their hirelings are bound to respect.

Law Practice Free to All—(1904, p. 175) Rejected proposition to make the practice of law free to all by repealing all acts which confine the business to a certain few, who were said to have the "most exclusive union shop extant."

Laws, How Made—(1916, p. 49) Proverb of Junius: "One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate into law."

Laws, Labor Suffers from Unjust—(1887, p. 25) Our members suffer greatly not only from the enactment of unjust laws and the inefficiency of uninforced laws but also from the discriminating dispensation of the law. Laws that have been passed in the interest of the workingman are not enforced because he neglects himself to enforce them. Laws ostensibly to help labor have proved its scourge. We see the same system that relegates the involuntary tramp to a prison cell for stealing $1 metamorphosed to allow the escape of the distinguished thief of a million.

Laws, Unconstitutional—(1908, p. 26) Laws declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Prohibiting common carriers in interstate commerce discharging employes because of membership in a labor organization, or discharging them for any reason; limiting the hours of telegraphers and other employes of common carriers in interstate commerce; New York law limiting the hours of workmen in bakeshops to ten.

Leadership—(1897, p. 25) Declaration of the President: It has been my constant aim to organize and urge organization among our fellow workers; to reflect and carry out in spirit as well as in letter, the actions, the thoughts, the resolves of our movement. If the experience gained has given me the opportunities to presnt any line of action calculated to advance the interests of labor, I have from time to time recommended it to our annual conventions and through our magazine; but it seemed to me that it was both unsafe and dangerous to the cause which we have the honor and responsibility to represent, for your President to, perhaps, conceive a notion, a theory, or a plan not previously approved by you, and with that assume what the world calls "leadership." The conception in the trade union movement of leadership implies followers, and they who folow a leader must obey him implicitly. It is the establishment

of a new master over men; it is the creation of a tyrant against which the history, the struggles and the trend of the trade union movement revolt. Our movement is the great movement of the workers recognizing the sovereignty of each to obtain the largest amount of success with the least possible government; that the whole are wiser than any one, no matter whether his title be president or czar.

Leaves of Absence—(1899, p. 87) Favored leaves of absence for all government employes. (1918, p. 222) Opposed bill providing for the payment of cash in lieu of 30 days leave of absence. Claimed that would not only deprive employes of necessary rest but would enable local managers to force them to give up the leave periods. (p 238) Urged Congress to enact a law providing for retention of the civil service status of officers of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are called to absent themselves from their official duties, and their reinstatement in the service at a salary no less than that received at the time such leave was granted and without prejudice to their official standing in the government service.

Lecture Bureau—(1913, p. 316) Plans to establish a lecture bureau and employ expert sociologists to discuss subjects which it was proposed to submit to the various legislatures was referred to the Executive Council with instructions to give it consideration.

(1914, p. 164) Decided that during winter the President of the American Federation of Labor should deliver a series of lectures in Washington to organized labor; that they should be reported stenographically; that questions and answers be taken down so as to bring out the subjects of discussion with reference to every feature of the labor movement; that they be published in pamphlet form to be used by officers and organizers in lecturing on the labor movement.

(1915, pp. 156-469) Circulars were issued giving the necessary information and assistance that would carry out the plans proposed by the 1913 (p. 316) convention, as follows: Dealing particularly with the principles of the Clayton Antitrust Act and calling attention to the information throwing light upon that law and calling attention to efforts to discredit it. Informing organizers of a pamphlet dealing with the makeup, achievements and aspirations of the labor movement, analyzed into subjects giving the pages on which the subjects could be found for the greater convenience of the organizers. This pamphlet has been much in demand, not only by the members of organized labor, but by students and all those interested in the trade union movement. Another circular called attention to the report of the legislative committee of the A. F. of L., which was published in the April, 1915, issue of the American Federationist. It is particularly desirable that organizers should be informed as to the important facts in this report, for it furnishes them with valuable material for presenting achievements of the labor movement and for answering opponents. In July a circular was issued urging upon organizers the importance of organization, pointing out the peculiar fitness at that time of urging the work of organization and making a special inducement to volunteer organizers for new unions formed. Another circular upon one of the important issues in the labor movement, namely, the attitude of the A. F. of L. upon the eight-hour day. This circular called attention to articles published in the American Federationist which would be helpful to organizers in studying the issue and urged upon them the necessity for discussing this matter in such a manner as to promote a better and more general understanding of fundamental principles of the trade union movement. We have reached the conclusion that the most important and most practical policy the A. F. of L. can undertake at present for educational work among the members of organized labor and to the yet unorganized workers is to put at the disposal of the organizers, information and assistance that will enable them to perform their work better, to keep in touch with discussions of affairs affecting the workers, to be better able to present matters in lectures, talks and discussions for the benefit of the labor movement, all the workers and the general public. The Central Labor Union of Seattle appointed an educational committee to carry out the plans for a lecture course on labor problems.

Legal Advice Bureaus—(1913, p. 315) Favored establishment of free municipal legal bureaus from which the people may obtain advice on all questions affecting their affairs, bureaus to be maintained at public cost and in connection with the courts. Object, to protect workers who are exposed to the machinations of shyster laywers.

Legal Department A. F. of L.—(1905, pp. 34-189) Need of legal department to be established in American Federation of Labor headquarters recognized in order labor could have fullest advantage of systematic advice from its own lawyers. (1913, pp. 73-300) Authorized Executive Council to establish a legal department. (1914, pp. 97-366) Progress reported. (1916, pp. 77-301) Executive Council instructed to consider organizing a legal department by January 1, 1917, or as soon thereafter as possible. (1917, p. 123) Notice given that court decisions affecting labor could be obtained on application and unions were requested to furnish A. F. of L. with data growing out of lawsuits.

Legislation, Avoid Retarding—(1900, pp. 27-142) An incident in connection with our attempt to secure the report of the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate upon our eight-hour bill will show how necessary it is not only to be careful in the passage of resolutions by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, but also to prevent, if possible, any other body from hindering legislation which may be used by those antagonistic to the interests of labor. It is a specious argument of the opponents of our eight-hour bill to say that, in the event of the passage of the bill it will force all government work and work for the government into the government shops or nav yyards; and in order to demonstrate this, endeavor to make the cost of government work the more expensive. At the Kansas City Convention, attention was called to the inadvisability of indorsing a proposition then introduced by the delegates of the International Association of Machinists, providing for a leave of absence of thirty days with pay for those employed in the government navy yards. During the

last session of Congress the local machinists' union of Washington urged the passage of this bill, and the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate gladly took advantage of that proposition to report it favorably, thus using it as another argument against the passage of our eight-hour bill. In fact, notwithstanding that the chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor declared that he was unable to secure a committee meeting for the purpose of considering and reporting the eight-hour bill, he was able to secure a meeting or the informal consent of the members of the committee for the purpose of reporting this bill. It is but fair to say that when the attention of the officers of the local machinists' union of Washington was called to this fact they immediately desisted from urging the bill, and requested any and all persons advocating it to withdraw their advocacy of it. However, the damage already had been done.

Legislation, Class—Amendments to constitution providing central bodies, local and federal labor unions building trades and women should have representatives on the Executive Council were defeated in 1900 (p. 131), 1903, (p. 197), 1904 (p. 236), (1918, p. 218) Declared class legislation, as all delegates have the right to be a candidate for any office in the A. F. of L.

Legislation, Concentrate for—(1902, p. 204) The interests of labor will be best subserved by concentrating our energies upon securing the enactment of what we may consider to be preferential labor legislation instead of dissipating our strength in striving for a varied assortment of labor measures. In line with this thought, we declare that an effective anti-injunction measure, together with the eight-hour bill, should be given first place, at the same time en- President's report in the matter of Chinese exclusion.

Legislation, How Secured—(1901, p. 187) No influence is so potent upon Representatives and Senators as urgent letters from their constituents. Unfortunately for their own interests workinghen are prone to think their duty has been fully performed when they have endorsed a bill by resolution or by reference to the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor. Such is not the case, and unless they co-operate more generally in the future than they have done in the past with the officers of the Federation, they need not be surprised if little attention is paid to their demands for labor legislation. Legislation is of little value indeed if it is not worth a 2-cent or a 1-cent postal card. (1902, p. 22) In this, as well as in all other efforts of life, persistence wins. It compels more thoughtful consideration on the part of our people as well as upon our congressional and legislative representatives, or perhaps more often our mal-representatives, and thus by iteration and reiteration we will arouse a clearer and healthier public opinion, and by organizing the yet unoragnized, more largely constitute in ourselves that public opinion. And then always standing for the right, the law-makers may then find it "practical," and a higher order of statesmanship, to yield the demands and claims which organized labor makes for a higher humanity upon society in the name and in the interests of the whole people.

Legislation, Minor Matters of—(1901, p 186) It is a mistake to endanger important legislation by freighting the Legislative Committee with matters of minor importance, which sometimes have a distinct flavor of special privilege. We feel the "Leave of Absence Bill" was largely consented to by the representatives of wealthy corporations for the effect it would have in keeping government work out of the navy yards and arsenals.

Legislation, Reason for Failures—(1900, p 113) We feel it our duty to say that greater success might have been obtained if the organized workers throughout this country had disregarded their partisan political opinions and takeen the proper steps to make their Congressmen and Senators thoroughly acquainted with their wishes.

Legislative Committee—(1882, p. 22) Legislative Committee authorized to take charge of work in Washington, with power to enlarge the committee when the best interests of labor require a proper presentation of statistics to Congress to substantiate our demands.

Legislative Committee, Pay for—(1904, p. 237) Socialists made an issue of an amendment to the American Federation of Labor constitution providing that while the Executive Council should watch and initiate legislation in Congress "no lobby committee be maintained or money appropriated for such purpose." Convention endorsed this statement concerning the benefits secured through the legislative committee: "We have more beneficent laws for the protection of the rights and interests of labor and lives of laborers of our country than there are in any country on the face of the globe. It is true some of the laws enacted have been declared unconstitutional; but there is not an essential factor we have surrendered, there is not a thing for which we cannot make a further fight. We move on and on. Sometimes we are forced back or cannot proceed further, but those who have the grit, the intelligence and the courage to fight and use every legal means at their command are the men who make up a movement that while defeated now and then cannot be and will not be conquered." Amendment lost.

Legislative Summary—(1917, p. 121) The general trend of legislation affecting the interests of labor has been to a large extent favorable. While it is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to make an effort to secure legislation upon every subject of interest to labor, yet the fact must not be overlooked that our efforts should be directed in great part to the fundamental and vital questions that arise from time to time. Our movement is interested in every question which affects the activities and the lives of the people of our country, but our energy should be so directed that the influence of our organizations may be concentrated to secure legislation which vitally affects our general movement. With a continuance of this policy, we shall be able to achieve even greater successes in the future than we have in the past.

Legislators, Labor Records of—(1913, p. 371) State Federations of Labor should

pay particular attention to the compilation and distribution of the labor records of state legislators to the end the workers generally may know from an authoritative source who are the "friends of labor."

Letter Carriers, Wages for—(1902, p. 133) Endorsed demand of the National Association of Letter Carriers for an increase in wages.

Liberty Defense Union—(1918, p. 240) Charges against Liberty Defense Union of misrepresenting labor people of country by soliciting funds under false pretense were ordered submitted to department of justice.

Liberty Loan—(1918, p. 48) American Federation of Labor subscribed for $10,000 of the first Liberty Loan issue, $10,000 to the second, $10,000 to the third and $10,000 to the Canadian Victory Loan, a total of $40,000. Efforts were made to learn the amount purchased by the members of affiliated unions but this was found impossible. There is no question they have responded loyally to the Liberty Loan and for the purchase of War Saving Stamps.

Liberties Maintained by Unions—(1903, p. 13) In our day the only consistent, persistent, and aggressive movement to maintain the liberties of the people of our land now and for the future is the villified, yet noble and ennobling movement of organized labor. The great good any movement has accomplished in the uplifting of the masses never has been accorded it during the militant stages of its achievement; and ours is not and can not be an exception. It must remain for the student and historian of the future to portray the struggles, the burden, the heroism, the hopes, the aspirations, and marvelous achievements of our great movement. All we can do in our day is to keep on and on and on, true to our highest conception of duty, hence true to our fellows, consciously and confidently relying upon the future, unhampered by prejudice and sordid avarice, to accord our purposes, efforts, and achievements in the interest of humanity the proud place in history which they so justly deserve.

Licensed Trades—(1881, p. 4) Favored state laws licensing stationary engineers and enforcing restrictions which will preserve life and property better; (1896, p. 78) so safe and reliable men can be distinguished from minors and incompetents. (1897, p. 75) Refused to indorse license law for barbers, but referred it to state branches without recommendation, deciding workingment must rely on themselves to obtain better conditions.

Lien Laws—(1881, p. 4) Supported laws securing mechanics and workingmen first lien upon the product of their labor. (1904, p. 268) Called attention to the lack of suitable mechanics' lien laws and the non-enforcement of those already enacted. The building trades especially suffer and all affiliated organizations were urged to bend every effort in securing lien laws that would protect employes from designing contractors.

Lincoln Memorial in Washington—(1914, p. 463) Instructed Executive Council to use its best efforts to have all work on the Lincoln Memorial being erected in Washington, D. C., performed by union men and in accordance with eight-hour laws.

Lincoln's Centennial—(1908, p. 103) Recommended that February 12, 1909, the centennial anniversary of the birth of the martyred Lincoln be made a holiday by the local unions of the American Federation of Labor and urged Congress and state legislatures to make February 12 a legal holiday.

Lincoln's Memorial Farm Association—(1907, p. 87) Endorsed association formed to purchase the home and farm where Lincoln was born and obtain as many relics of the great emancipator as possible for the study and observation of all who visit the place.

Lloyd-George—(1909, p. 157) Placed on record its appreciation and admiration for that great tribune of the people in the British Parliament, Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his herculean support through the British budget of the welfare and interests of the whole people of the country, as opposed to the opposition he has aroused among the aristocracy therein in its defense of property. (1910, p. 320) Repeated its appreciation and commendation of "the great commoner."

Loans by A. F. of L. to Unions—(1903, p. 252) Endorsed refusal of Executive Council to make loans to affiliated unions, as general funds do not admit of such practice, and the defense funds must be scrupulously maintained and exclusively expended for the purpose for which they were created. Unions were urged to create substantial treasures. (1892, p. 27) Committee on laws instructed to formulate law governing the Executive Council in the matter of loans and donations to unions on strike.

Local and Federated Unions—(1905, p. 186) There should be stricter discipline in the case of directly affiliated unions that neglect to affiliate with city or state bodies. We also suggest that if national and international officers would urge by circular or direct appeal to their local unions to no longer hold aloof from city and state bodies practical results would follow.

Local Conditions, Contractors Must Observe—(1903, p. 216) All corporations or companies in the building industry shall be required to observe local conditions of the building trades irrespective of agreements made with affiliated organizations in other branches of industry.

Local Unions, Control of—(1901, p. 247) Refused to issue a mandate compelling local unions that had withdrawn from central bodies to form building trades councils to quit those bodies and return to their original affiliations, but requested them to do so.

Machinery, Foot Power—(1892, p. 45) Enforcement of legislation urged to regulate use of foot-power machinery in trades where women are employed, as it is injurious to health.

Machinery, Opposition to—(1898, p. 121) From the experience of all organized crafts it has been demonstrated that the policy of opposing the introduction of labor saving machinery is both futile and unwise, and we are strongly of the opinion that the International Union of Coopers will conserve the best interests of its members by directing its policy so that the journeymen coopers will retain control of such labor-saving machinery. We, however, recognize and acknowledge the right of the organized coopers

to determine what policy is best for their own interests.

Magna Charta—(1909, p. 312) Section 39 of the Magna Charta of Great Britain declares: "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished or anyways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, save by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." The Bill of rights, which William and Mary were compelled to sign to secure the throne, also says: "1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal."

Maps and Geographies—(1914, p. 348) Attention of organized labor called to the necessity of seeing all school books, especially geographies, and maps, are prepared and published under strictly fair conditions.

Mare Island Ferry—(1913, p. 274) Efforts of navy yard employes for seventeen years to reduce ferry rates approved. Discontent also caused by navy department issuing order prohibiting landing of boats owned and operated by employes and thereby giving a monopoly to a ferry company that had refused to reduce rates.

Marine Hospitals—(1914, p. 87) Urged Congress to establish marine hospitals at Setattle and Pittsburgh. (1917, p. 363) Marine hospital at Pittsburgh was abolished and those who became ill there sent to other hospitals. Urged a new hospital be established in that city.

McNamara Case—(1912), pp. 141-155) During all the conferences of the representatives of our trade union movement of 1911, all through the two weeks of the Atlanta Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and until a few days after its adjournment, so far as we knew, and know, all believed in the innocence of the McNamaras of the charge of criminality lodged against them. Our belief in their innocence was strengthened by the manner in which they were unlawfully kidnapped from their home state by the "system" of detective agencies—a system which has since become a stench in the nostrils of decent men and officially stigmatized as such by the President of the United States and the Attorney General. A few days after the adjournment of the Atlanta Convention not only the people of our country in general, but particularly you and we, the representatives of the great rank and file of organized labor, were stirred, stunned and shocked that the men in whom we had placed our faith and belief in their innocence had proven by their confession that they were guilty. From such investigations as had been made by those supposedly competent to judge, the catastrophe at Los Angeles, we were led to believe, was due to a gas explosion. The solemn assurances by the men charged confirmed the general confidence in their innocence. Never for one moment did the A. F. of L. or its representatives condone a crime, if one had been committed. Upon the contrary, every feeling and expression conveyed the hope that no man in the remotest degree associated with organized labor, or that any other human being, was guilty of an offense so heinous. Then again, long experience with the brutal side of many in the business world and their alliance with corrupt politics and unscrupulous detective agencies and agents provacateurs, the hostile employers association; the circumstantial evidence connected with the destruction of the Times Building; the fact that Harrison Gray Otis, owner of the building and the Los Angeles Times, had for twenty years conducted a bitter, inexorable war upon organized labor—all this evidence, accompanied by the repeated disclaimers of guilt by the men, persuaded us into the full faith and belief that the men were victims of a vengeful plot to disrupt the labor movement of our country. If we erred in assuming the men to be innocent, we did not err, as events proved, in assuming concerted and vengeful machinations on the part of militant, hostile employers and their hirelings. If ever there was a fight made upon organized labor, if ever there were efforts made to defame and discredit trade union officials, to abuse and mislead the rank and file, they were made in the months following the change of pleas in the Los Angeles trial. The spirit of Shylock who vowed,

"If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him"—

seemed to be surging rampant through our long time foes. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, the hostile press united in a terrific attack upon the leaders and the purposes of organized labor. Bluster, innuendos, insinuations, were blazoned in a way calculated to do the cause injury. Every device was employed to confuse the issues and to make it appear that organized labor was on trial. A disclaimer of knowledge of the crime was issued by the executive officers of the international trade unions with headquarters in Indianapolis. They did not condone the crime, but regretted the industrial conditions and tactics of militant employers that led to what seemed to be manifestations of industrial war. They called attention to information and wholesale denunciation of trade unions that had so befogged the situation that honest men were misled. But still the attacks did not lessen in violence or persistence. Detective William J. Burns traveled from coast to coast, trumpeting loudly of what might confidently be expected in the way of sensational arrests and convictions of the "men higher up." By subtle and cowardly insinuation he made it appear that officers of the A. F. of L. were the "higher ups." When the President of our Federation made reply, this centered upon him the brunt of Detective Burns' unlimited stock of billingsgate. Burns talked ceaselessly as he traveled, addressed capitalist clubs and organizations glad to listen to his attacks; harangued chance audiences and reporters, trying by every known method to destroy the reputation, to defame the good name and to undermine the life work of President Gompers. Avowing over and over that what he thought of that man was not fit to print, he continued his accusation, so planned that newspapers would give first page space to the stories. Evidently the design was by frequent repetition of falsehoods to make them so familiar that the people would regard

them as truth. If any adequate conception could be given the world of the pressing, tremendous forces brought to bear upon the principals in the California trials, if the real history of the terrible affair could be disclosed to the world, the appalling disclosure of the methods of criminal big business would cause humanity to shudder and grow sick at heart. The McNamara offense was a social crime. Thinking people who were made to realize the poisonous, miasmic influences corrupting the atmosphere of industrial life, were well nigh overwhelmed by the weight of collective responsibility devolving upon them as a result of the existence of such conditions. The McNamaras were either criminally insane or insanely criminal—either condition due to imperfect education, incomplete education, or defective mentality. In any case, society is responsible for not remedying the conditions. What concerns labor and society generally are preventive measures and human betterment so that life and working conditions may be pure, wholesome and clean. Those infected by deadly social poisons, due to social neglect, are the heritage of our own sins and those of our fathers. The financial report of the McNamara Defense Fund issued August 9, 1912, contains an itemized statement of all moneys received and from whom, as well as a statement showing amounts paid out, and to whom. This report was sent to all contributors with the statement that they would be informed as to the disposition of the balance of the funds when that question shall have been determined. One result of the deplorable affair has been to rouse all to serious consideration of social problems and to convince thinking people of the existence of dangerous tendencies that, unmodified, might foster and intensify class hatred and terminate in class clashes. Many of these citizens formulated their conception in a petition to Congress that the President be authorized to appoint a Federal commission on industrial relations to investigate and report relations existing between employers and employes, to discover and to point out the underlying cause of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation. Congress authorized the President to appoint such a commission. None felt more keenly than did the men of the organized labor movement the crime resulting in destruction of life and property. None regretted and deplored the crime more than we, and none were less responsible for its commission. Such work is not the mission of the American labor movement. This great humanizing movement has lived and will live to protect the workers, to enable them to attain higher and better things of life. The American labor movement is founded upon the inherent principles of justice and right. Its men are loyal—as loyal to the institutions of our republic as are the men in any walk of life. The unions of the workers have done so much for the material, moral and social uplift of the toilers, that they are indelibly impressed upon the hearts and minds, not only of the workers themselves, but of all earnest, intelligent, liberty-loving, fair-minded citizens of our country. The unions of labor will live on, ceaselessly striving for the betterment of all mankind. (p. 348) The American labor movement, as represented in the A. F. of L., will neither countenance nor condone anyone who, under the cloak of trade unionism, undertakes to carry on a criminal warfare on society.

Memorial Day—(1907, pp. 86-320) Second Sunday in May was designated Labor's Memorial Day, when men and women of labor in every section of the country can meet and by appropriate ceremonies pay tribute to those who served their fellows in the great humane work of the labor movement but who have gone beyond. (1911, p. 269) Labor's Memorial Day was changed to the fourth Sunday in May because flowers were difficult to procure and the second Sunday is Mothers' Day.

Mexicans to Organize—(1917, p. 264) Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference given full power to co-operate with international unions for the purpose of organizing Mexican workers in the United States, 5,000 having been granted charters by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Mexico and the A. F. of L.—(1912, p. 256) A struggle was in progress in Mexico to abolish peonage and land tenure and there had been considerable agitation in some quarters to influence the United States government to intervene between contending factions. We are utterly opposed to intervention in Mexico and believe in a determined policy of hands off. We extend our cordial greetings and best wishes to the men in Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women and to abolish the present land tenure.

(1913, p. 364) The American Federation of Labor condemns the attempts being made by American and foreign corporations, and certain jingo newspapers, to force armed intervention by the United States government in Mexico, and urges upon the President of the U. S. the continuance of the policy looking to a peaceful adjustment of the conflict among the Mexican people, and that the President and Secretary of the A. F. of L. be instructed to transmit the position of the Federation upon this matter to the President of the U. S.

(1914, pp. 50-317) Communication to the U. S. representative of the Mexican Constitutionalists from the Executive Council was endorsed. It said in part: "Since the A. F. of L., as no other American instrumentality outside the government of the U. S., has aided for the success of the prospective government, we have the right to suggest to those who represent General Carranza and the victorious revolutionary army that the higher humanitarian consideration be given, aye, even to those who have been guilty. And that in our judgment such a policy would have a tranquilizing effect, promoting the successful inauguration of the new constitutional government of Mexico and would tend to unite the people of Mexico in support of an orderly government of the country. And it is also earnestly hoped and respectfully suggested that some definite declaration be made, not only upon the lines indicated above but should be coupled with an avowal of purpose that the Constitutionalists will carry into effect a rightful and justifiable division of the lands of Mexico for the working people. We feel confident that such a declaration faithfully carried into effect would institute and maintain a better economic condition and a more humanitarian policy than have heretofore pre-

vailed in Mexico. In our judgment such a declaration and policy would do more than aught else to bring peace, unity, and progress to the people of Mexico and the stability of their government, all of which is submitted to the respectful consideration of yourself and your chief from the sincere purpose of your well-wishers and your friends."

(1915, p. 187) General Carranza and his party has promised many good things for the workingmen for their protection, for their elevation and progress, but we fear that when the revolution is ended, if the workingmen have not enough organization and power to protect and defend their position, and to see that these promises are made good, the labor people of Mexico will find themselves in the same position that they were in before the revolution. General Carranza and his party offered to the labor organizations, represented by the General Federation of Labor, the following government grants: "The liberty of the wage working class to organize and to strike is recognized by our constitution which declares that nobody may be prevented from associating peacefully for any legal purpose. If it is legal for capital to associate I do not find any reason why it should be illegal for labor to organize." The constitutionalist government will distribute the national lands and will recover for distribution those tracts of which private individuals and communities have been illegally dispossessed, as well as acquire by purchase and other legal means more land should it be necessary for the solution of the problem. It will also place the agriculturist in a position to acquire farming instruments and to withstand the loss of crops by means of a system of agricultural credits. To better the condition of the working class a maximum time of labor and a minimum wage will be fixed by law. Special measures will be enacted to regulate the labor of women and children. Labor organizations that comply with the law will be recognized by the government. An accident indemnity law will be enacted to protect workmen and due care will be taken for the hygienic life of the workmen in the factories, shops and in general in all the centers of industry. The complete abolishment of labor as a means of paying debts is one of the conquests already realized by the revolution—a conquest that has won us our most numerous and stubborn enemies. Reforms of a social and economic character rather than those of political character. A change in the personnel of the government or the realization of political reforms is of small importance. I am in favor of universal suffrage without any more restrictions than those absolutely necessary to make effective the vote of every citizen."

(1916, p. 57) In the spring, when conditions had arisen that seemed to make war between Mexico and the U. S. inevitable, the understanding between the labor movements of the U. S. and Mexico took on more definite form and was again instrumental in throwing light upon the influences and the agents that were trying to create war sentiment and the seeming necessity for intervention in the affairs of Mexico, and was able to help bring about an adjustment of misunderstandings without resorting to war. When war seemed most imminent, on May 23, 1916, the President of the A. F. of L. sent an invitation to the labor organizations of Mexico asking them to send representatives to participate in a joint conference with representatives of the labor movement of the U. S. so that they might consider the conditions that seemed likely to bring about war and carry back to the masses of the people of both countries whom they represented information that would convey to them the real sentiment of the people of both nations and enable them to know the elements and conditions attempting to drive both countries into war. During this conference, which was in part quite informal, the representatives of the Mexican labor movement discussed very freely industrial and political conditions in Mexico and the growth and progress of their various organizations. Considering the fact that the organized labor movement of Mexico dates only from the time of Madero, progress in development there has been most extraordinary. The local unions are affiliated to the two national organizations which were represented in the conference. While this conference was being held, relations between the U. S. and Mexico became acute. Our government had issued an ultimatum demanding the immediate release of American soldiers. As no response had been received from General Carranza, First Chief of the Mexican government, responsible governmental officials had become extremely anxious. It was at this time that a request was made to President Gompers that he make a personal appeal to General Carranza to release the U. S. soldiers. Mr. Gompers sent General Carranza the following telegram: "In the name of common justice and humanity, in the interest of a better understanding between the peoples and the governments of the U. S. and Mexico, for the purpose of giving the opportunity to maintain peace and avoid the horrors of war, upon the grounds of highest patriotism and love, I appeal to you to release the American soldiers held by your officers in Chihuahua." The day following this answer was received from President Carranza: "In replying to your message dated yesterday, I would state that the government in my charge has ordered the liberty of the American soldiers whom the Mexican forces took as prisoners in Carriza." Although the danger of immediate war had passed, there yet remained many conditions that were likely to keep relations between the two countries in an unsettled state and might at any time again bring about danger of war or precipitate war. Those who participated in the conference of the workers of the U. S. and Mexico fully appreciated that unless definite, constructive suggestions were made and adopted, the existing friendly and advantageous relations would not be assured permanence. This conference of workingmen was helpful in bringing about a better understanding in the U. S. of the real meaning and purpose of the Mexican revolution and an appreciation of what the people of Mexico were trying to accomplish in overthrowing old institutions. This understanding made more general the feeling that the people of Mexico knew what they wanted, understood their peculiar problems and had a right to work out their own salvation in accord with their ideals. The conference

in itself was an illustration of how easily war may be averted when an element of reasonableness is introduced into a critical situation and the people of both countries insist upon knowing what are the true causes behind the demand for war. (p. 385) The purposes of the Mexican revolution appeal to the highest concepts and impulses of all liberty loving men and women. The struggle now in progress in Mexico is the effort of a nation to free itself from irresponsible use of governmental power and from the fetters of tyranny. We affirm the right of every nation to work out its own destiny in accord with the concepts and the genius of its own people. The labor movement of the U. S. through the President of the A. F. of L. and its Executive Council has been helpful in maintaining this right for the labor movement of Mexico, such intercourse and conferences as may be deemed helpful to this purpose shall be continued. President Carranza issued a decree August 1, 1916, which is of vital importance to the very existence of the labor movement of Mexico. It provided the death penalty be applied not only to the disturbers of the peace but to those who may incite workers to strike in occupations devoted to public service and those who may engage in propaganda to such end. The president of the A. F. of L. protested and was told the decree was not against strikes for improved conditions but against a general strike order by irresponsibles.

(1917, p. 64) The new constitution adopted at Queratero contained a provision expressly recognizing the legality of the right to strike.

(1918, pp. 55-248) A labor commission was sent to the labor organizations of Mexico to strengthen fraternal relations already established between Mexico and the United States by previous conferences, and to prepare the way for definite plans for the holding of the Pan-American conference. In addition, it is our hope that resulting conferences will bring about a better understanding between the peoples of Mexico and the United States and will thus frustrate the activities of vested interests that are employing powerful publicity agencies and diplomatic influences to bring about a misunderstanding between the governments of our two countries. (p. 251) The report of the labor commission concluded: "There are probably half a million workers organized in Mexico, in the syndicates and federations of syndicates. The only industries that approach nationalism, so far as we could learn, are the miners, textile workers and railroad workers. There are approximately fifty thousand miners in the state of Coahuila alone, and the miners at Coahuila, Torreon and Durango are getting together in some kind of a national federation. There are unions through all the mining fields of Mexico. It is hard to get authentic figures from the different districts, owing to the long distances and lack of national and district unity. But these local organizations are active and operating in their own way, each syndicate making demands, settlements, or striking independently, which we are inclined to believe often has a demoralizing effect on both operations and workers. The hard rock miners of Pachuca and Elora, near Mexico City, are organized, about 22,000 in both camps. We were told by a mine manager that the managements had given up fighting the unions, and were now hoping for some steadying influence to appear, whereby equitable agreements could be negotiated by localities or districts that would insure some measure of industrial peace at least during the life of such agreements. He told us that recently they had been compelled to close down their mill for repairs, which automatically closed the mine. The syndicate demanded the wage for this period of idleness, claiming that machinery and ore could very well wait a week, but their stomachs could not. He was compelled to grant their demands. He admitted that wages were too low, but said that if the unions were to go into negotiations in a business-like way with the companies, with a view of establishing a joint agreement for the district regarding wages, conditions, and the machinery for peacefully handling disputes, a much better wage and working situation could be arrived at. We cite this instance because we found considerable of this sentiment among employers and others who have probably not been too considerate of the conditions of toil heretofore. Most of the underground men in this instance were only receiving $1.25 Mexican. As the cost of living is far higher in Mexico than in the United States it is impossible for men, women and children to enjoy even the common necessaries of life at this wage. Wages are somewhat higher in the coal fields. This is room and pillar mining, both pick and machine, with machine mining on the increase. Many of the mines in Coahuila are very gaseous, the Wolff lamp exclusively being used. Miners are paid by the ton or car. It is mostly contract work. Drivers, timbermen, tracklayers, etc., are paid from $1.50 to $2.50 per day, Mexican. They have the universal eight-hour day in all mines in Mexico. The textile operatives are on piece work, are well organized and are trying to establish a minimum wage in the industry. There is a sharp division of opinion as to whether this should be done by law or by organized effort. The attitude of the government has in some localities not been too friendly, and strikes have been suppressed and peaceable parades forbidden, and this is causing much concern regarding the theory of state regulation. All employes in and around the mills are, like the miners, organized into one union. The operatives at Puebla were striking while we were in Mexico, demanding an 80 per cent advance in wages, and improvements in working conditions. They were offered a 60 per cent advance, and the congressman from this district informed us that he felt they would get together in an amicable settlement in a few days. The cooks and waiters have one of the strongest organizations in Mexico City, and maintain good headquarters. They have complete organization, as have the street railwaymen. The street railwaymen are handicapped since their last strike, the authorities having forbidden them from striking. This attitude on the part of the authorities is likely to lead to serious trouble, if persisted in, as declaring strikes illegal does not prevent them from happening. The Building Trades in Mexico City are not so well organized as in other cities, probably on account of government pressure. We were informed that in Vera Cruz, Tam-

pico, Puebla and Orizaba they were well organized, and in some cases the wage rate is from $5 to $7 gold. This is the highest wage we heard of.

"We were invited to attend a session of the Senate, which was in session, considering the bill requiring the secret ballot for the voters of Mexico. This bill had passed the Lower House, which had adjourned. We met several Senators from mining and manufacturing states, all of whom expressed a desire to see the workers of Mexico thoroughly and efficiently organized on a national basis. They offered to cooperate in any way they could to bring this about. They were also considering a Federal compensation law at this session. We learned before leaving the city that the provision for the secret ballot had passed the Senate. The Mexican workers have a close fellowship feeling and sympathy with the French and their method of organization. It must be borne in mind that they were denied freedom of action or thought for ages, and when the revolution gave them their opportunity for action, they were at the mercy of syndicalists, and professional men who had become ultra-radical by reading. When we asked them if they had not read Herve's repudiation of syndicalism, some said it might be a trick of capitalism, and one man said that this was not the first time that twelve months in prison had changed a man's mind. They evidently could not understand how a beautiful theory like syndicalism could be repudiated. At the same time there are many clear thinking men and women who realize that their movement is not bringing results, and are strongly of the opinion that they must unite on a plan similar to ours. This is the preponderance of feeling we found expressed in and out of the meetings and conferences. Santiago Iglesias is well known among them, as he is known in all Latin American countries. He is conversant with their history and wrongs, speaks their language, and succeeds in bringing the most radical to agree with him on program and methods. He was strongly urged, as were all of us, to hold meetings throughout Mexico. He represents to them a line of thought and action they have not heretofore understood or applied. He convinced them of the possibility of doing that which has not yet been done, organizing a national federation of labor, composed of national, self-governing unions.

"It may seem to some of us strange that this idea did not occur to them first, but their opportunity came to them comparatively recently, and Mexico is decidedly a country of localities and local viewpoint. The feeling that has animated the local labor movements is now ripe for being moldeo into a national and international direction. We have repeatedly told them that it is not our purpose to instruct them, but rather to help, assist and cooperate with them in any reasonable manner within our power. They realize that cooperation and helpfulness from the north will be fully assured in a general way and more available, by their participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In the building of a virile, intelligently organized national labor movement in Mexico we see their greatest opportunity and guarantee for democracy. When the workers intelligently respect themselves, they compel respect from society as a whole. We feel confident that this can be done; if their opportunity is lost, the workers of Mexico face an unhappy future. It is our undivided opinion that with the setting up of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in working order, the closer relations that will exist and the better opportunity for understanding each other's viewpoint and problems, the economic future of the toilers of Mexico, Central and South America, can be placed on a happier and securer basis."

Migratory Workers—(1910, p. 243) Executive Council directed to organize migratory workers. (1911, pp. 69-276) Executive Council made this report of its investigation:

"The lot of the migratory laborer in the United States today is in some points worse than slavery. The slave was at least sufficiently well nourished to enable him to perform his allotted tasks. He was assured of a shelter and in case of illness of as much care as a thrifty farmer will give to his horse or other domestic animals. But the very large proportion of unskilled or casual workers who at the present time usually find employment only on short jobs or at season work suffer a precarious existence. As they move from place to place, they often go hungry, and while at work their food is usually of a poor quality, ill prepared. Many of them do not earn enough to establish a home or to pay for medical attendance when sick or suffering from accidents. The character of much of the work performed in the United States does not permit of the steady employment of a regular body of men. Railroad extension work, the construction of bridges and highways, much work in lumbering, waterway, canal, and drainage, and in the building trades, which are mostly carried on in the less inclement seasons of the year, are characterized by idleness for months together of tens of thousands of men. In agriculture, large bodies of men are employed during the seasons of plowing, seeding, planting, and harvest, only to be left without steady work the rest of the year. In all, it is difficult to estimate how many men are thus living in the U. S. today, but the number reaches into the millions. The Pacific Coast has its own immediate problem with regard to migratory labor, though within a few years to come local conditions will probably be so changed as to present few features distinguishable from those of the general labor situation of the United States. As has been the case for years, the question of moving the migratory laborers to the place where and at the time when needed has been a serious one affecting the Pacific Coast trade unions. While there may be congestion at one point, there may be a dearth of labor at another. While there is the general division of laborers into Asiatics and whites, there is a subdivision of non-American whites into 'colonies' of Mexicans, Italians, Greeks, Russians, and others. The private employment bureaus of the Pacific Coast have been and are badly conducted. On consideration of the facts as they now exist, the establishment of state employment agencies would, in the judgment of some of the union officials of the coast, be of benefit to the unskilled wage workers in general and might have a tendency to aid in the special organization of the migratory workers. Turn which way we may, the fact invariably confronts us, in our endeavor to ameliorate the lot of the laborers now in

America, that there must be a restriction of immigration. Restriction, as recommended by the United States Immigration Commission, is, if not the first step toward organizing migratory laborers, at least an essential step."

(1912, pp. 29-384) Organizers made every effort to help the migratory workers but were hampered by this fact: With no permanent abiding place, with employment of short duration periods in localities scattered over a wide area the organization of these workers is exceedingly slow.

(1913, pp. 88-350) Executive Council reported having prepared letters of inquiry with a view of securing data upon which to base articles of an educational character to be distributed among these workers. The problem of making them realize their need of organization is by no means an easy matter, as the intermittent nature of their labor and their roving lives make the fixed habits and purposes necessary for organization difficult. But they can be incited to higher standards of life and work only through the organized labor movement.

Militarism and Disarmament—(1898, pp. 28-86) From a strange source came a still stranger message of peace to the world. The Czar of Russia invited the governments of the world to send representatives to a conference to discuss and devise ways and means with a view to the disarmament of nations. A militancy is inimical to liberty, and as peace is essential to successful industry, progress and civilization, we express our warm approval of any movement likely to contribute to the accomplishment of these desired ends.

Militarism and Military Training—(1899, pp. 16-148) Our country, "our New Possessions" and Militarism: We note with the keenest apprehension the departure on the part of our present government from the ideals and principles of human liberty. When in the hour of intense suffering and struggle the fathers of the Republic wrote for the first time in recorded history, into a political document this imperishable truth, that all men are created equal, and by their Maker endowed by certain inalienable rights, among which are the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it was meant for all men and all times; not only on the religious and political fields, but on the industrial field as well. It was given to us by Him who suffered on the cross, and has conquered absolutism in religion and in the State. It is taking hold of our industrial activities, remodeling and harmonizing them with itself. Any step backward in practice, and especially in principle, in this evolution toward a complete democracy, is fraught with the gravest dangers to labor. When the toiler in the sugar fields of Hawaii is compelled to continue to labor against his will, it is an attack upon the freedom of the workers in the kindred industries within the old States. When the Cuban, the Porto Rican and the Philippinos are deprived of the right of self-government by our ruling class, it is our political rights which are in jeopardy. When the military arm of the government unduly enlarged is permitted to exhibit its inherent tendency, whether such be in Cuba, in Idaho, or in the Philippines, then freedom is in the gravest danger. Absolutism protected and stimulated by a large standing army and encouraged by a disarmed people, crushes all opposition, assumes all real power, while it leaves the trappings thereof to a people, who, feeling the substance gone, all the more worship the insignia that remains. Feeling that this is our own present condition, we urge upon all lovers of political and industrial liberty to unite regardless of political or other immediate interest in the defense of this fundamental principle. We warn our people against the plausible arguments advanced in support of extension of territorial dominion. We have noted the repeated recommendation by the several Secretaries of War, that the army be increased, giving the social and industrial disturbances of the country as their reasons, and hold that the extension of territory is but to welcome an excuse to accomplish that purpose, and to use such increased army, as in time past, it was used, to further subjugate the working people.

(1911, p. 264) The A. F. of L. is strongly opposed to the spirit of militarism and the creation of enormous navies by the nations of the world, and in this attitude it is supported by the unanimous voice of the trade unions of Europe and America. Nevertheless, as the existing unchristian attitude of the nations of the earth is such as to make armaments necessary for the present, and as naval vessels will for a time be constructed for the service of the U. S., the Executive Council is instructed to use its best efforts to have them built in government navy yards.

(1915, pp. 381-8) Resolutions protesting against military training in the public schools were nonconcurred in.

(1916, p. 383) On the question of "militarism" and military training in the schools the A. F. of L. stands on these principles: "We are unalterably and emphatically opposed to 'militarism,' that system fostered and developed by tyrants with the object of supporting their arbitrary authority and utilized by those whose predatory designs or ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other nations, destroying their liberties, acquiring their wealth and fastening the yoke of bondage upon them. The American trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that 'militarism,' even in its less horrid manifestations, brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. Under the baleful thrall of the savage instincts which it arouses, the finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under 'militarism' a pseudo-patriotism is established in the minds of the people wherein men believe that there is nobility and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty, or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democratic institutions. 'Militarism' is the appeal of arbitrary and irresponsible force as opposed to reason and justice. Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The institutions of our country and the freedom won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to die in defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions. Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry

arms. A citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army—to which we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish 'militarism' in all of its phases. Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our several states, has given cause for gravest apprehension. At times their ranks have been recruited from professional thugs, criminals and employes of corporations involved in conflict with workmen who are endeavoring to protect their rights and interests and elevate their standards of living. During industrial disputes the militia has been called upon to support the authority of those who have desired to enforce martial law, while the courts were open and civil authorities competent to maintain the supremacy of civil law. We declare that the militia of our several states should be organized and controlled by the democratic institutions of our country, so that this voluntary force of citizen soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose to be used to jeopardize or infringe upon the liberties of our people. The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle regarded at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate. Unquestionably the perpetuity of our ideals of government and the maintenance of our free institutions depend largely upon the character of training received by the youth of today—the citizen of tomorrow. While demanding that our public schools shall so teach our children as to develop keen, ready minds, and inspire them with high and lofty ideals fully prepared to intelligently exercise the duties and responsibility of a free people, we also demand that the body of every child be so trained in our schools as to develop them into full manhood and womanhood. We likewise insist that the youth of today—the worker of tomorrow—be so trained as to take his place in our industries fully equipped and prepared to protect his rights as a worker and to properly exercise his influence in our economic and industrial life. We are, however, unalterably opposed to any form of physical training or any quality of mental education, which would tend to inculcate the spirit of 'militarism.' The child's immature and impressionable mind must not be taught to think, except with horror, upon the killing of human beings. To arouse the thought that any of their school hours are devoted to preparation for the possible use of arms against their fellowmen is to brutalize their instincts and subvert the influence of the necessary lessons of humanity, peace and good will which it is the duty of our public schools to impress upon them."

A committee of five, with the president as chairman, was authorized to gather data, hear evidence, and record and publish it and report at such time as the Executive Council deemed best. Early in 1917 (p. 100) the war situation became so critical the government found it necessary to consider and adopt policies upon military defense and service. Appointing a committee to perform the work outlined in the 1916 declaration was deemed not sufficient and a conference of the authorized representatives of all labor organizations was held in Washington, D. C., March 12 to determine labor's position in peace and in war.

Militia—(1892, p. 32) Calling out of state and national troops, as well as irregularly armed bodies, has been done at the solicitation and instigation of corporations. A. F. of L. and affiliated bodies instructed to demand of state legislatures laws providing for at least one of the following propositions: 1. Creation of boards of commissioners (to be elected by the people) of as many members as there are congressional districts in a state and in conjunction with the governor shall have sole power to call out militia in times of labor troubles. 2. It will be unlawful for the governor to call out militia except on a petition signed by one-fourth of the qualified voters of the county in which the troubles exist. 3. Unless one of these propositions is enacted into law unions should forbid members to join the militia and those now enlisted should be ordered to resign. (p. 33) Unions should see to it that members and friends of the workers and not the agents of monopoly shall command the military and other departments of our state and national governments.

(1896, pp. 75-6) All unions recommended to discourage the enlistment of their members into the national guard in the several states.

(1905, p. 179) Resolutions forbidding union men joining militia until system in vogue (in Switzerland) is adopted in the U. S. laid on the table.

(1906, p. 234) Same resolution defeated.

Milk Inspection—(1916, p. 347) Indorsed proposed appointment by Congress of a committee to investigate conditions in dairies and dairy products, as it is estimated bovine tuberculosis kills 6,000 children annually, and determine whether supervision alone or with state and municipal supervision is necessary for the reasonable protection of the health and property of the citizens.

Mine Explosion—(1915, p. 325) Deplored explosion at Ravensdale, Wash., and demanded most rigorous investigation by the authorities so that a possible repetition may be prevented.

Mine Legislation—(1918, pp. 117-331) Senate bill giving Oklahoma preference in purchase of coal lands and asphalt deposits in that state was amended to provide: "That said coal deposit under said land shall not be mined by convict labor for the purpose of sale to any private agencies, individual, person, or corporation, or to be sold for private or commercial purposes."

Miners, Gratitude to—(1902, p. 205) We owe, as organized workmen, a debt of gratitude to the miners for the noble fight they made for the fundamental principles of trade unionism—the right to organize and the right to collective bargaining. This struggle will, in our opinion, be a historical one in the labor movement, and there is no doubt but that the developments incident thereto have concentrated popular thought upon some of the most important economic problems of our century. We feel that we but re-echo the sentiments of this convention, and organized labor in general, when we express the hope that the United Mine Workers of America will reap the full reward of their fortitude and determination in the protracted

struggle in which they recently engaged.

Mines, Bureau of—(1915, p. 114) The Bureau of Mines act has been amended to extend the safety provisions, including the establishment of ten new mining experiment stations and seven new mine safety stations It is a valuable act and little opposition developed.

Minimum Wage—(1912, p. 251) Inasmuch as the A. F. of L. never has expressed itself on the principle of a minimum wage rate established by state or federal legislation, the Executive Council was instructed to make an investigation.

(1913, pp. 59-299) Executive Council reported nine states had enacted minimum wage laws for women and a bill had been introduced in Congress. Ohio had adopted a constitution containing a clause permitting laws providing for a minimum wage. The movement for a minimum wage for women and minors has gained considerable headway in our country, and that sentiment in favor of a living wage is rapidly crystallizing. That this growth of sentiment among the people is due to the activities of the organized wage-earners there can be no doubt. The organized labor movement has insisted from the beginning upon the establishment of a living wage as a minimum, and it has, through the force of organized effort, succeeded in establishing minimum wages and maximum hours of labor far superior to those prescribed by the wage boards of other countries. There is a marked difference, however, between the laws of other countries and the laws enacted or proposed in various States in our country. In England and in Australia authority is vested in wage boards to fix minimum wages for men workers as well as for women and minors; whereas in America these laws relate exclusively to women workers and to minors. If it were proposed in this country to vest authority in any tribunal to fix by law wages for men, Labor would protest by every means in its power. Through organization the wages of men can and will be maintained at a higher minimum than they would be if fixed by legal enactment. But there is a far more significant ground for opposing the establishment by law of a minimum wage for men. The principle that organization is the most potent means for a shorter work day, and for a higher standard of wages, applies to women workers equally as to men. But the fact must be recognized that the organization of women workers constitutes a separate and more difficult problem Women do not organize as readily or as stably as men. They are, therefore, more easily exploited. They certainly are in a greater measure than are men entitled to the concern of society. A fair standard of wages—a living wage, for all employed in an industry, should be the first consideration in production. None are more entitled to that standard than are the women and minors. An industry which denies to all its workers and particularly denies to its women and minors who are toilers a living wage is unfit and should not be permitted to exist. We recognize, of course, that in our time legislation of this character is experimental and that sufficient experience with it has not been had to enable comprehensive and accurate information as to its tendency and its effect upon wages and industrial conditions; therefore, for the information of the labor movement the Executive Council is instructed to watch developments where such legislation is in force and to record carefully the activities, the decisions and the trend of minimum wage boards. In all minimum wage laws the organized workers should see to it that provision is made for the representation on minimum wage boards of the organized wage-earners, and that the laws are so changed or drawn and administered as to afford the largest measure of protection to women and minor workers—those they are designed to protect. (p. 258) Indorsed bill providing that after June 30, 1914, the minimum wage for all civil service employes shall be $3 a day, $90 a month, $1,080 a year. All employed in accordance with the civil service act of 1883 and amendments thereto and receiving $1,080 a year shall receive an increase of 5 per cent of the amount they are now receiving for the next four years, or 20 per cent.

(1914, p. 462) Indorsed bill giving unskilled laborers employed by the government $780 a year and all skilled laborers, including watchmen, police officers, firemen, inspectors and all who use tools $1,080 a year.

(1915, p. 109) Executive Council reported bill failed to pass. Reaffirmed. (p. 64) In connection with the discussion of a minimum wage by law, attention should be called to a proposition advanced by President Gompers by which the desired result could be achieved without doing violence to any inherent right of freedom. While a member of the New York Factory Investigation Commission, he proposed as a substitute for a minimum wage law for all women workers this suggestion: That minimum wage for all workers under 21 years of age shall be established by state agencies, and for the purpose of that law all wage-workers, male or female, under the age of 21 years, shall be regarded as coming under the operation of the minimum wage law. Thus equality before the law will be established, wage-workers who are minors under 21 years of age will have lost no right they now have, and each will be accorded the full status of equality and rights after reaching the age of 21 years with all other workers and citizens of the state. We are in accord with the opinion as expressed by President Gompers, that if such a provision were enacted into law no fear need be apprehended that workers, both men and women, after they have reached the age of 21 years, would receive less than the minimum, but, on the contrary, they would work for the attainment of the general standards of wages, hours, and conditions of labor as prevail in the trade or vocation in which they are engaged. The plan suggested makes no distinction in policies for securing industrial betterment based upon purely sex distinction.

(1918, p. 114) Indorsed for the third time bill for a minimum wage of $3 a day for certain employes of the government. (p. 118) Notice given of a bill for the establishment of a wage board in the District of Columbia to fix wages for women and minors.

Mob Rule by Employers—(1902, p. 201) Entered protest against outrageous treatment accorded mayor of Tampa, Fla., for no other reason than he had shown a friendliness to the striking cigarmakers of that city.

He had been spirited away by the same element that is at all times ready to invoke the aid of the law and subservient judges when they are on their side. But when, as in this case, an official is suspected of friendliness to the workers the same element resorts unscrupulously to lawless acts.

Molders' Union, Plot to Ruin—(1904, p. 231) Telegram from Joseph F. Valentine, who, with others, had been arrested on trumped-up charges: "Say to our friends that we hope to uncover a plot here (Cincinnati) to ruin the standing of our organization."

Money Printed by Hand-Roller Process—(1911, p. 261) Printing money by roller process is a safeguard against counterfeiting, and we oppose changing to machinery. We do not believe in a cheap country, cheap men, cheap wages, or a currency cheapened to the danger point of encouraging counterfeiting.

Monticello—(1914, pp. 90-303-312) Favored purchase by the government of the home of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello, Va. (1915, pp. 111-29?) While no action was taken by Congress the proposal had grown in favor among Senators and Representatives.

Mooney Case, Thomas J.—(1917, p. 459) Warren K. Billings, Thomas J. Mooney, Mrs. Rena Mooney, Israel Weinberg and Edward Nolan were accused of guilt in connection with the San Francisco bomb outrage during the Preparedness Parade on July 22, 1916, and Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney have been convicted and Mrs. Rena Mooney found not guilty by a jury but is still charged under other counts. The character of the majority of the principal witnesses was such as to create a justification for the belief that the accused were convicted under circumstances which make it mandatory that they should be given a new and fair trial, in order that a jury, the composition of which is above suspicion, may pass upon evidence submitted by witnesses whose character warrants credence in their testimony and around whom there hangs no cloud of past viciousness, depravity and attempted subornation of perjury. This is essential, as the records of the trials, as given to the public, have been such as to create the gravest doubt as to the reliability of the testimony offered by those considered the state's most important witnesses. The A. F. of L. in the name of justice requests the judicial and other public authorities of California to take the necessary steps in order that new trials may be given to those already convicted. It is our well-considered and deep-seated conviction that unless such new trials be granted there must remain in the minds of the majority of our citizens the belief that the accused were convicted through testimony which branded some of the witnesses as perjurors and those who endeavored to procure subornation of perjury for the purpose of securing such reward as might be given to them for their testimony. Without such new trials there will remain the firm conviction that a grave miscarriage of justice has been allowed with the knowledge of the authorities. We sincerely approve of the instructions given to the special commission appointed by the President of the United States to thoroughly investigate the procedure and activities of the public officials in connection with the trials which have already been held so that there may be supplied authoritative information upon the rumors alleging sinister activities on the part of the prosecutor's office which have been given wide-spread publicity.

(1918, p. 325) The A. F. of L. hereby requests the President of the United States to exercise such power vested in him to prevent the execution of Thomas J. Mooney, so that the wide-spread suspicion that a gross and flagrant miscarriage of justice has occurred with the knowledge of authorities may be allayed; also directed that the resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to the Governor of California.

Mothers' Day—(1912, p. 141) During the previous year the Executive Council had given its support to a movement to make the second Sunday in May Mothers' Day, a day of homecoming and of uplift to and in honor of the home. (1914, p. 56) Congress had enacted a law approving of the date for Mothers' Day in honor of the service rendered by the American mother, which, it declared, "is the greatest source of the country's strength and inspiration." State federations of labor were urged to secure enactment of similar laws by their respective legislatures.

Mothers' Pensions—(1911, p. 357) Widows with children should not be forced into industry where they must work for less than men in order to obtain employment. The national government should assume support of mother and children until latter became self-supporting.

Motion to Nonconcur Out of Order—(1906, p. 221) Reading of a report of a committee is really a motion to concur, thus bringing the matter before the convention. A motion to nonconcur is out of order.

Mount Vernon—(1913, p. 260) Government urged to buy Mt. Vernon to stop profiteering and permit working people to visit it free every day in the week. Declared excessive fare is charged by boat line and for admission to the grounds; 25 cents has been exacted since 1858 from all over 10 years of age. (1914, pp. 90-303-312) Reaffirmed.

Municipal Ownership in Europe—(1914, p. 200) A labor commission sent to Europe by the A. F. of L. to investigate conditions of the street railway employes pertaining to wages, hours of labor and effects of municipal operation reported that in Germany the task of organizing tramway workers had been difficult as outlined in a report made by the officials of the International Transportation workers. They said: "Nothing is more difficult than the beginning. This is at least true with regard to the organizing work among the tramway workers in Germany. But not only was the start difficult. The whole work has been laborious up to the present. Enemies and adversaries of the organizations were, and are still to be found not only among our own fellow workers, but also among the employers and among the capitalists, who have an influence upon government. There are probably very few industrial branches in which the capitalists are so closely connected, both financially and otherwise, with the representatives or officials of government as they are in our

calling. The employers are using every conceivable means to get the tramway servants away from the organization. The most extreme measures—and these have up to the present proved the most effective in the interest of the employers—have, so far, always been the propaganda and the promotion of the class spirit among the servants. As soon as this spirit is awakened, the organization finds among the tramway employes enemies just as bad and just as obstinate as the employers themselves could possibly be. These fellow workers put up with anything; brutal insults from their superiors, humiliations in the presence of passengers, absolutely insufficient wages and excessive hours. They see their children starving and their wives sitting over home work almost day and night; but their class spirit does not allow them to go the only way which would lead to some less insufferable existence; the way of the modern organization, the free trade union. A legally guaranteed right to combine does not exist in Germany for tramway men. As long as the trams were run by horsepower, the systems were under the trade regulations and the right to combine was secured for the employes by these laws. But when in the middle of the nineties of the last century, electric power was introduced, the tram systems were placed under 'light railway' laws and these did not say a single word about the legal position of the employe. In respect to this the employers now try to cast doubt on the right to combine by means of agreements, decrees, threats, and by means of terrorism and such means. This often leads to bitter struggle." The officials then declared: "There has been no improvement from any other source brought to the tramway workers but that has been done through their union."

All kinds of opposition and every sort of fake beneficial organizations were started to offset the work of the bona fide trade union. Employes of private companies are compelled to pay dues into these fake societies and levies of 4 to 6 per cent are made. Religious, company and other unions were organized to divide the men, and it is difficult for legitimate organizations to hold their membership. When an increase in wages is needed there is a rush to join and when secured there is just as sudden a move to withdraw from membership. After every movement of this kind the employers become vindictive and thousands are discharged. A sample of the fake organizations is the Private Railwaymen's Union. This is "under the patronage of the Prussian parliament," whose sole purpose is to produce patriotic slaves. Strikes are of short duration, the longest on record being three weeks. The only movements that have benefited the German tramway workers has been through regular union with the aid of sister organizations. A recent strike settlement gave these wages: For the first and second years, 100 marks ($23.80 U. S. money); third to fifth, 105; sixth to eighth, 110; ninth to eleventh, 115; twelfth to fourteenth, 120; fifteenth to nineteenth, 125; twentieth to twenty-third, 130; drivers, 10 marks extra. The organized workers of Germany have no general labor contracts as we have in the United States. All contracts are made by the individual worker with his employer. He makes a contract to cover his probation period, then after he is accepted as a regular man he makes another contract. Except as the organization has been successful in modifying them the contracts are severe in their demands, restrictions, and penalties. Samples of the probation and regular employment contracts follow:

"Drawn up at Halle-on-Seele —— 19— at the offices of the Halle General Electric Metropolitan Railway Company. In reply to the invitation resulting from my application, the undersigned having been hitherto a —— born on —— at —— in the county of —— married —— father of —— children. At present living at ——. Affirming that he has never been convicted and holding in the military service the rank of —— presents himself today and declares: 1. Inasmuch as I have been engaged today to serve on the Halle General Electric Metropolitan Railway as —— I undertake to be faithful and obedient in this position, and to carry out all the duties required of me conscientiously and to the best of my knowledge. I promise faithfully to observe the Police Regulations relating to the Tramway Service issued on the 2d of June, 1889, and the Service Regulations issued in 1901 for drivers of electric motor wagons. I must inform myself of the contents of these regulations as well as of any supplementary regulations. 2. During the time of my employ, the company has the right to dismiss me whenever any cause is to be found in the manner in which I carry out my duties, while I may leave only on the Monday following an eight days' notice. 2a. Except in the case mentioned in par. 2, the H. G. E. M. Co. holds itself bound to give eight days' notice. 3. For the carrying out of my duties I am to receive a daily wage of 2-6 per day plus 3 per cent of the fares received and to have the use of a suit of clothes to be worn when I am on duty, which however remains the property of the company. 4. I am entitled to a daily wage and to a suit of clothes from the day which is appointed by the company. I am not entitled to claim any compensation for the time taken up in notification and in learning my duties. 5. Without having to suffer a deduction of wages I hope to get two full days free each month—these days to be decided by the management. My remaining away from work on any other days except holidays, unless illness is the cause, not only entitles the company to deduct the wages for this period but also to dismiss me immediately. I emphatically declare that if I leave my work or stop working without having given the regular notice my guarantee is immediately forfeited to the company. 6. I undertake to contribute to the Sickness Fund and to pay the contribution to the fund as fixed by statute. 7. The fares paid by passengers and entrusted to me are the property of the company, so that I am under obligation to hand them over faithfully and correctly. I am also instructed that by intentionally taking any one on the car who is not entitled to a journey without taking his fare I dispose of the profits, to which the company is entitled, to their disadvantage, and am liable under par. 226, No. 2 of the Penal Code, to be punished for dishonesty. 8. I hereby clearly recognize that my duties demand the punctual fulfilment of the disci-

pline regulations for employes on the H. G. E. M. Railway Co., which have been or will be issued, the contents of which in so far as they have been issued I am acquainted with. Every case of contravention of these regulations will be regarded as a breach of the contract inasmuch as it will be regarded as a failure to carry out the contract. I hereby undertake to pay the forfeit of 1/- to 10/- for every case of contravention of the existing orders or any that will be issued later and hereby empower the management to fix the amount of the forfeit, to deduct it for me from my wages, and place it in the benefit fund. I also explicitly renounce all legal action concerning the matter. I hereby subject myself in case of a contravention of the service regulations to the punishment inflicted by the management. 9. I am under obligation: (a) To faithfully deliver up any articles left behind in the cars or which come into my possession in other way. (b) To make good all damage and to bear the cost of repairs on the Halle G. E. M. Railway, which during my work or during the time when I am learning my duties may be attributed directly or indirectly to me. I therefore deposit a guarantee sum of 170 marks which is to be deducted from my wages at the rate of 10 marks a month.

"This guarantee shall be forfeited, in addition to the case mentioned in par. 5 according to this agreement in case of dishonesty proved against me, heedless of the amount involved. In no case am I entitled to demand the withdrawal of the guarantee while an examination or inquiry is in progress no matter how long it may last, or before the expiration of three months after the termination of my service. 10. Finally I recognize that the following are required of me: (a) Unconditional obedience to all superiors. Politeness towards all company officials. (b) Respectful, quiet, and obliging conduct towards passengers. (c) Avoidance of quarrels and disputes with fellow employes of all grades. (d) Complete sobriety is emphatically demanded. Any contravention of this, especially in case of drunkenness, is threatened with dismissal. (e) Other duties which are usually done by —— to be undertaken without entitling me to any special compensation, and that before I become a conductor, I must learn the duties of a driver as provided for in par. 4, of the conditions. 11. Should the inspecting authorities for any reason desire to discharge me from the Halle Metropolitan Railway (par. 62, II of the Construction and Working Regulations for Tramways with Mechanical Power, June 26, 1906) I am not entitled by this agreement to object to it, and may be dismissed immediately without the management being compelled to pay me more wages than for the time I have been employed. 12. I undertake to carry small change to the value of 30 marks in the pouch which is supplied to me. 13. I hereby recognize that I may not engage in any other supplementary employment without the approval of the Halle E. M. Railway Company."

Although the conditions of employment of the tramway workers have been placed before the reichstag no results followed. In one speech the reichstag was told: "Such agreements contain decisions relating to penalties for the slightest error made by men on duty amounting to 10, 20, and 25 marks, and further regulations concerning reimbursement of cost of repairs, and it has happened that employes who have been acquitted in the courts have been compelled by the company, in spite of this, to defray the cost of repairs out of their wages. The company also endeavors in this way to transfer the loss, which it ought to bear, to its employes. Again there are regulations which leave to the pleasure of the company the decisions as to the granting of wage bonuses. As to the giving of notice, the employes must give fourteen days' notice and over against this the management reserves the right to dismiss a man at a moment's notice, if the interests of the service require it, or if there is any special reason. Gentlemen, these are a few points taken out of the agreements which are in vogue today on all tramways, and now finally allow me to refer to the fact that the attempt has even been made to interfere with the private family life of the employes and to ply them with questions relating to the most intimate private affairs. In the traffic regulations of the South German Railway Company in Essen the following occurs relative to the question of supplementary employment. Every official who intends to marry must give at least three weeks' notice of this before he applies at the registry office. In the notification he must give the Christian name and surname and residence of the parents together with their residence and position. Also all changes which occur in the personal relationships of the official, especially referring to the birth of children or the death of a former wife or children. Gentlemen, there is only one thing lacking to bring about for the tramwaymen in the twentieth century the conditions which existed for laborers in the middle ages. These specimens may be enough to show you how necessary it is that the whole of the agreement conditions in tramway concerns in Germany should be thoroughly examined and satisfactorily revised. Gentlemen, the thousands of employes in the tramway service are no longer satisfied with fine phrases, with statements that 'further consideration will be given,' that 'there shall be further discussion'—whatever these technical expressions of the government may mean. You must give a final consideration to their wishes, and they have a right to it, to demand that at last strong action be taken to abolish these shameful conditions, and to put the whole of labor conditions on such a basis that it can be said that these men too may enjoy an existence such as human beings are entitled to." In answer the representative of the government said tramway men were not regarded as industrial workers and their grievances were questions for the separate parliaments, to which they were referred and where they died. The tramway workers have therefore decided their only hope for relief from the impositions placed upon them is through their trade union activity.

A man going to work on the trams must practice for eight weeks to learn the business. This is a government regulation. For that work he gets 2½ marks a week, which would be about 60 cents in the money of the United States. He must also put up an indemnity in the way of a forfeiture, averaging about 75 marks, and this stands against him, indemnifying the company in

cases of breakage or any violation of the company's rules and regulations, for all concerns have a system of fines ranging anywhere from 1 mark to as high as 15 or 16 marks, which men are fined for the violation of rules and regulations. So if a man should fail to report in the morning and lose his run he would be fined from 1 to 2 marks for such offense. The medical test in the tramway service throughout Germany is very rigid. In addition to answering satisfactorily specific questions pertaining to military service, an applicant must undergo a thorough examination by the officiating doctor and be pronounced physically sound. The company reserves the right to discharge without notice, while the employe who desires to quit is required to give notice in some instances as long as three months in advance. Failure to comply with this regulation invariably results in forfeiture of bond, and, as one of our German brothers put it, "every strike is a breach of contract and if the men lose they forfeit their bond money." An example of this is shown in the report on the strike of the tramwaymen of Saarbrucken, which occurred in 1911. It was conducted by a union not affiliated with the regular movement. The strike failed and every striker reinstated had to pay the company 50 marks from his deposit money. The security was then increased 50 marks, so that each had to put up another 50 to make the deposit 100 marks. The men who refused to return to work were fined by the company 92.50 marks, which practically confiscated the amount they had on deposit. All concerns furnish uniforms for the men, but these uniforms are furnished just as a shovel or any other tool is furnished. They are not the property of the men at all. They are simply worn while in the service, are kept in repair, and when the men leave the service they must be turned back to the company, or else they must be paid for out of the indemnity which the employe deposited on entering the service. In a report to the International Transportation Workers its chief executive said:

"If there is anything that strikes us particularly while looking over the returns on wages, it is certainly the length of the wage scale in most of the concerns. We find wage scales extending over 15, 20 and 30 years of service, and even more, before the maximum pay is reached. If we look a little closer at the figures, we find that the commencement wages are mostly comparatively small, but that the maximum wages show a higher amount. The importance of this measure upon the part of the employers is easily recognized. Higher maximum wages induce the servants to work for years for low wages. On the other hand, they represent for the employers a kind of a safety valve for the expenditures connected with the pay-bill. A perusal of the commencement wages confirms the above statement. In no town in Germany, even where they have the cheapest living conditions, is it possible to get along with a family on less than 105 marks a month, but we see from the returns 87 concerns pay their motormen, and 102 concerns pay their conductors, less than 100 marks a month. And it is even worse if we look a little closely at the individual concerns. We find that 80, 75, 70, and as low as 69 marks are being paid per month. What kind of an existence must the families of these badly paid workers eke out? Here, perhaps, we have a solution of the problem why in the case of the tramway servants the percentage of cases of death is so much higher among the women than among the men, and why the average life of the wife is about ten years shorter than that of the man. A world of misery is still to be found in this field of labor."

France has no municipal tramways. All are owned by private companies. The systems of wage on the transportation lines of Paris differ. Some employes are paid by the month, some by the day, and others by the hour. In the train service there are five grades of pay. In the fifth class men receive 165 francs a month; fourth class, 175 francs a month; third class, 185 francs a month; second class, 195 france a month; and first class, 200 francs a month. A franc equals 20 cents of United States money. The entrance to these various classes is not fixed by time service, but depends upon vacancies in each, so that promotion from a lower to a higher class, with resultant increased pay, can come only when a vacancy occurs. The movement from low to high wage is thus dependent on men's leaving the service in the higher grades. Plainly put, under this system men in the advanced grades must die or leave the service for other cause before the men at the bottom can get a wage increase. The commencement wage for tram employes in Paris equals $33 in United States money per month, and the maximum wage equals $40 per month. The workday on the Paris trams is ten hours and most of the runs are completed within twelve hours. The law provides for one day's rest in seven. Employes are obliged to contribute to various benefit schemes. The present wages and working conditions were established in 1910 by the trades unions when most of the franchises expired. The workers of France generally are poorly organized. As a prominent trade unionist of Paris remarked to us, "They are all good union men at heart, but not in their pocketbooks." The French worker has not reached that stage in organization development where he realizes the necessity of paying dues. As a result the unions are without funds and unable to conduct a vigorous campaign. Movements spring up, the workers respond to the call for organization, and when the particular issue that aroused them to organized activity is disposed of by victory or defeat, they fall back in the same old rut and neglect to support their unions. For the French trade unionist believes that in some miraculous way which he can neither describe nor explain something is going to happen that will unite the workers in the general strike, and the millennium will be established. In the headquarters of the organization of steam railroad employes of France, we found that the part of their movement in which they seemed most interested was the promotion of an orphan asylum. Illustrated pamphlets and literature were devoted to this feature which seemed to them a crowning achievement. The fact, however, that there were 410,000 railroad employes in France eligible to membership, and only 28,000, or less than 7 per cent, in the organization, gave us a vivid impression of the difference between the French and American ideal of trade union methods.

Like most of the French unions, dues in the railroad organization are low, amounting to 15 cents a month. An additional 14 cents a month is contributed to the orphan asylum fund.

The right of the workers to organize is guaranteed by law in Switzerland. A report of the Swiss Tramway Employes' Union states: "One rarely hears of the direct oppression of the organization, and employers are careful not to oppose, as this would be contrary to the constitution of the Swiss Confederacy. In the period from 1910 to 1912, there was a serious increase in prices, with the result that wage movements took place in almost all concerns, with good results for the men. The authorities in concerns owned by communities, as well as in private concerns, were compelled to recognize that extraordinary times demanded extraordinary measures." The laws of Switzerland also provide for insurance against sickness and accident. The managements are compelled to insure employes and pay all premiums. They are required to pay tram employes when sick or injured a sum equal to at least 80 per cent of the daily earnings. In case of permanent injury the yearly pension amounts to 75 per cent of wages. Under the law the maximum consecutive hours of labor must not be over eleven. The unions have succeeded in reducing the workday to nine and ten hours. As the report of the union states: "With the help of their organization conditions are more favorable in all large concerns than is prescribed by the law. This circumstance has forced the tramway employes' union to press for a revision of the questionable laws and success seems certain." We were much impressed with the air of freedom everywhere apparent among the workers of Switzerland. They are a healthy, husky, thrifty lot, earnest, sincere, and hospitable, and their spirit of independence is admirable. Yet in the large cities of the oldest of present-day republics, with democratic methods and law-making in the hands of the people, there are many evidences of poverty. Hovels are the shelters of many of the workers, and the living standards are far below that to which the American worker is accustomed. The apartment building prevails in the cities of Switzerland as it does throughout the continent, with small rooms, poor accommodation, and surroundings wholly uninviting. When we asked a union metal worker of Switzerland if he owned his home, he laughed and answered, "No; the workers here do not own homes; they never make enough money to buy a home." So in God's beauty spot, with the ice-capped peaks etched against the heavens, and with an environment that inspires courage, with the ballot free, and the people acting as the court of last resort in law-making, grim poverty holds sway and want grips the unfortunate. The only check has been the results brought by the trade unions, for wherever the conditions of the Swiss workers have been improved they have been accomplished through their unions.

Beginners on the tramways of Rome receive the equivalent to 64 cents in U. S. money and the maximum wage after 18 years' service is 94 cents, with a nine hour day completed in 13 hours. When discharged there is no re-employment. Division among the workers of Italy as to the form and method of organization has retarded progress.

About 85 per cent of the tramway employes of London are organized. The wages for motormen are about $1.20 and $1.56 in U. S. money on private lines and a little higher on municipal tramways, which run through the more congested districts of the County of London.

Glasgow has no union of tramway employes, although the workmen in the mechanical departments are organized. The manager of the lines said he was absolutely opposed to any union and that he did not believe any man who worked for a municipality should vote or take any part in its political affairs. The tramwaymen work 51 hours a week and receive wages ranging from $6.49 U. S. money to $8.40 after the seventh year. Uniforms are furnished trainmen free, the corporation retaining ownership. When leaving the service these must be turned in. If an employe wears out more than the prescribed allowance he must pay for the extra garments. On the Glasgow system we found a tendency towards paternalism and welfare features similar to that met with here among companies that use these methods to prevent organization, such as clubrooms, concert halls, and an employes' restaurant. The power delegated the manager in the discipline of employes is absolute. He may discharge any employe, we were informed, whose wage is less than $1,750 a year, and in this, as in most matters, his decision is final. One of the most rigid physical tests known to the business is required of applicants on this system, more exacting than for military service. Glasgow and suburbs have more than a million population, with 194 miles of street car track. Cities with one-fourth the population in this country carry much more trackage. The fares on the Glasgow system vary from 1 cent to 14 cents, according to distance. The average ride for 1 cent is 1.15 miles and so on up to the 14-cent fare, when the average ride is 14.48 miles. Fares are collected on the zone system. When a passenger rides from one zone into another he pays an additional fare. Of a total of 336,654,624 cash fares realized by the Glasgow Corporation last year, 211,462,484, or 62.81 per cent, represented 1-cent fares. This is claimed to be proof that the public is enjoying cheap fares. This is not correct, for Glasgow, like all other European systems, municipal and private, does not issue transfers, and a passenger may ride on several lines to reach his destination, and have to pay an additional fare on each. On every line he is a cash passenger and helps swell the total class of fare he happens to pay. So that the so-called cheap fare of Glasgow, as of Europe generally, is not so cheap when the small distance it covers is considered, and certainly not cheap when compared with the buying power of the workers as reflected in the impossible wage they receive.

We began our investigation of conditions surrounding the tramway workers of Europe with an open mind. We were ready for impressions and determined to report facts as we found them. The war prevented us from going into the investigation as thoroughly as we had planned, yet the field that we covered and the access we had to information gave us a good understanding of conditions. The tram systems of Europe

are not to be compared with the street railway systems of the United States. Throughout continental Europe and the United Kingdom, in the most thickly populated centers, the street railway service is inferior to ours in many respects. In the continental cities the track mileage is small compared with the United States. This contributes to density of traffic and profitable operation. The same is true of the United Kingdom, whose total street railway trackage is about 3,600 miles as against 40,470 miles operated in the United States. We found the same spirit of commercialism dominating the electric railway systems of Europe, private and municipal, as exists in this country. If any credit is to be given either, it belongs, in our opinion, on this side of the water, for the American system, to our minds, is not only cheaper to the public, all things considered, but the service is better with a great deal more of it. Cheap fares on the zone system prove dear fares to the worker if he has to ride any considerable distance or take intersecting lines, for each zone entered means an additional fare, and there are no transfers on European systems. Zone fares and inadequate wages force the workers of Europe to live close to the workshop, mill, and factory. It is rare to find a European worker who can afford to live in suburb or country, miles away from his work, as is frequently the case here. The rate of fare for long distance makes it prohibitive and the wage will not warrant the expenditure. Thus the zone fare system contributes to congestion and compels the workers to live in the most uninviting districts. It retards suburban development and adds to the rents of the workers, who not only have to suffer the inconvenience of small living quarters, but are denied sunlight and sanitary surroundings as well. And right here we desire to comment that with all the claim for legislative enactments helpful to the workers, municipal utility enterprise and co-operative development, we found the living standards of the workers of Europe, tram as well as others, so far below the average of the workers of America that no comparison is possible. The rapidity with which the workers of Europe were grasping the truth that their efforts must be concentrated in the economic field, through their trade unions, was the most hopeful sign that this condition would be altered. None of the European systems has a night car service, such as we have in our big cities. Nor have they an interurban electric service, that has contributed so much to the development of our rural districts and brought the consumer and producer in close relationship. Nor is there any comparison between the wage of the European tram employe and his brother in the United States. From the viewpoint of the purchasing power of a dollar it has been estimated by careful observers that the cost of living in various parts of the United States is 25 to 65 per cent higher than it is in various parts of Western Europe. The difference in the money wage of the street railway men of these countries is much greater. The highest wage paid any body of tramway workers in Europe is safely 50 per cent less than the rate paid in this country in the same occupation, and we found this to be the fact both on private and municipal systems. Our investigation showed that wherever the tram workers of Europe enjoyed advanced wage and labor conditions their trade unions were responsible for them. Where the trade unions are active there the best results obtain, and whether dealing with a municipality or a private company the employes have found it necessary to maintain their unions to establish and protect their conditions.

Municipal Ownership in District of Columbia—(1918, p. 118) Bill introduced in Congress providing for the acquisition, ownership and operation of all street railways in the District of Columbia by the commissioners of the district.

Musicians, Machines Displacing—(1915, p. 294) While musicians have no objection to the machines which have invaded the music field they demand that wherever placed they shall be operated by a member of the American Fderation of Musicians. All organizations were requested to aid.

National Association of Manufacturers—(1907, pp. 23-203) It is well known that in many instances there are employers and employers' associations with which the unions of labor live in terms of peace and agreement. Employers' organizations of such an intelligent character are not only welcome but should be encouraged. With organized labor they can not only work toward the maintenance of industrial peace, and the minimizing of industrial conflicts with the attending cessation of industry and commerce, but by their combined efforts constantly render themselves more independent from the trickery and machinations of the so-called princes of finance. When, in 1895, the National Association of Manufacturers was formed it had a defensible purpose to serve, that of promoting trade, commerce and markets and the elimination of restrictions and barriers. With the advent of Mr. Parry as its president it was first covertly and then openly diverted from its original purpose and became an avowed union-crushing institution. He and his successor, Mr. Post, utilized every available means to carry out the new policy of union-baiting, union-smashing. Finding the citadel of unionism firmly entrenched in the hearts and minds of the workers, they were repulsed at every step and in their every move. And now, a new Roland has come upon the field in the personage of their successor, Mr. Van Cleave. He would not only follow the old line, but strike out for a new one. He recommended to his last convention, which adopted the proposition, that a War Fund of a million and a half dollars should be raised which is to be devoted to what was euphoniously declared "educational" purposes. It was not difficult to discern, and circumstances since have demonstrated, that this fund is to be devoted to the effort to weaken, cripple, and destroy the unions of labor; the unions which are the only means of defense of the workers from the cupidity and greed of the worst elements of the capitalist class; the only means by which the working people, the wealth producers of our country and our time, can hope to secure some of the advantages of advancing civilization, participate in the progress and become larger sharers of the wealth which they produce. I am reliably informed that not less than 12,000 secret detective agents of the Pinkerton and other companies are constantly

in the pay of the manufacturers' association to spy upon and misrepresent the doings of labor. Are these hireling character assassins to be the principal beneficiaries of the million and a half dollar War Fund, and is the fund to be further devoted to suits at law against organized labor so as to engage our organizations and our men in defensive litigation and to divert us from the imminent and important work to which we should devote our time and whatever ability with which we may be possessed? Surely, recent events justify an affirmative answer. It is quite true that the make-up of the manufacturers' associations is not only of a comparatively small class of employers of our country, but it is also true that many of its members are out of touch and sympathy with the policy of the Van Cleaves, Posts, and Parrys. Several resignations from membership have recently occurred, employers sending to me copies of their letters of resignation and protest. Yet what they lack in membership and caliber they endeavor to make up by attracting to themselves public attention. And for this reason, and this alone, do they receive any consideration at our hands.

(1913, pp. 77-267) Years ago the organized labor movement called public attention to the activity of a group of ruthless employers; it called attention to the enormous "educational" fund that those gradgrind employers had collected; it called attention to the relations existing between these employers and certain well-known detective agencies that were used to beat free workmen into subjection and unfreedom. Six years ago organized labor called the attention of all to a most daring and dastardly attempt of organized employers to suborn, frighten, and bribe some of the most active men, including the President of the trade union movement of America. The outward manifestations of this invisible power were plain and undeniable. But the public was very busy about its own affairs; it seemed indifferent to the grave import of the charges that Labor made. It did not heed the warnings of Labor—in truth, it thought them incredible. Denied the rights of free men and of free citizens under a Republican form of government, the workingmen drew up their Bill of Grievances and presented it to those responsible for affairs in Congress. That Bill of Grievances meant to workingmen fighting for economic justice and freedom what the Bill of Rights meant to the men of England who fought for political justice and freedom. It was the beginning of a political policy by which Labor shall wrest control over political agencies from those in the service of wealth and shall make political agents the servants of humanity. For this purpose the organized labor movement entered the political fields as an independent force. The special interests are non-partisan. The policy of organized labor in defeating the legislative plans and the political agents of the "special interests" was of necessity also non-partisan. In the councils of the political parties, the power of the invisible government dictated platforms, rejected or selected nominees, elected or defeated candidates. Organized labor gave warning of these conditions that menaced the very foundations of free government and were destroying freedom and making justice a farce. Organized labor gave warning that this invisible governing power was breeding discontent, violence, nay, even a spirit that might lead to anarchy, by barring the avenues to justice and by denying lawful methods of redress of grievances. There is not a charge that Labor made, there is not a warning that Labor uttered that has not been most completely verified and substantiated by recent revelations that have shocked public sensibilities and galvanized even the most indifferent and apathetic into a realization of the meaning of this great industrial struggle waged by Labor, whose purpose is the welfare of humanity and the supremacy of human interests over all other considerations. Most unexpectedly to those battling for the welfare of the men and women who bear the burdens and do the work of the world, there came corroboration of their statements and vindication for their course from among the number of those who knew the secrets and guided the policies of the organized employers. The disclosure startled and convinced a hitherto incredulous public with the details of the methods by which corrupt, venal, money-mad employers had controlled the destinies of a free people. On May 26, 1913, the public press contained a published statement given out by the President of the United States, severely attacking the insidious lobbies of "special interests" and denouncing the tactics of those seeking to influence legislation for their own personal ends. But more startling disclosures were yet to come. These lobbyists were only seeking to further the interests of one business or to defeat the interests of another. Then there came a strange story of incredible brutality, inhumanity, and greed. It was the story of organized effort to throttle the life opportunity of human beings, to degrade their lives, to grind them down in poverty, need, and oppression—to bind them and hold them in subjection, to deny them the rights of free human beings and even to organize society so that they should be denied the hope of redress. The Senate appointed a committee to investigate the charges. On May 29, 1913, two metropolitan newspapers published a sensational exposure by a former paid agent and lobbyist of the National Association of Manufacturers. The revelation presented in a concrete, comprehensive form what President Wilson in his charge of an "insidious lobby" had vaguely foreshadowed. It completely justified the action of the President and the Senate in instituting the investigation. The legislative activities of this organization, in scope and effectiveness, so completely eclipsed the activities of all other lobbyists representing the trusts, that the Senate Committee hurried through these as minor details to begin a work of vital importance in understanding political and economic forces and methods—the uncovering of the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers, the trail of its corrupting influence, and its efforts to retard or advance proposed legislation. The charges were specific, personal, as well as sweepingly general. Senators and members of the House were accused of being in alliance with the National Association of Manufacturers. The accusations so aroused members of the House of Representatives that they passed a sweeping resolution, No. 198, on July 9, 1913, authorizing a "select committee on lobby investigation" to inquire into and report whether during this or any previous Congress the lobbyists of the National Association of Manufacturers, through

any officer or agent, did, in fact, reach or influence for business, political, or sympathetic reasons/or otherwise/any Representative of this or any former House of Representatives. The Senate had commenced its examination of the "lobbying" charges against the National Association of Manufacturers July 11, 1913. Nearly 5,000 copies of letters and instructions written to officers of the National Association of Manufacturers and received from them were produced in evidence. The documents produced, the statements of the associated agents implicated, revealed to the American people a series of chapters of deception, corruption, and perfidy that has never before been equaled in the history of the United States for scope of operation, audacity of conception, and inhumanity of purpose. The correspondence of the National Association of Manufacturers and testimony revealed a treachery and a deception which are hardly conceivable as existing among men of this generation. They cover far too large a field to be treated in detail here—only the briefest summary of the activities of these shameless employers and their agents can be sketched. In passing it must be added that there is not a line or word which gives a scintilla of evidence that there ever existed in the minds and hearts of the conspirators who have managed and controlled the National Association of Manufacturers for the past ten years the slightest compassion or sympathy for the working people, or desire to accord them justice or equality before the law. As a result of the investigations various bills were introduced in Congress regulating, registering or suppressing those engaged in lobbying. Now the existence of the invisible government, the stronghold of organized dollars, has been established beyond doubt or question; now that its methods, purposes, and agents have been revealed to the public, those who have at heart the interests of humanity and the maintenance of a democratic form of government are able to attack the problem with the wisdom of experience and knowledge. Ignorance of wrong and wrongdoing is not helpful in self-protection. Knowledge of what has been will enable us to prevent vested interests from again securing their strangle hold upon industrial and political freedom. The public conscience has been stirred; there is a tenderness in the hearts of men that never has been known before; there is a new depth of charity and compassion for the unfortunate; men and women are beginning to realize that misery and suffering are unnecessary—that all have a right to full, free life; there is no need for charity, only for justice. Now is the time to make justice a real thing in the lives of the people, to establish it in government and to make it a dominating force in the business world.

(1910, p. 256) As the National Association of Manufacturers has started a war to exterminate the trade unions of Southern California and the Pacific coast all unions are requested to contribute funds to thoroughly organize those districts.

Naturalization—(1907, p. 198) Urged all wage earners who are members of trades unions or applicants for such membership to qualify themselves for citizenship as soon as possible. (1917, p. 419) Indorsed bill providing a method for immediate naturalization of foreign-born residents who joined the army and navy and offered their lives to fight for democracy.

Naval Reserve—(1906, pp. 27-182) Ship subsidy bill contained provisions making compulsory naval service of seamen a condition precedent to their employment on privately owned vessels. The convention declared: The working men of our country, organized working men, are no less patriotic than any of our citizens in other walks of life. In all the great events and vicissitudes, when the honor, the interests, and the safety of our country have been at stake, none more promptly, zealously and patriotically enlisted and offered their services and lives under the flag of the Republic than did the men of Labor. We have lost none of our love for and devotion to our country. The past is but a presage of what the toilers of America will do, should the necessity ever arise, but we cannot refrain from entering an emphatic protest against an attempt to subserve a principle of civilized government, and particularly Republican institutions, by a system of conscription and compulsory military or naval service, especially in times of peace, even if conscription and compulsory service are hidden disingenuously behind the subterfuge that they are voluntary.

Negro Workers—(1890, p. 31) A. F. of L. looks with disfavor upon trade unions having provisions in their constitutions excluding from membership persons on account of race and color and request they be expunged.

(1897, p. 78) Condemned charge that unions would not admit negroes and declared: That the A. F. of L. reaffirms its declaration that it welcomes to its ranks all labor, without regard to creed, color, sex, race, or nationality, and that its best efforts have been, and will continue to be, to encourage the organization of those most needing its protection, whether they be in the North or the South, the East or the West, while or black.

(1898, p. 98) This telegram was read: "Atlanta Federation of Trades declined to enter Peace Jubilee parade because negro delegates were excluded. Color line not drawn in labor organizations in South."

(1900, pp. 22-112) Indorsed plan to organize negroes in separate unions and called upon central bodies to admit them to membership.

(1901, p. 229) Convention approved issuing charter to central body at Danville, Va., composed of negro workmen.

(1910, pp. 237) The press having misrepresented a statement made by the president of the A. F. of L. in which he was quoted as "reading the negro out of the labor movement," he said: "In reviewing the organized labor movement abroad and in the United States I called attention to the conditions confronting the working people of our time and incidentally among several things to which I referred I called attention to the fact that we had with us a population of eight million negroes, and that they are but a little more than half a century from a condition of slavery, and as a consequence it could not be expected that, as a rule, they would have the same conception of their rights and duties as other men of labor have in America. Instead of 'reading the negro out of the labor movement' my contention and the contention of the American Federation of Labor is to try to bring them into the organized labor

movement of our country. We are trying our level best, and will continue to do so, to organize the men and women of toil without regard to their religion, their politics, their nationality, their sex or their race. I could not permit this entire day to pass by without thus publicly, in this convention and in the presence of our visitors and the representatives of the press, making this correction." The convention (p. 333) also denounced the misrepresentation, declaring: "So far from closing the doors of the organized labor movement against any wage-earner, no matter of what creed, of what color, of what nationality, of what calling, of which sex, the American Federation of Labor annually exerts its efforts and spends large sums of money in spreading the gospel of trade unionism among all who toil in the endeavor to bring them within the beneficent fold of the trade union movement every toiler of every trade and calling without respect to color or sex, religion or nationality. Reference to the report of our secretary from year to year, showing the amounts spent annually in organization work will confirm us in this statement. The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly declared for the organization of all wage-earners without regard to class, race, creed, religion, sex or politics. This declaration is embodied in some of the literature which is kept constantly on hand at our headquarters and which is widely distributed from year to year. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Local Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union Movement to do so. The A. F. of L., in its effort to organize all the toilers of our country so as to protect and advance their rights and interests, knows no race, no color, no creed, no nationality, no political party."

(1917, p. 349) Executive Council instructed to aid Negroes in organizing.

(1918, pp. 130-198-205) Representatives of the negro race presented this plan of organization: President of A. F. of L. to write a letter for publication in the negro press expressing the relationship between the white and colored worker; explaining why certain internationals draw the color line and recommending its withdrawal; selection of a qualified negro for organizer and a plan of cooperation to organize these workers. The convention expressed pleasure that the leaders of the colored race realized the necessity of organizing the workers into unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. Special attention was requested in the future to the work of organization.

New Mexico—(1911, p. 138) Three organizers were sent to New Mexico to cooperate with the people in securing a needed amendment to the proposed new constitution, which contained a provision making it practically impossible, if adopted, to amend it after the state had been admitted to the union. (1912, p. 139) The campaign was successful.

Newsboys—(1906, p. 175) Requested all organizers and state and city central bodies to make a special effort to organize newsboys. (1912, p. 121) Jurisdiction status had not been determined, although opinion expressed they came under International Typographical Union. (1913, p. 109) Protests were made against organization of newsboys on ground they are "simply merchants."

Newswriters Should Unite—(1914, p. 332) It is deemed the duty of every labor editor to join a Newswriters' Union or lead or assist in organizing such a body in his locality if none exists.

Night Work—(1913, p. 284) Legislative committee directed to cooperate with the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks to obtain a shorter tour of duty for night work in the postal service. Also protested against restoring Sunday work. (1914, pp. 82-326-355) Directed Executive Council to continue agitation for less hours in night work. (1915, p. 116) Several employes of the Post Office Department were discharged for supporting the measure for the reduction of hours in night work and all efforts to secure their reinstatement failed. (1916, p. 351; 1917, p. 352) Reaffirmed demand for elimination of unnecessary night work. (1918, p. 221) Reaffirmed.

Occupational Diseases—(1892, p. 24) Indorsed agitation of metal polishers to make their employment more healthful by the introduction of fans and blowers to be used on dust creating machinery.

(1893, p. 36) Reaffirmed.

(1895, p. 80) Favored legislation requiring better sanitary conditions in dressing rooms of theaters, where actors labor at the risk of their health and life.

(1910, p. 263) Necessary legislation demanded to protect the workers in the factory and mine from the economic loss occasioned by poisons and diseases peculiar to those occupations.

(1911, p. 58) State and city federations of labor were asked to exert themselves in behalf of such legislation, with the result these safety and health preserving laws were enacted by the legislatures in the past year: Illinois: (1) Legislation establishing fire fighting and rescue stations at coal mines. (2) A State commission appointed to inquire into and render a report to the Legislature on occupational diseases. (3) A special investigation undertaken on mining accidents and casualties.

Kentucky: (1) Adequate life-saving apparatus made obligatory in and around coal mines. (2) Mine foremen to be licensed and examined by State officials.

Louisiana: (1) State bureau of mines established, with a State inspector in charge.

Maryland: (1) Shirt-factory floors to be sprinkled with water every morning made mandatory. (2) Examination and licensing of plumbers made mandatory. (3) Better ventilation laws for coal mines. (4) Stationary engineers and those in charge of steam boilers to be licensed after examination.

Massachusetts: (1) Medical inspectors for schools made mandatory. (2) State inspector of health authorized to prosecute manufacturers employing persons under eighteen years of age in unhealthy occupations. (3) State inspectors of health authorized to fix a standard as to permissible degrees of humidity in textile factories. (4) Plumbers to be examined, licensed, and registered. (5) A State commission of five appointed to investigate the general subject of factory inspection and report its findings to the Governor.

New York: (1) Children under 16 prohibited from operating drill presses, paper-cut-

ting machines, and other dangerous machinery. (2) Factory inspection law amended, strengthening the sanitary and ventilation requirements of factories and workshops. Also providing for proper supply of pure drinking water, suitable and convenient washrooms, clean and sanitary separate toilet-rooms for the sexes. Created State Commission to investigate sanitary machine and fire dangers. (3) All accidents occurring to employes must be reported to the Commissioner of Labor within forty-eight hours after occurrence. (This requirement should be made mandatory in all States.)

Ohio: (1) Mine laws practically rewritten, greatly improved and strengthened. (2) Safety appliance law extended, standardizing equipment, and also ordering proper protection of railway frogs and switches. (3) All persons operating steam boilers must be duly examined, licensed, and registered. (4) All accidents to factory operatives to be immediately reported to the state factory inspector. (5) Elevator and elevator shaft sections of factory inspection law strengthened. (6) Penalty for failure to guard dangerous machinery increased. (7) Penalties for failure to carry out orders of state factory inspector increased and state factory inspectors and state building inspectors granted co-equal powers in the protection of men engaged in the construction of buildings.

Rhode Island: (1) Passenger elevator section of factory inspection law improved. (2) Bakery shop inspection law strengthened by increasing the number of inspectors and making more rigid the ventilation and sanitary regulation of bakeries.

Virginia: (1) The factory inspection law improved and strengthened as to sanitary requirements, adding a penalty for violation. (2) Public washhouses and laundries placed under the authority of city inspectors of health. (3) Safety appliance law on railroads, standardizing equipment.

California: (1) Full crew bill on railroads enacted. (2) Protecting electrical workers and other building mechanics. (3) Physicians treating patients suffering from lead, phosphorus, arsenic and mercury poisoning, also anthrax or compressed air illnesses are directed to report all particulars to the State Board of Health. (4) Appropriation of $5,000 for an investigation to reduce the prevalence of tuberculosis. (5) Tenement house law amended, improved, and strengthened regarding ventilation and sanitation.

Kansas: (1) All coal mines to be provided with suitable washrooms for employes. (2) All coal mines to have a telephone system installed.

Washington: (1) Legislation for full crews on all railroad trains enacted.

(1911, p. 266) Endorsed efforts of national and international unions and all other bodies striving to obliterate preventable diseases. (p. 283) Illinois was reported to have enacted first law granting right to employes to recover damages resulting from occupational diseases. (p. 306) Condemned the use of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, as it caused a most loathsome disease known as "phossy jaw." U. S. only country permitting the use of poisonous phosphorus and Congress should give the workers in this industry the same protection from unnecessary suffering and death that has been extended to the match workers in other civilized countries.

(1912, pp. 52-347) Federal law enacted taxing white phosphorus matches, which will eliminate their manufacture. New York legislature enacted a law requiring workers in all factories where poisonous substances are used or harmful fumes, dust or gases are given off, to be supplied with hot water and individual towels and forbidden to eat or remain in workrooms during meal times; also applies to mercantile establishments and commercial institutions. Illinois law requires special attire and monthly examinations by physicians of workers exposed to the hazards of disease. Maryland requires physicians on penalty of a fine to report to the Commissioner of Labor all diseases resulting from lead, phosphorus, arsenic, mercury and other poisonous compounds or from compressed air.

(1913, p. 87) Invitation to be represented by an exhibit in an international congress for occupational diseases in Vienna was accepted, data collected and sent, but war broke out soon after and it is not known if the congress was held. (p. 349) Ordered collection by Executive Council of important data on occupational diseases and consultation with the several trades as to the best methods of prevention.

(1914, p. 79) Hoped Department of Labor would conduct an investigation annually and incorporate the results in one of its bulletins to appear on a uniform date each year. (pp. 78-322) Some U. S. Senators had shown a disposition to ridicule the term "occupational diseases." Fortunately official reports of the Department of Labor dealing with lead poisoning in the pottery industry and the causes of death among women and children employed in cotton mills, are a sufficient answer. (p. 496) Urged legislation requiring that filling material used in mattresses, furniture and cushions in railway cars and automobiles be picked in the workshop by persons employed for that purpose and that blowers be installed to eliminate the dust.

(1915, p. 292) Massachusetts court decided consumption an occupational disease in a case where a stonecutter died from what is known as "stonecutters' consumption," which was traceable to the breathing of dust in the granite industry.

(1918, p. 282) We believe that trade and occupational diseases should be considered in law as well as in fact an obligation on industry, and that those who contract for the employment of the workers should be required to provide compensation to those suffering by health impairment due to their employment. Executive Council directed to appoint a committee to make a thorough study of the subject.

Officers' Reports Combined—(1912, p. 400) President and Executive Council on their recommendation were instructed to combine annual reports to the conventions. Would prevent duplication of recommendations and possible conflicting opinions, although no case of the latter had yet occurred.

Officers, Retirement of—(1918, p. 341) Decided custom had made an unwritten law that where a vice president retired those who follow him numerically step up to the vacancies made.

Officers' Terms Begin Aug. 1, 1918—

(1918, p. 341) Owing to change of convention date from November to June decision was made that terms of all officers would begin August 1.

Ohio Municipal Code—(1899, p. 163) Endorsed report of commissioners appointed to revise the Ohio Municipal Code as it contained: 1. The referendum. 2. The merit system in the appointment of all its officers (other than those elected) without regard to party affiliation. 3. The municipal ownership of public utilities. 4. The nomination and election of executive and legislative officers on a non-partisan ballot.

Oklahoma—(1907, pp. 43-210) Expressed delight with the new constitution of Oklahoma, the pen with which the constitution was signed by the officers of the constitutional convention having been presented to the President of the American Federation of Labor. Oklahoma constitution declared to contain more real regard for the liberty and rights of man than has been manifested by that of any other state. (1910, p. 43) Attempt of railroads to amend constitution in their interest failed, the A. F. of L. aiding in the defeat.

Old Age Pensions—(1902, pp. 134-226) Resolutions urging Congress to enact a law granting pensions of not less than $12 per month to citizens over 60 years of age who have earned no more than $1,000 average wages per year were defeated.

(1908, p. 99) Executive Council reported these annuities prevailing in Europe and Australasian countries:

Austria—Compulsory invalid pensions for employes in mines of at least $42.50 per year for men and $21.25 per year for women, and widows' and orphans' pensions to the amount of three-quarters of the invalid pension rate are paid. The fund is maintained for paying these pensions by equal contributions of employers and employes. Administered through miners' relief funds.

Belgium—Since 1891 government paid a subsidy to recognized friendly societies and in 1897 there were 3,000 pensioners receiving 300 marks annually. In 1898 compulsory insurance for miners through their relief funds was instituted and they were entitled to old age pensions after 35 years' service in the mines.

Denmark—Relief of a charitable character is given applicant 60 years of age and not in poverty due to his own fault, but must have resided in same place ten years, never sentenced for vagrancy or begging nor received other relief. One-fifth of the population in 1899 drew such pensions.

Iceland—Males between 20 and 60 years of age pay 27 cents and females 8 cents a year into a pension fund.

France—Compulsory insurance for old age exists in France for seamen and miners only, but the state undertakes the assurance of old-age pensions for all classes who care to make the necessary payments through a state institution.

Germany—Old-age pensions are compulsory and administered through district and state bodies that cover railway and mine employes. Employers and employes pay equally and the state contributes $12.50 per year to each annuity. State also pays weekly contributions of workingmen while serving conscription periods in the army. Pensions are paid to persons over 70 years of age and range from $15 to $45 a year, to which the state subsidy is added.

Italy—Old-age insurance is voluntary, the premiums of 10 cents to $20 a year being paid by the insured, the state granting a subsidy of $2 per person a year.

New Zealand—Any citizen over 65 who has resided in the colony 25 years, of moderate good character, and not possessed of property amounting to more than $1,600 clear of all encumberances, nor an annual income of $260 net, is entitled to a pension, provided he has not directly or indirectly put property or income out of his hands in order to qualify. If the net income is under $175 and the property above debts is not over $250, the maximum pension of $90 a year is given, but for each $5 of net income above $170, and also for each $75 of clear property above $250, the sum of $5 is deducted from the pension, so that the pension vanishes when the clear property reaches $1,600, or the net income rises to $260 per year. No distinction is made between men and women, but in case of married couples living together no pension is to be granted that would make their combined total net income more than $390. The law applies to native Maoris as well as whites, but aliens, nomads, Asiatics, criminals, drunkards, wife deserters, and those not living a sober, reputable life, are not included.

New South Wales—Persons over 65 years of age and married receive $1.80 per week each, and single $2.40. Citizens having $2,260 worth of property not eligible. In some colonies 25 years residence is necessary.

Victoria—Pensions of not more than $1.92 per week after 65 years of age, and recipient must be without means of support or without relatives able to provide for him. Those with $1,175 or an income over $100 not eligible.

(1909, p. 97) Endorsed federal bill favoring old-age pensions. It provides for the formation of an Old Age Home Guard of the United States Army, the plan being necessary to meet constitutional requirements. Any person 65 years of age or over, a resident of the U. S. 25 consecutive years, who does not possess property worth more than $1,500 free of all incumbrances, or an income of $240 can enlist as a private in the Old Age Home Guard. The pay shall be $120 per annum, provided $10 shall be deducted for each $100 worth of property in excess of $300 and $10 for every $100 per annum income over $120. (p. 530) Realizing that the development of industrial conditions, in their ever-changing concentration, weakens the efforts of the workers to remain self reliant, and that but for the preservation of the economic rights through the efforts of organized labor, they would be entirely subject to the control of merciless industrial corporations, and that with all which can be done, the contest will ever be keen, the American Federation of Labor, in furtherance of the humane policy of the trade union movement, which at all times has given its best efforts to help the downtrodden and oppressed, endorses the principle of old-age pensions for the poor and needy who, during their active years as wage-earners, have contributed to the nation's wealth and prosperity, and are no longer able to do so. We also realize the difficulty of securing old-age pension laws

in the U. S., especially the enormous effort necessary to have uniform legislation in the states.

(1911, p. 268) Endorsed proposed federal retirement law; also a comprehensive national old-age pension system.

(1912, p. 347) Reaffirmed endorsement of old-age pensions for federal employes, and ordered efforts for their establishment be continued.

(1913, pp. 58-376; 1914, pp. 87-327; 1915, p. 111; 1916, pp. 105-265-288-354; 1917, p. 352; 1918, p. 237) Reaffirmed endorsement of federal old-age and retirement pensions.

Oleomargarine—(1910, p. 255) While artificial coloring matter is permitted in butter, manufacturers of oleomargarine must pay 10 cents a pound tax for its use. Tax on oleomargarine has a tendency to increase price of butter and should be decreased to not exceeding 2 cents a pound because it is mainly sold to the poor.

One for All, All for One—(1889, p. 16) We insist upon the autonomy and independence of trade unions. Yet in its advocacy and to further its high mission the trade union movement is charged and should stand ready to render every assistance to protect and advance the interest of our fellows with the same fervor and enthusiasm as if we were the ones the blow was directed against. One for all and all for one is a principle long ago recognized. It is cherished in the hearts of trade unionists.

Open Shop—(1903, p. 87) The President of the United States, regarding his open shop order governing the Government Printing Office by which a nonunion bookbinder retained employment, made this written statement: "As regards the Miller case, I have little to add to what I have already said. In dealing with it I ask you to remember that I am dealing purely with the relation of the government to its employes. I must govern my action by the laws of the land, which I am sworn to administer, and which differentiate any case in which the government of the U. S. is a party from all other cases whatsoever. These laws are enacted for the benefit of the whole people, and can not and must not be construed as permitting discrimination against some of the people. I am President of all the people of the U. S., without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation, or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact justice as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the government service I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union as being for or against him than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him. In the communications sent me by various labor organizations protesting against the retention of Miller in the Government Printing Office the grounds alleged are twofold: 1, that he is a nonunion man; 2, that he is not personally fit. The question of his personal fitness is one to be settled in the routine of administrative detail, and can not be allowed to conflict with or to complicate the larger question of governmental discrimination for or against him or any other man because he is or is not a member of a union. This is the only question now before me for decision, and as to this my decision is final." (p. 115) Convention declared the "open shop" belonged to the same category as the "nonunion" or "scab shop" whether under private or federal management.

(1903, p. 20) Recently the opponents of organized labor have started an agitation for what they euphoniously designate as the "open shop"; and several employers, otherwise fair, having been persuaded that the proposition on the surface appears to be ethical, have advocated it. On the other hand our movement stands for the union shop, not, as our opponents designate it, the closed shop, for, as a matter of fact, a union shop is not a closed shop. Any wage-earner, a member of an organization in any part of the country, can enter the union shop. And any wage-earner, competent to fill any position in the union shop, is not only eligible to enter to work therein, but the organizations have their hundreds of missionaries at work, in and out of season, urging and pleading with them to enter the wide-open doors of the union. This so-called open shop is the disintegrating factor that leads to the nonunion shop; in other words, the shop which is closed to the union man, no matter from whence he hails or what his skill and competency. The so-called open shop influences wages and the standard of life to the downward course for it is based upon the sycophancy of the most docile, and the most immediate needs of those in direst distress, of the poorest situated among the workmen. Agreements or joint bargains of organized labor with employers depend for their success upon the good will of the union and the employers toward each other. Neither should be subject to the irresponsibility or lack of intelligence of the non-unionist, or his failure to act in concert with, and bear the equal responsibility of, the unionist. Hence, the so-called open shop makes agreements and joint bargains with employers impracticable, if not impossible. The union can not be responsible for non-unionists whose conduct often renders the terms of the agreement ineffective and nugatory. Inasmuch as the most conspicuous antagonists of organized labor are sponsors for what they term the open shop, upon the pretense of the liberty of the individual, the thought forces itself upon us to ask: "When, in history, have the opponents of any movement for the uplifting of the masses constituted themselves the advocates and defenders of the liberty and freedom of the people?" The whole hue and cry is designed to deceive the ignorant and enthrall the masses. (pp. 89-210) The so-called "open shop" makes agreement with employers impractical if not impossible, for the union can not be responsible for the non-unionists, whose conduct often renders the terms of the agreement ineffective and nugatory. The agreement, or joint bargain, of organized labor with employers depends for its success not only upon the good will of the union and the employer toward each other, but that neither shall be subject to the irresponsibility or lack of indulgence of the non-unionist, or his failure to act in concert with, and bear the equal responsibility of, the unionists. The right of the non-unionist to work when, where, and for what he pleases carries with it the logical right of the unionist to work or refuse to work when, where, and for what he pleases, and with whom he

pleases. To a non-unionist, despite that which his advocates say for him, can not be attributed the virtue of helping his fellow-workmen or contributing toward the establishment of more rightful relations between workingmen and their employers. No force but that of persuasion and moral and intelligent influence should be exercised to convert the non-unionist to membership in our organizations, but it is hurtful from every view point, and to every enlightened interest, to advocate the "open shop." As the immortal Lincoln said, "This country can not long remain half free and half slave," so say we, that any establishment can not long remain or be successfully operated part union and part non-union. (p. 210) Instructed Executive Council to submit to the President of the U. S. all testimony to the non-union bookbinder's unfitness to hold office and that his unfairness and immorality "be settled in routine of administrative detail," with the expressed desire that if said charges in whole or part are true he be dismissed from the public service.

(1904, p. 19) Report of A. F. of L. President: "In many cities employers, antagonistic to labor, have formed themselves into so-called citizens' alliances, and have undertaken to propagate the policy of the destruction of organized labor, their first effort being directed to what they are pleased to term the "open shop," and to attack the union shop under the false assertion that it is a "closed shop." Some have pretended that the entering into an agreement of an employer with a union by which exclusively union men are to be employed by him, is in violation of law; that it denies the right to employment of workmen who are not members of the unions. In the first instance the claim is absurd when it is known that the union not only opens wide its doors, inviting all to join, but sends out its organizers and missionaries to induce by every honorable means within their power the non-unionists to share in the advantages that come from united and associated effort. But quite apart from this consideration is this fact, that an employer may give a contract to a dealer to furnish him with his raw material, or to erect a plant, or to furnish him with machines, the contractor to have the the exclusive right to furnish and provide these things. Such a contract implies and provides the exclusion of all other dealers, builders, or machinery manufacturers. Is such a contract held to be improper or unlawful? Are not hundreds of thousands of contracts of this character made daily? The agreement between an employer and a union is for the members of the union to furnish that employer with labor of certain qualifications for a specific period of time, the consideration being the payment of stipulated wages as a minimum. That others are by their own short-sighted policy or indifference excluded from the provisions and benefits of such an agreement is their own fault and against which they have neither the legal nor the moral right to contend. The organized labor movement is the associated effort of more than two million of adult wealth producers. It is the unselfish action of the most intelligent, and the earnest manifestation of the most enlightened self-interest which sees that interest best served by helping to protect and promote the interests of others. The open-shop cant and hypocrisy aim at organized labor with the full knowledge that it, and it alone, stands between the toilers with those dependent upon them and the greed and avarice that would force down the conditions of labor to a bare subsistence, lengthen the hours of daily toil, and make the home wretched and desolate. The division and subdivision of labor and its specialization, brought about by inventions of machines and new tools of labor, have robbed workmen of their power of individual freedom of contract with their employers. Their only opportunity for anything like fair or advantageous terms under which to sell their labor is in associating themselves with their fellow workmen in making a collective bargain, a working agreement; in other words, a union and a contract by the union with employers for their labor and the conditions under which it shall be sold. The union shop in no sense involves a denial of the right of every man to sell his labor as he may see fit, nor the employer to hire such labor. In fact, it is an affirmation of that right. Employers have the lawful right to hire any labor they may choose, but it does not give them the right to impress workmen or to enslave them, or to drag them into a factory on any terms the employer may choose to grant as an expression of his "kindness." Employers have the right to make contracts for labor. This right carries with it, also, the same rights of the workmen. It, therefore, follows that if the workers have the right to sell their labor as they see fit, they have also the right not to sell it to employers, unless it be through the collective bargain of the union shop. As an illustration, I recently asserted that every man has the right to say, 'I will not work for you unless you make a contract with the union to which I belong and agree to employ none but members of that union.' To claim that he may not say this is equivalent to saying that he must sell his labor, not as he sees fit, but as the employer sees fit. Can any reasonable answer be made, or criticism indulged in, when employers find it to their advantage to make a contract with a reputable body of men to employ union labor exclusively and thus eliminate the possibility of strikes, disputes, factions, and losses? To this our opponents, the so-called citizens' alliances, can make no answer. Their policy consists of evasion and wilful misrepresentation of the aims and purposes of organized labor, of the collective bargain, of the working agreement, of the union shop."

(1905, pp. 23-188) Organized labor's insistence upon and work for, not the "closed shop," as our opponents term it, but the union shop, in agreement with employers, mutually entered into for the advantage of both and the maintenance of industrial peace with equity and justice for both, is to the economic, social and moral advancement of all our people. The union shop, in agreement with employers, is the application of the principle that those who enjoy the benefits and advantages resulting from an agreement shall also equally bear the moral and financial responsibilities involved.

(1907, pp. 25-204) We have heard with regret several men in our movement repeating the false designation of the union shop,

as the opponents to our movement call it, the "closed shop." Those who are hostile to labor cunningly employ the term "closed shop" for a union shop because of the general antipathy which is ordinarily felt toward anything being closed, and with the specious plea that the so-called "open shop" must necessarily be the opportunity for freedom. As a matter of fact, the union shop is open to all workmen who perform their duty, and that they participate in the benefits and advantages of the improved conditions which a union shop affords. The union shop implies also duties and responsibilities. This is incident to and the corollary of all human institutions. (p. 306) Endorsed desperate fight made by organized labor of the District of Columbia against the open shop.

(1910, pp. 21-308) The issuance of an injunction in New York strike of ladies' garment workers placed before the American people the novel and fallacious principle that to strike for the so-called "closed shop" is illegal. An immediate effect of the injunction was to arouse a greater determination than ever in the workers to win. While this judge's action in this case was not taken seriously, either by the press or the public, it served to indicate the necessity that exists for a statute restraining the abuse of power by judges, federal and state, particularly in the issuance of injunctions by which the liberties of the citizens, when these citizens are wage-workers, are outrageously invaded and denied. If workmen may be denied by injunction, or any other process, the right to leave their employment, either singly or in association, for the reason that they desire to secure the UNION SHOP; if they may be restrained by an injunction from striking in sympathy with their fellow-workers; if they may be enjoined from striking for any given reason whatever, the difference between the so-called free workmen and the workmn who must yield obedience to their masters —slaves—has disappeared. The only reason for slave-holding is to compel men to work in obedience to their masters' will.

(1912, p. 253) Condemned a Chicago firm that in advertising for patternmakers said: "We have an open shop and therefore do not care for any union men."

Oregon—(1910, p. 317) All central bodies of the American Federation of Labor were urged to study and discuss the Oregon system of popular government.

Organization Key to Hope and Cheer—(1914, pp. 15-346) The principle that has directed and controlled all policies of the American Federation of Labor is that organization in industry is the key to betterment of conditions for the workers. Organization for the purpose of making united effort to remedy wrongs that affect the work and the lives of all has been the instrumentality that has brought cheer and hope and betterment to the workers. Economic organization gives power—power to protect the workers against industrial exploitation and injustice; power to secure for them opportunities for development; power to to secure for them things that will make life sane, whole, and good; power to bring into their lives something of beauty and pleasure; power to secure political representation for their ideals and recognition of their demands in legislation. The influence of organization in industry and its infinite number of contacts with other organizations constitute an intricate force that is the most powerful single force in society. The power of Labor is commensurate with its unity, solidarity, and federation.

Organizers—(1882, p. 22) The Executive Council (then called the Legislative Committee) was empowered to appoint organizers for the dissemination of any documents issued by the Federation or committee and for such other purposes as may be deemed advisable.

(1883, pp. 9-13) One organizer for each state to relieve distress among workers was ordered.

(1884, p. 17) Each delegate to the convention was given a credential as organizer signed by the chairman of the Executive Council.

(1888, p. 20) Executive Council directed to appoint one organizer in cities of over 150,000 and fix their compensation.

(1889, p. 20) Directed that organizers be paid legitimate expenses.

(1890, p. 34) Convention thanked the organizers for the work done and directed Executive Council to pay them such sums for their time and expenses as its judgment dictated.

(1891, p. 19) Organizing work of wage-workers commended, as they in a spirit of valor and self-sacrifice, without hope of reward, had accepted commissions as organizers.

(1893, p. 15) The American Federation of Labor had nearly 400 organizers who without recompense, not only preached the gospel of labor's rights but wherever possible organized unions. (p. 23) Expenses of general organizers for year, $1,444.14. (p. 48) Each trade and labor assembly was given the right to nominate a candidate for its own district organizer.

(1895, p. 58) Directed great care be exercised in selecting organizers.

(1896, p. 53) The President made this report: "As elsewhere stated, we anticipate in the near future a large increase in organization. In the past year our splendid and self-sacrificing band of organizers have rendered most excellent service to our fellow-workers, to our cause. They have helped a large number to organize, so that they are now in a position to help themselves. In the meantime, however, it must be remembered that these men, themselves wage-workers, have not only given their ability, and their services without recompense, but often had to bear the expenses incurred for meetings, car fare, postage and many outlays incidental to the character of such work. I am confident that though these orgnizers are doing all they can, and more than they have a right, under present circumstances, to be asked to do, yet if they were assured that they would receive some remuneration, say even for the barest loss of time and expense, much greater results would follow." Convention empowered the President and Executive Council to appoint organizers and lecturers and pay them on a basis provided for in the constitution.

(1897, p. 16) Full power in relation to organizers given the Executive Council.

(1898, pp. 20-85) All commissions of organizers were revoked and a new corps organized. Our organizers are among the

first in the vanguard, the pioneers of most of our organizations.

(1899, p. 155) We extend our thanks to those who are engaged in the noble work of organizing the workers into the ranks of trade unions under the banner of the A. F. of L.

(1900, p. 29) A. F. of L. had twenty salaried organizers and 680 volunteer organizers. (p. 43) Secretary reported that for the first time sufficient money was in the treasury to keep organizers in the field continuously. (p. 156) Approved directing energies of organizers by circulars containing information of conditions in all sections of the country.

(1901, p. 29) During the year $35,794.61 were expended for organizing. The organizer for the Dominion of Canada had given general satisfaction. (p. 184) The amount of money expended for salaried organizers was well spent and brought good returns.

(1902, p. 17) Number of volunteer and salaries organizers increased to nearly 1,000. The volunteers give invaluable service and none in the rank and file are more sacrificing.

(1903, p. 30) During year A. F. of L. organizers formed 1,313 local unions of which 954 were turned over to national and international unions. The President reported: "In former reports I have taken occasion to commend the zeal of our organizers, both volunteer and special. I can only reiterate and emphasize the deep obligation under which our movement must necessarily be to the men who bear the brunt of unwisdom and prejudice in going among the unorganized and carrying to them the word of welcome, of hope, and encouragement. Primarily the consciousness of having performed the high duty in the interests of the workers as well as of the entire human family must be their compensation and reward. We can but attest our appreciation of their work by co-operating with them so long as life and strength may be ours in the unlifting and ennobling work." (pp. 93-252) An organizer of the A. F. of L. has been ordered out of Vicksburg, Miss., by the mayor, but later delivered a Labor Day address in that city. The convention declared: "The exercise of constitutional guarantees of the people of the United States of free entry to any other part of the country and the right to organize for their mutual protection must be maintained against all prejudices and opposition." Executive Council directed to financially assist the organizer in securing redress in the courts.

(1904, p. 34) No words can adequately convey the debt of gratitude we own volunteer organizers. Also that the faithful services of our salaried organizers, the ability with which they have fulfilled their duties, add not only to the achievements but to the good name and glory of the cause of labor, the cause of humanity.

(1905, p. 36) We have now 1,180 volunteer organizers, and 28 salaried organizers, directly commissioned by the A. F. of L. The tasks and duties of both are delicate, important, and often onerous. To attack the wrong, to espouse the cause of the weak, to defend and advocate the right under all and every circumstance which may arise, to be tactful, capable, and honest, are no mean attributes and qualifications for any one. They are necessary for a faithful performance of the duty devolving upon the men active in the labor movement, and these must be possessed to a marked degree by the commissioned organizers of our movement.

(1906, p. 38) It is strange that our opponents would judge every other association of men by the best that they produce, while holding up to contumely the worst who may incidentally flit across the path of labor, and holding these up as typical of the best that our great movement produces. A constant and persistent application of the best that is in us to help our fellows, to instill into the hearts and minds of the toilers the necessity and the righteousness of helping to bear our brothers' burdens, will overcome ignorance and prejudice and will accord to our men the honor and encomium of the great uplifting work of humanity, well done.

(1907, pp. 48-211-299) There is not a dollar which we expend in organizing purposes but which yields its advantages to our fellow-workers and to our movement, and it should be our aim to increase and extend this beneficent work.

(1908, p. 37) Our international unions attest gladly the assistance rendered by our organizers, not only in organizing new unions but increasing the membership of existing locals. By the timely visit of organizers to unions, by their advice and encouragement, much good has been accomplished.

(1909, pp. 43-318) The history of the world has demonstrated no cause ever can be suppressed or permanently retarded in its progress when its adherents are willing and ready to sacrifice their time, their energy, their intelligence and, if need be, their lives in its support. In that class stands the American labor movement and the multitude of organizers, salaried and volunteer, who are daily making sacrifices for the great cause of human advancement. There is not a dollar expended in the field of organizing our fellow-workers but that brings its return a hundredfold in the form of improved conditions for the toilers, the protection of their rights, and the resultant organization. It is our duty to the fullest to provide the means with which this work can be carried on and extended.

(1910, pp. 51-314) It is a part of the record of our organizers that they are in every particular exceptionally law-abiding men, and ascertaining their own and the workers' rights as American citizens they proceed accordingly. At the meetings at which they speak, the people in attendance are instructed in immediate and practical means of bettering their condition and in those laws regarding conditions of employment, in which they, as husbands and fathers, are directly interested. Little time is wasted in vain declamation or empty promises. To qualify himself to be a worthy organizer of the A. F. of L. requires a man to voluntarily subject himself to a course of discipline and education that will always remain of profit to him as a man of character. Let us all thank our organizers for the good they do.

(1911, pp. 79-275) We would be lacking in a true conception of justice if we did not express our appreciation of the great work of

the thousands of voluntary organizers who freely give their time, their intelligence and their energy towards the building up of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated bodies, continually sacrificing their own comfort with no other hope of reward than the satisfaction of having done what they could to promote the welfare of mankind. What we have said of the self-sacrificing spirit of the voluntary organizer applies equally to the paid organizer, who endures the inconvenience of a tramp life, away from home most of his time, with no more pay than he could at any time earn at his trade, in order that he may, in this way, contribute his mite towards the advancement of his associates. We need more men, both volunteer and paid, to carry on this work and trust that the time is not far distant when methods will be developed by which more funds will become available for organizing purposes.

(1912, pp. 56-286) A. F. of L. organizers should confine themselves to the work they are commissioned to do so there may be no opportunity for criticism by representatives of other unions with which the missions assigned to A. F. of L. organizers may bring them into contact. Where their work conflicts with or crosses that of other organizations, there should be a conference of the A. F. of L. representatives with those of the other organizations, and full agreement as to the manner in which work of mutual concern shall be carried forward. Organizers assigned to particular localities where central labor unions are established are directed to report their presence to the officers of these central labor unions and place themselves at their service in connection with any special work that it is desired shall be taken up, provided their mission and time will permit. In so reporting to the officers of the central labor unions there will also be general knowledge of the presence of these A. F. of L. organizers in various localities and the fact that the A. F. of L. is exerting itself in these places, and consequent satisfaction to the local labor movement.

(1913, pp. 90-350) The most real things in life are not the tangible things we can see and touch, but they are the influences that make the spirit reverent and sweet and true, the glimpses we catch of the meaning of life, the conceptions that have left the trivial and have lost themselves in the immortal and the impersonal—the great motive powers that are felt throughout the age. The passions, the ambitions, the yearnings of men for something better and higher are the most real things in the life of the people—nay, they are the throbbing, pulsating heart of life itself. Though so vital, so powerful, they are so fine and subtle that we are often unconscious of their presence; yet in the silent and lone places of life, in the times when we test our dreams and visions whether they be in tune with the ultimate and the infinite these real things ring out like some rare strain of sweet music that thrills, and soothes, and comforts. Were it not for the courage and the inspiration born of deeper insight and fuller understanding of the meaning and the process of life and progress, the pain and the disappointment would be too overpowering. But these glimpses when eternity affirms the conception of the present are the greatest reward granted honest, true work. If those whose faithful, often unnoted, services have given form and reality to that most real thing in the lives of those who bear the dead weight and burden of America's progress could but sense and realize the full nobility and grandeur of the structure they have reared, infinite peace and satisfaction would be their compensation. In the hearts and the lives of the working people of America has been builded a Temple of Labor—a structure that has been reared in pain and privation, though it towers upward into the hope-filled, sunny skies. Each stone of the great structure was laid by some humble workingman—some were laid in the darkness, some in the dewy morn, some were laid in weariness and pain, some at the cost of rest and leisure, some in the exaltation which comes from unselfish efforts to help the less fortunate. Many who laid the stones may be unknown or forgotten, but each stone is essential to the Temple of Labor—the temple where humanity may enter in and find protection and aid. Those who are weary and heavy laden may enter this Temple of Labor and find comfort and aid in carrying their burdens. In the temple it is the law that men shall possess their own souls in the fulness of freedom and may stretch up to full stature of individual liberty, free from compulsion or oppression. Such is the Temple of Labor—a temple not made by hands, but by the hearts and lives of human beings. This is the dwelling place of the Spirit of Labor, the creative force, the genius of the brain and the brawn of men, the power that generates freedom and individuality. Those who laid the foundations of this temple, who hewed and fashioned the stones, and carried the blocks and the mortar, are the faithful band of volunteer workers who go among the toilers, tell the story of organization, and show their fellow-workers how the better things of life can be gained. Year after year faithful unpaid organizers have used their leisure time that they might organize the unorganized or add strength and give inspiration to those who might otherwise have lost courage. The labor movement among the American workers is the result of self sacrifice and consecration of minds and hearts to the work of bettering humanity. Though the individual work may seem inconsequential and scarcely worth while, yet the whole looms big with hope and power—the whole is impossible without each individual endeavor, however unimportant it may seem when isolated. It is their faithful, often wholly unrewarded, endeavors that have given reality to the labor movement—the real Temple of Labor where men may do honor and reverence to the good and the ideal that are in mankind, to the infinite possibilities enveloped in every human life, and where many are enabled to realize the desires of the heart and mind. The appreciation and gratitude of organized labor for the work of those who builded and are building the temple can not be too generous.

(1914, pp. 61-332) To be successful in any movement or undertaking organizers, promoters, or advocates—call them what you will—are necessary, nowhere more so than in the labor movement. To us these persons are known as organizers. Without them our movement would be a failure. They instill life, ambition, determination and hope into those who are weak and who would fall by the wayside. They encourage those who lose faith in our movement.

(1915, pp. 66-468) It was not so many

years ago that an organizer for the labor movement was regarded as a dangerous man in a community. He was a marked man, blacklisted, denied opportunities for any kind of work, starved and persecuted, but since the labor movement has grown in power, and has been recognized as a movement for humanity, it now is regarded as a great constructive agency of the community. In industrial clashes and in periods of industrial unrest, labor organizers are recognized as representatives of a movement that stands for justice and for the general human welfare. In many cases during late years employers and the community have welcomed the appearance of an organizer of the A. F. of L., for they know that these representatives stand for constructive practical policies. Formerly one of the indispensable qualities of an organizer was ability for physical self-defense and protection. While the organizer of the present day does not lack physical power or courage, he must possess, he must have, sincerity and devotion to the rights and interests of the workers whom he represents and in addition power of leadership and ability to educate. This change marks the tremendous forward progress of the trade union movement since the organization of the A. F. of L.

(1916, p. 65) It is but inadequate recognition of the service to humanity, Labor and justice rendered by the organizers of the A. F. of L., to commend their unfailing and untiring devotion. The progress of the labor movement is made possible through the work of these chosen men and women who after the day's work is done give whatever of time and ability they have to better conditions for their fellows. There is nothing that these faithful workers do that does not add to the effectiveness of the great cause for which our movement stands.

(1917, p. 133) There are 1,945 organizers of the A. F. of L. who are responsible for maintaining and furthering the general interests of Labor throughout America. Upon the persistent effective work of these faithful workers depends in a degree not always appreciated, the success of the cause or organized labor. Much of this work is done in time that is free from the day's toil and without compensation except the gratification of serving a great cause. The monthly reports of organizers published in the American Federationist have been of increasing interest and importance, indicating the scope and the constructive character of their work.

(1918, p. 270) Executive Council directed to have an investigation made by the federal government at Birmingham, Ala., of a report that white organizers of the A. F. of L. have been deported from that city and a colored organizer tarred and feathered, their only offense being their efforts to organize the miners of that district.

Organizers' Election—(1912, p. 399) Refused to elect permanent general organizers, declaring a convention less qualified to pass on qualification and especial fitness for certain work than is the Executive Council.

Orphans, Compensation for—(1917, p. 118) Resolution favoring legislation establishing a minimum compensation for orphans in excess of the cost of maintenance in an institution referred to Executive Council.

Overtime—(1887, p. 43) We advise strongly against working overtime when so many are struggling for an opportunity to work. It is an instigator of the basest selfishness, a radical violation of union principles whether on piece or day work. It tends to set back the general movement for the eight-hour day.

Overtime, Back Pay for—(1902, p. 157) Executive Council instructed to aid laborers and mechanics employed on government works since 1869 to secure pay for overtime, application for which had been made since 1872. (1903, p. 207; 1904, pp. 161-264) Prior to August 20, 1900, shipkeepers at Mare Island Navy Yard worked twelve hours a day in violation of the eight-hour law. The Secretary of the Navy then ordered a reduction to eight hours, but failed to pay extra for overtime worked before. Laborers and mechanics employed on government works from 1869 to 1872 made similar complaint (1905, p. 180). Executive Council instructed to urge legislation granting the overtime due.

Overtime Wages—(1912, p. 379) Executive Council was instructed to prepare a bill for presentation in Congress authorizing payment of all men working over eight hours the prevailing rate for overtime in the district where the work is being done.

Oyster Trade, Regulation of—(1887, p. 30) Urged laws prohibiting gathering oysters not yet attained to a three years' growth and enforcing law providing for a nine-pint wine measure in measuring them.

Padrone System—(1894, p. 47) The traffic in human flesh carried on openly in various parts of the country under what is known as the "padrone system" is in its effects most injurious to all forms of organized labor and contrary to the spirit of our free American institutions. Laws for its abolition demanded. (1895, p. 81) Executive Council instructed to urge laws to wipe out padrone system; (1904, p. 162) and to seek enforcement of all laws bearing on the evil so it can finally be stamped out.

Paine Lumber Co. vs. Carpenters—(1917, p. 91) Supreme court decided that the conspiracy clauses of the Sherman Law could not be made operative by a private party suing for an injunction against another private party or by one corporation against another corporation. The remedy for such a person or corporation is to apply to the Attorney-General of the United States and have him institute a suit for injunction or restraining order.

Panama Canal—(1898, p. 128) In the belief the United States would connect the Gulf of Mexico with the Pacific Ocean the Executive Council was instructed to urge such features "in the law enacted as will protect the labor employed in the building of the canal from the evils attendant upon such work; that the workmen may be supplied with all possible safeguards as to hygienic living, hospital conveniences and surgical service, and otherwise protected by reasonable hours of labor, and by all other safe conditions which will give them a chance to labor and live with every possible degree of comfort."

(1902, p. 108) Resolution against building either a Nicaraguan or Panama Canal because the U. S. would be unable to defend it and wars of conquest would follow was laid on the table.

(1903, p. 205) Urged Congress to require

that as we have hundreds of thousands of laborers adapted to the work none but citizens of the U. S. be employed in the construction of the interoceanic canal in Panama.

(1905, p. 33) Investigations have been made by government commissions aided by representative trade unionists and it has been clearly demonstrated that before it will be possible for the actual construction work to begin conditions more nearly comforming to civilized and healthful life must be inaugurated; that it then only will be at all practical or humane to ask, much less to obtain, workmen to go there. Through labor's efforts the decision has been reached that the federal eight-hour law applies to, and will be enforced upon, the work of building the canal. Some carping critics, wholly misconceiving the climatic conditions, have complained that the eight-hour law's application will prove detrimental. Certainly, if an eight-hour workday is deemed wise and economic, and all real students and practical observers are agreed that this is so, in a temperate climate, it must inevitably follow that longer hours of labor than eight in the torrid zone of Panama must be unwise, uneconomic, and inhuman, unless there be a total disregard of the health and lives of the workmen who may be employed in the construction of this great inter-oceanic canal. Then, again, there are some who would have our government placed in the questionable and inconsistent position of regarding the canal and the canal zone as American territory, to which all other American law applies, and yet would hold that our American Chinese exclusion law does not apply. We insist that the Panama Canal and its zone can not be regarded as American in one particular and non-American in another. We are just as intensely interested as any others can be in the necessity for and the advantages that will result from the construction of the Panama Canal, but we equally insist that it shall be the result of American enterprise, American genius, and American labor.

(1906, pp. 25-165-207) Those in charge of the construction of the canal seem to have no other conception than that our government should become the sponsor of "cheap laborers" in this great public work. The commission appears to have directed its attention to all countries other than our own in securing labor and manifested a purpose to disregard the eight-hour day upon the promise the Panama Canal Zone is not an American possession; that the canal is not an American public work. The Attorney General, however, gave a contrary opinion and held the eight-hour law applied. Attempts to abolish the eight-hour day by riders on appropriation bills failed in Congress. Then a new rule was adopted by those in control of the House and a law enacted providing that the eight-hour law should not apply to alien laborers employed in the construction of the Panama Canal within the canal zone. While the act applies only to "alien" laborers the fact is the eight-hour law is now dead so far as all workmen are concerned. Although we were assured no Chinese would be employed contracts are now under consideration to employ thousands of them at wages as low as 9¼ cents an hour. We recognize the importance of and the great value involved in the construction and completion of this great enterprise, and we earnestly hope for, and will gladly aid in, its completion; but we protest that the great, generous and broad-minded American people should not be placed in such a position of brutality and parsimony so far as wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment are concerned. Where our people are so liberal and fair in all things else, they can not and will not consent to assume the attitude of sordid, heartless employers. Executive Council was requested to send a committee to investigate conditions in the canal zone.

(1907, pp. 27-204) Employes in the canal zone are working from twelve to fourteen hours a day. It is unjust and inhuman to require any man in a tropical climate and misasmatic atmosphere to work more than eight hours per day even though he may be of a different race and nationality from us, and the legislative committee is instructed to use its best efforts to have the act abolishing the eight-hour day repealed. The President was given authority to visit the canal zone to investigate the conditions, and report the result and his recommendations to the government, as the latter had requested.

(1908, pp. 36-225) While conditions had improved complaints had been made that American union workmen were being discharged and unskilled foreigners employed. We have a right to expect that membership in a union should not work to their detriment. The federal eight-hour law is also a dead letter for both aliens and American citizens, a result the A. F. of L. foresaw and protested against.

(1913, p. 264) Executive Council instructed to urge Congress to adopt rules governing the canal without considering the protest of the British government against exempting U. S. vessels in the coastwise trade from the payment of tolls.

(1914, p. 86) Reported Congress had repealed this clause in the Panama Canal act: "No tolls shall be levied upon vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the U. S." Also section 2 was amended to read as follows: "When based upon net registered tonnage for ships of commerce the tolls shall not exceed $1.25 per net registered ton, nor be less than 75 cents per net registered ton, subject, however, to the provisions of article 19 of the convention between the U. S. and the Republic of Panama, entered into November 18, 1903:" Provided, That the passage of this act shall not be construed or held as a waiver or relinquishment of any right the U. S. may have under the treaty with Great Britain, ratified the 21st of February, 1902, or the treaty with the Republic of Panama, ratified February 26, 1904, or otherwise, to discriminate in favor of its vessels by exempting the vessels of the U. S. or its citizens from the payment of tolls for passage through said canal, or as in any way waiving, impairing, or affecting any right of the U. S. under said treaties, or otherwise, with respect to the sovereignty over or the ownership, control, and management of said canal and the regulation of the conditions or charges of traffic through the same. (pp. 331-353) Executive Council instructed to investigate statements that those in charge of construction of the Panama Canal were replacing skilled American workers by aliens whose standards of liv-

ing permitted them to work for lower wages, and it was proposed to charge the canal workers rent and thus reduce wages or salaries by indirect means.

(1915, p. 90) At a conference the governor of the canal zone promised to see all injustices were remedied. The rent issue was a Presidential order and this statement was sent to the President of the U. S. by the Secretaries of War and Labor: "The two secretaries recommend to the President that the executive order in question be modified by suspending the operations thereof relating to rent, fuel and lights during the period of actual construction of the Panama Canal but not later than June 30, 1916." The suspension of this executive order meant to the workers employed in the Panama Canal Zone a saving of approximately $259,000. Through the prompt action of the representatives of the department at Washington the workers in Panama were protected from what would have been a very serious loss if there had been no one present authorized to present their side of the case to governmental authorities.

(1916. p. 346) Objected to abolishment of the longevity increases in wages while at the same time granting rewards to military officers; that Congress should investigate such discriminatory legislation and take such other action as will correct existing injustices to organized labor and other civilians equally entitled to consideration with the military officers.

Pan-American Federation of Labor—(1905, p. 17) On the continent of America our labor movement is expanding and extending to all its beneficent influences. We have not only our international trade unions, with their nearly 27,000 local trade unions, but we also have our state, dominion, insular, and territorial federations, our 601 central labor unions, trades assemblies, and local federations. Our limits are no longer from Maine to California, from the Lakes to the Gulf, but we include the whole of the United States, Canada, Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, the Philippines, and British Columbia. It is superfluous here to refer to the vast advantages secured by our international unions for the members of their respective crafts and callings—they have been more than thrice told. They will bear telling again and again, and it is strongly urged that our international unions, as a further illustrtion of the greater possibilities for good in the future by trade union unity under the banner of international trade unionism, should gather the material and data so that they may put their achievements before the world and demonstrate to the indifferent and to the scoffers and the unthinking, as well as to the friends, the vast good already accomplished.

(1915, p. 56) Since the opening of the Panama Canal, there has been a growing realization that there ought to exist closer political, industrial and commercial relations between the people of the western hemisphere. The Panama Canal opened up new trade routes, new markets, and, therefore, new industrial and commercial opportunities, and with them the necessity for a closer political alliance. This has been augmented by the fact that the present European war has closed old trade routes and destroyed many of the markets to which the Pan-American Republics formerly carried the greater amount of their export merchandise. During the past year the Congress of the U. S. authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to call a Pan-American Congress Conference for the purpose of considering better financial, industrial and commercial relations and the development of the natural resources of the countries of the western hemisphere. Accordingly the conference of representatives from the South American countries, Central America and Mexico, met with the representatives of the U. S. in Washington, May 24-29, 1915. These delegates represented all the great financial, industrial, and commercial interests of the Latin-American countries—the steamship companies, the mines, the banks, railroads, telephones, and all the great corporations. This conference was to deal with matters and policies that were to be of a far-reaching consequence, not only in international relations between various countries, but in the internal development of the countries. All these industrial enterprises depend upon human agencies which ought to be most carefully protected and conserved. Those who participated in this conference are to decide policies and to outline plans that will affect the lives of millions of people for years to come. It is conceded that the chiefs of industry, finance and commerce, have their own interests foremost in mind—in fact, some who are recognized as world powers have recently stated that they knew nothing of industrial relations with employes and that they considered labor conditions irrelevant to their concern. If as a nation we have a true conception of the value of human life, we ought to make human relations of chief concern in all our plans. We ought to improve our conception by providing representation. There is but one organization that stands for human welfare and human rights and nothing else. It is an organization that has concern not only for its membership, but for all those who do the work of the nation—a strong, militant organization that fights the battles of the weak and clears the path for progress that all the toilers may join the forward movement toward freedom and larger opportunity and welfare. This is the organization that ought to be represented in all of the councils of the nation—it expresses the burdens, the heartaches, the yearnings and the ideals of the masses of the nation. Although these matters were of such tremendous significance, not only for the interests concerned, but ultimately an alliance of the peoples of these various nations, including our own, there was not a representative who stood either directly or indirectly for the cause of the toilers—for the cause of human rights, human liberty and ideals of democracy and greater freedom. Although it is recognized that material civilization, wealth, and all problems are to serve ultimately the needs of the people, yet the representatives to this Congress were of a type that would consider the development and the management of these interests purely from the standpoint of profits, with little or no regard for the human beings concerned, either as producers or consumers—as men, women or children. The tremendous matters that were to be considered by this Congress were not generally understood, nor the far-reaching consequence of its decision, yet these representatives of financial interests, of commerce

and of industry, apparently were representatives of their national governments and were authorized to make provisions for the future. It requires no great imagination or discernment to understand that these able representatives of the interests would so plan and manipulate conditions and events, that the great corporate interests of the various countries would be in a position to control, not only the industries and commerce within their own countries, but international regulations for commerce and industry. In other words, this conference plainly would enable the corporate interests to entrench themselves in a powerful position that would require years of struggle to enable the people of the nations, the masses of the wage-earners, to secure for themselves protction and a right to opportunities in accord with their importance. This conference would determine the tone of international relations, the standards and ideals that would dictate policies and would thus establish a whole line of intangible powerful influence that would make doubly difficult the age-long struggle for freedom that the workers everywhere have waged.

It was because he felt that it was necessary for the wage-earners to be represented in the first meetings where policies were to be formulated and standards were to be set, that the President of the A. F. of L. entered a protest with the Secretary of the Treasury against the policy that excluded from representation in this conference representatives of human rights and of the masses of the people. The inauguration of these Pan-American conferences makes it evident that the employing interests of all the countries feel an identity of interest and that there is foreshadowed closer association, if not organization, of the employers of both the North and South American countries. If the employers of all these countries are to unite for the promotion of their common interests, it becomes all the more evident that the wage-earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment. With the Pan-American organization of employers it is clearly evident that organization on a national scale will not be adequate for the protection of the workers in international relations where it is probable that policies will be decided which will be the determining factors in all national policies. Therefore, we deem it wise at this time to inaugurate a special effort and policy to draw together more closely in fraternal relationship the workers of the North and South American continents. There have been made conditions that have hitherto hindered intercourse and close relationship, but now that the countries are to be bound closely together by industrial, commercial and financial ties, the workers must plan for the future. Of course conditions of life and standards of living, educational opportunities, language—all differ vitally as between the various American countries, but despite all of these differences, there is that tie of common economic, political and social interest that will make for closer relationship and unity of action. From time to time, we have had correspondence with the organized labor movements of some of the countries of South America and Mexico, but this has been intermittent and without permanent association for mutual advancement. But the time has come when it is necessary to plan for our mutual protection. The Executive Council is authorized to consider this matter during the coming year, and to enter into correspondence with representatives of organized labor movements of these various countries for the purpose of promoting a better understanding and closer relationship, to the end that all the workers of the various countries may be prepared to act concertedly for their mutual advancement and protection; that some plan be devised for the exchange of fraternal representatives and delegates in some capacity, probably to visit the South American countries and Mexico, in order to carry personal greetings, and to bring back first-hand reports of conditions existing there. Of course, a representative for work of this character must have some knowledge of the Spanish language. During the past year, a beginning has been made that ought to have an effect in promoting closer relationship and better understanding. The country just to the south of us has been passing through a period of terrible turmoil and distress. After many years of nominal freedom, yet actual despotic control, when the policies of the whole government were in the interests of employers and the exploiters, there came a rebellion for the purpose of securing greater freedom for the people, and the establishment of democratic policies and practices. Under the Madero government considerable progress was made, yet the effect of the past year's work plainly shows the lack of self-control and the failure to understand the workings of a government by the people and for the people. Madero was an idealist who had in mind the interests and welfare of the people. He gave them many rights that had been previously denied them. Among these was the right of free assembly and the right of free speech. The working people were given the right to organize into labor unions. Then there developed first of all the labor movement of Mexico. But the Madero government was not of long duration. Madero was succeeded by a despot who ruled without regard to constitutional rights. The people of Mexico who were struggling for liberty united in what was known as the "Constitutionalist" party, with Carranza as their leader. After a period of fighting they drove Huerta from power, and then there began a struggle between various leaders of the army for control and power. Gradually it became evident that Carranza represented the majority of the people of Mexico and that he stood for the purpose of constitutional rights, the principles of justice and equity to all citizens of the country. Many of his policies revealed a rare humanitarian spirit that is fully appreciative of the value of human lives, whether of humble position or of more influential. Carranza entered into a contract with the organized workers of Mexico known as the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial," which represented the trades and callings of Mexico's workers. This body is a federated body of unions, and its name has been translated by one of its adherents as "The Federation of Industrial Workers." The agreements which Carranza made with the people were circulated in the form of manifestos and posted on streets and dwellings of the Mexican cities. Their purpose was clearly that of the immediate advancement of the working people, their full right to organize, in order that they might be given opportunities to exercise

normal activities for their protection. The Carranza government gave the labor organizations not only the right to hold meetings, but furnished them with buildings for that purpose. He inaugurated the policy of either taking over land that had been secured by illegal or sharp practices, or buying up large estates and dividing these out into small farms for the people. This was a practical method of meeting one of the chief difficulties in Mexico, a difficulty arising out of the large estates in the hands of comparatively few people. The labor movement in Mexico has sprung up since the time of Madero. The federated movement consists of unions of stone masons, wood cutters, printers, carpenters, shoemakers, musicians, and the usual skilled artisans. Of course, the federated movement of Mexico found itself hampered by lack of funds, for not only are the workers of Mexico poorly paid in times of peace, but they had been under even worse conditions during the protracted civil war. It had been the intention of the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial" to send two representatives to the A. F. of L., but lack of funds prevented the execution of this plan. However, the officers of that movement have communicated with the headquarters of the A. F. of L., from time to time, both through letters, telegrams and finally through a personal representative. This personal representative stated that the Mexican working people had chosen General Carranza as their leader in the struggle for freedom and that they were willing to support their choice with their lives. They felt that Mexico was working out her own problems in accord with her ideals and was in a position to establish the democratic government which they desired. The labor movement of Mexico protested vigorously against any action on the part of the U. S. which should interfere with the right of that nation to settle its own internal difficulties. The workers of Mexico felt that the people and the officials of the United States had been misinformed by those who had their own personal interests to serve through deception and misinformation. Any action on the part of the U. S. to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico would be interpreted by them as in conflict with the ideals of free government, and in the interests of great corporations that had money invested in their country. They felt that they were entitled to the sympathy of the Americans who stood for an ideal of freedom and they urged that the Carranza army is made up of free men willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom and that the American nation bear with them yet a little while longer for they thought they saw in sight the goal for which they yearned. The rank and file of the Carranza army is made up of the workingmen of Mexico, industrial lodges and trades unions. Many of these labor organizations have joined the army as a body and serve in the regiments with the officers of their unions acting as the officers of the regiment. A representative of the wage-earners of Mexico was sent to this country with a request from them to President Gompers that he do everything within his power to see to it that the effort of the Mexicans to secure greater freedom was given a fair opportunity. President Gompers has written several times to President Wilson in regard to this matter. He urged upon the President the plea of the Mexicans for time to accomplish whatever they desired and for the patience and indulgence of the U. S. in their efforts. This matter was considered at the September meeting of the Executive Council and it decided to authorize President Gompers to write to the President urging upon him the recognition of the Mexican government with General Carranza as its head, upon the ground that that government was the representation of democratic ideals in Mexico.

(1915, pp. 187-291) In view of the close relations that are being cultivated by the big financial interests of the country through the governmental authorities of Washington among the various governments and financial corporations of the Spanish-speaking republics, the A. F. of L. should invite the labor federations of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, and of the other southern as well as Central American republics, to meet together in a great Pan-American Labor Convention, which should be held in Washington for the purpose of considering the economic problems that are to confront in the near future the various labor people owing to the fraternization and combination of the biggest capitalist representations of Wall Street and those of the said republics, which are ready to be mutually helpful to themselves, and to control as much as possible the business of those countries. That is to say, shipping companies, railroads, mines, banks, telegraphs, telephones, and the general combination of industrial, commercial and financial interests. The masses of the people of those republics know very little about these great schemes and the working classes of these countries can not see now what the result will be. As bankers, financiers and manufacturers of the United States and the government officials of the various countries and merchants called and held a conference of all financial and political interests, the A. F. of L. should call a conference of the representatives of all the Pan-American Labor Federations in order to meet the new conditions in a comprehensive manner and in behalf of the common ideals of liberty, justice, and the development of the spirit of the true American and true to the service of mankind.

(1916, pp. 55-386) Plans for furthering a Pan-American Labor Union were carried out, the proposition beginning to take form in the United States-Mexico conference. Executive Council directed to continue work of organizing a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

(1917, pp. 63-493) The first Pan-American Federation of Labor conference was held in the A. F. of L. building January 31, 1917, at which were present representatives from the A. F. of L., Porto Rico, Yucatan, and the International Typographical Union. Permanent organization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was effected. The first public act of the committee was to draw up and mail to secretaries of the labor unions through Latin-America a manifesto in Spanish and English, sending greetings to the workers of Latin-America and suggesting an outline of the international work necessary to the establishment of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. The manifesto urged that representatives from the organized labor movements of all Latin-American countries select and send delegates to Washington to join in the work of the committee. A mass of

correspondence has been received and answered by the committee, correspondence containing data of infinite value in making public to the labor movement of the United States of North America the vast growth of the labor movement within the last few years, not only in Mexico but throughout South and Central America, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo. Mexico alone has within the last two years organized nearly half a million workers in her various trades unions. The Carranza decree declaring strikes illegal and threatening those promoting strikes with death penalties was reported to the Baltimore Convention. This situation caused grave anxiety both to the labor movement in this country and in Mexico. Assurances were at that time given through the Mexican representatives on the United States-Mexico Commission, that the decree was only temporary in character and would not be used to destroy the labor movement. The new constitution adopted by the Congress at Queratero contained a provision expressly recognizing the legality of the right to strike. Particular attention is drawn to the first actual and practical contact between the Mexican and American workers in the state of Arizona where it has been demonstrated throughout the strikes of the past two years that Mexican and American miners stand shoulder to shoulder when oppressed by organized capital seeking to lower standards of living and to disrupt labor unions. Fourteen thousand Mexican miners work in the copper, silver and gold mines of Arizona. Over half of the membership of the Arizona State Federation of Labor is either of Mexican blood or birth. At its last annual convention in Clifton, the State Federation elected a committee of five to hold an international conference with representatives of the Sonora Workingmen's Congress of Mexico for the purpose of devising practical plans for mutual aid in industrial action. In the United States today there are between one and two million Mexican workers concentrated particularly in Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, California, Utah, Oklahoma, Colorado, Louisiana, and Kansas. One-fourth of the coal miners in the Southern Colorado fields are Mexicans, and a much larger proportion are at work in the mines of New Mexico. Organizers in both the United Mine Workers of America and the Mill, Mine and Smeltermen agree that the Mexican is as quick to organize and maintain the solidarity of the labor movement as the American worker. Communications received from Pan-American countries in regard to the holding of a Pan-American Congress show that the sentiment in the following countries, as expressed by labor organizations, is favorable: Cuba, Peru, Argentina, Mexico, St. Kitts Island, British West Indies, and Porto Rico. Individual representatives of organized labor from Chili, United States of Columbia, Uruguay, and Panama have expressed their personal approval of the plan. In practically none of the South American states is there a general labor organization authorized to speak for all the workers of the country.

(1918, p. 55) During the past six months a representative of Chili presented credentials and has been studying the organization of American trades unions. In May we sent a labor commission to the labor organizations of Mexico to prepare the way for definite plans for holding the Pan-American conference.

Panics, Unions Protect in—(1909, pp. 17-245) From the time of the panic, October, 1907, there were myriads of our fellow-workers unemployed, and this necessarily had an injurious influence upon them. As a consequence, there was a falling off in membership in many of our organizations. These, however, have been regained and additional members enrolled. There can be no doubt but that our experience before, during, and since the last panic has fully justified the attitude of the A. F. of L. so stoutly maintained by nearly all workers. The declared position of America's workers that wage reductions would be resisted at all hazards, not only prevented reductions to any appreciable extent, but also gave courage to the workers to maintain their membership and stand true by organized labor. Previous industrial crises were not only prolonged and made acute, but the organizations were crushed out of existence or they emerged from these periods with ranks decimated and unions disbanded. The period of our last panic was not only shortened, but the wage standard practically maintained, and the organizations of labor emerged from them better organized and better prepared to defend and promote the rights and interests of the workers.

Parcel Post—(1905, p. 116) Went on record in favor of a parcel post system in connection with the Post Office Department and instructed the Executive Council to urge Congress to enact necessary legislation. After the parcel post was established all union men were urged to use it. In 1914 attempts to restrict its functions were condemned (pp. 82-326) and an extension of its benefits urged.

Patent Laws—(1892, p. 38) Favored patent law providing direct reward be paid inventors of beneficial inventions and that the right to manufacture them be given to all who desire to engage therein.

Patent Rights for Munitions—(1914, p. 467) Government should acquire all patents on munitions and manufacture them. This would remove one of the main causes for war, as manufacturers promote the sale of such products by arousing national prejudice and jealousy to produce periodical war scares in different countries.

Paxton, J. H., Opposed—(1897, p. 72) Denounced proposed appointment of J. H. Paxton on Interstate Commerce Commission. As associate and chief justice of Pennsylvania supreme court his opinions showed bias favoring corporate power and as receiver for Philadelphia and Reading Railroad upheld rule against right of employes to organize, ordering union officials to surrender charters to him. (1898, p. 25) Had declared strikes to be treason and refused to accord to railroad employes a hearing in a case before him in which their interests were at stake. Was not appointed.

Peace Congress—(1901, p. 188) President was empowered to send a representative to the Peace Congress to be held at Charleston, S. C.

Peace, Industrial—(1904, p. 19) Apart from strikes concretely considered and the accumulation of funds with which to win them when undertaken, there is another important side to this question to be consid-

ered, and that is, the maintenance of industrial peace. It is a condition for which we may devoutly pray and work; but so long as private greed or short-sighted interests dominate the judgment and actions of employers, just so long will strikes, or better still, the preparedness of labor to strike, be the determining factor to bring about industrial peace on a more equitable basis, and to prevent an industrial rupture. Wealth and the combination of wealth are the means and the power of the employers in any difference or dispute with labor as to the conditions of employment. Those possessing means and power yield little or nothing to those of opposite interests, when the latter possess little or no means or power to resist oppression. We must come to realize what a prominent newspaper recently frankly, even brutally, uttered, that "there is no sentiment in business," and that "industrial plants are not eleemosynary institutions." Altruism, though more generally preached, is not practised; and particularly does this apply in the relations of employers to workers. Though we may contend that ethical considerations should enter into the discussion of the wage workers' demands for a better return for their labor, their rightful demand for a higher and a better life, we should all realize that the conception and desideratum in the industrial problem will receive a magnificent impetus when labor is better organized, federated, and equipped with means and power to enforce its rights. We would abolish war, industrially as well as internationally; but its abolition must come, and it will come from conscious power, intelligent and broader humanity. May the day never come when peace is proclaimed or maintained because of the inanition of the workers. Peace, to be desirable, to be lasting, advantageous, and humane, must come from a virile and intelligent manhood. We want no peace, and there never will be peace, founded upon the servility and degradation of the workers. The vantage position now occupied by labor was not brought to it on a silver platter, but was contended for and won by the unity of the workers, by the burdens which they have borne, and the sacrifices they have made. More thorough organization, a greater willingness to accumulate funds in the unions, the spirit of fraternity and solidarity, will bring their own reward and the recognition not only of employers, but of the world. It may be safely asserted that as a rule, in our time, those who have no power to insist upon and maintain their rights have no rights to maintain. (p. 167) There is no peace guaranteed to those who are not prepared to defend it; that in so far as strikes against wage reductions have been unsuccessful, they have been so because the organizations in question were not financially prepared for the struggle. At all times those at work had to sustain those who defended them while at work. This has been the history of the development of races and nations, and, unquestionably, is the law running through all associated effort. Members in times of peace must furnish the necessary means to defend and improve conditions in times of stress and trouble.

Pensions for Wage Earners—(1906, p. 235) Refused to indorse a bill providing that every wage worker in the United States who has earned no more than $1,000 average wages per year, shall be paid a pension of not less than $12 per month at the age of 60, and thereafter for the rest of his or her natural life; provided, however, that such wage earner is a citizen of the United States and has lived in this country for at least 21 years continuously at the time the application is made.

Pension System, Private—(1912, p. 396) Resolved it is against public policy for ex-Presidents of the United States, ex-presidents of state colleges and universities, ex-professors of political economy in public institutions, and other public servants to receive pensions from private persons and privately endowed non-public foundations.

Per Capita Tax on Full Membership—(1902, p. 146) Payment of per capita tax on full membership had not been compulsory and constitution was amended providing for its enforcement.

Philippine Labor Movement—(1902, p. 156) Executive Council instructed to investigate labor conditions in the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands.

(1903, pp. 91-252) Exhaustive report made by representative to the islands, which was published in the American Federationist for August and October. (p. 204) Declared Chinese exclusion act be made to apply to the Japanese, Coreans and other Asiatic races and continue in full force in the islands.

(1913, p. 87) A union labor congress was held in Manila February 3, 1913, and arrangements made to celebrate the eleventh anniversary of the organization of the Union Obrera Democratia, which was the first trade union on the island. During the congress these matters were considered: "Enactment of a labor code of general character. Proceedings that the Filipino workers must adopt in their struggles with capital. Labor problems in this country, such as immigration of Chinese workers and other Asiatics, Europeans, etc. Relation and conduct which the workers must observe toward political parties, and action which must be taken by them to obtain from the Legislature measures in behalf of the workers." Within the last months the sensibilities and the consciences of free Americans have been shocked and aroused by labor conditions in parts of the Philippines brought to public knowledge through government reports. The report of Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior for the Philippines, charges that slavery and peonage exist in the islands and cites numerous instances and records. The information contained in the Worcester report seems to have been known to the officials for some years but has been withheld from the general public. This is indeed a serious and most exigent problem with which the free labor movement of the islands must contend. As we of the United States learned decades ago, a country can not exist "part slave and part free." Slave labor in the Philippines will impede the progress of the free organized and will exert a steady downward pull upon all movements for the betterment of the working people. Nor is this problem one upon which Americans can look with indifference. With the present governmental conditions existing between the islands and our country and the continual strengthening of enonomic ties that bind us together, slave labor in the Philippines be-

comes a menace to the workers of our land. There in the Far East free labor must again fight the battles for human freedom and liberty. The trade union movement of America must take up the duty incumbent upon it and lead in this struggle for all the workers under the American republic. (p. 317) Convention concurred in a protest by the cigarmakers against the competition of Oriental handworkers in that trade in the Philippines, as citizens of this country could not successfully compete with their products imported into the U. S. It also declared that nothing in the protest should be considered of benefit to a protective tariff, low tariff, a tariff for revenue only or any kind of tariff, but an indorsement of the complaint of the cigarmakers against the cheapest labor in the world.

Philippines—(1903, p. 174) Objection made to recommendation of the governor of the Philippines that a limited number of Mongolian laborers be admitted into those islands for a limited period: "We submit that such would be a system of peonage or compulsory labor against which we most emphatically protest, regardless of whether the laborer be white, black or yellow."

Phillips, Wendell—(1910, p. 301) Urged all trades unionists to celebrate November 20, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Wendell Phillips, the greatest of world's agitators and reformers, which had been studiously ignored by the plutocratically controlled institutions and publications of our country.

Photo-Engravers in England—(1906, p. 175) Suggested to fraternal delegates from Great Britain that on their return home they cooperate with the Photo-Engravers' Union of North America to organize the photo-engravers of Great Britain and Ireland.

Physical Examinations—(1914, p. 83) Executive Council reported all physical examinations for civil service positions in the navy yard requiring exceptional physical energy would be conducted in future by army surgeons and no charge made to the applicant. Approved Executive Council's efforts to prevent any unfair and arbitrary use of the physical examination of government employes in navy yards and arsenals.

Pilots, Law Permits Incompetent—(1911, p. 270) Law enacted governing operation of steamers of 65 feet permits employment of incompetent pilots and engineers should be repealed, as it causes hardships to licensed tugmen and crews of fishing vessels. (1916, p. 100) All designing efforts to repeal compulsory pilotage laws, which protect the lives of passengers and property in transit to our ports, were successfully thwarted.

Plate Printers' Law—(1899, p. 14) Bill for protection of plate printers indorsed by 1888 convention made a law by Congress and work of Bureau of Engraving had been more economically produced than in any previous year.

Policemen's Unions—(1897, p. 43) Cleveland policemen refused a charter because "it is not within the province of the trade union movement to specially organize policemen any more than militiamen, as both policemen and militiamen are too often controlled by forces inimical to the labor movement. (1917, p. 394) Executive Council was directed to dispose of such applications for charters "as it deems best to promote the interests of all concerned."

Police Power of the State—(1914, pp. 101-493) The action of 1913 (p. 68) was rescinded. Convention had recommended this clause for state constitution: "Laws must be passed by the legislature fixing the maximum hours of labor and providing for the comfort, health, safety and general welfare of all employed. No provision of the constitution shall impair or limit this power." The 1914 convention declared: "We proposed a constitutional amendment to safeguard all legislation intended for the general welfare of all employes. Having given this proposal further consideration we are of the opinion that this proposal as limited to the general welfare of employes does not comprehend the enactment of laws of general welfare to all our people, and that if this constitutional proposal is enacted it may afford the judiciary an opportunity to declare laws of general welfare unconstitutional, and as limiting what is commonly known as the "police power of the state." Also recognizing the fact that all social legislation intended to promote the economic welfare of the workers depends ultimately upon a quickened and alert conscience of our people to the necessity of proposed social legislation, we recommend instead a thorough investigation into all conditions of employment of the workers, a careful observation of such employment upon the comfort, health, safety and general welfare of the workers to the end that by such investigations and observations we may arouse and establish an atmosphere and public conscience as will compel our judiciary to recognize and decide such legislation as being of general welfare to all our people and as coming properly within the police power of the state."

Political and Economic Rights—(1905, p. 115) All public and quasi-public employes are entitled to and will receive the aid and support of A. F. of L. in the fullest exercise of the right to organize for political and economic purposes. These employes maintain all rights of citizenship. Reaffirmed in 1918 (pp. 245, 273).

Political Fads and Visions—(1912, p. 13) In spite of many alluring proposals, many new prophets proclaiming, "Lo! here," and "Lo! there," the A. F. of L. has ever cleaved to the old and tried fundamental propositions upon which we have builded our organization. We have not been deluded by fads or impractical visions, but have ever examined each new one to see whether it contained that one essential quality—furtherance of human welfare. We have been wedded to the cause and to the movement for the protection, development, and advancement of the people. We have ever endeavored to maintain an alertness, an awareness of the needs and tendencies of the times that members of our organizations and our fellow-workers might profit thereby. In the political field we have taken advantage of every opportunity, and often created opportunities, which, in a fair degree, promised tangible results in the interests of the workers, the masses of our people. In our movement the political methods and instrumentalities are of less consequence than the attainment of the objects which we seek. There has been no factor in all our land so

effective in establishing the initiative and referendum as the A. F. of L., because we believe that through that system a safer method would exist by which, with a well-organized labor movement, real democracy shall be realized. Here, as in all political problems, we realize that democracy will not come to pass automatically as a result of the machinery, but only as a result of political education and aroused sense of responsibility. Hence the A. F. of L. has ever endeavored to direct, warn, and rouse the voters of the country to the designs and activities of the forces that would sacrifice social welfare to individual, industrial, commercial, and political profits. When political machinery renders officialdom responsive to public opinion and humanitarian interest, an alert, educated, interested electorate will achieve democracy. As a result of the recent awakening of the workers of the United States, this growing realization of their political power and influence, more progress in remedial, constructive legislation has been made this year than in the decade previous. We do need new devices and new methods of political expression, but not half as much as we need to realize and to use the power that we now possess, to consecrate ourselves and our ability to humanity's cause.

Political Program, Labor's—(1881, p. 4) Plank 13 of the first platform recommended all trades and labor organizations secure "proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished." (p. 24) Legislative committee forbade any member from publicly advocating the claims of any of the political parties.

(1882, p. 9) Efforts to have the Speaker of the House appoint a Committee of Labor from a list of representatives selected by labor was not accorded even the courtesy of acknowledgment. (p. 10) Many friends of labor had been elected and several hostile officeholders defeated by the united strength of the trade unionists. (p. 19) The Federation was warned that industrial not political unity was the prime object to be attained. "Let us as union men work in harmony for those issues we comprehend and on which we are fully agreed, and ignore all questions likely to divide us." (p. 20) As the representatives of organized labor of the U. S., in order to shake off and counteract the oppressive exactions of an oligarchy now threatening the existence of democratic government, we hereby declare open political resistance to the men and measures now holding our lives and our thoughts in subjection."

(1884, p. 17) It is the imperative duty of all trade unionists to work and vote for candidates for the legislature who have proved themselves true friends of labor.

(1885, p. 17) Refused to adopt resolution declaring for a workingmen's political party with union men as candidates. (p. 19) Condemned system of employment in government printing office based on political opinion instead of merit and instructed officers to bring it to the attention of the president. (p. 20) Urged Speaker to select a Committee on Labor from fourteen names submitted.

(1886, p. 8) Organized labor should persist in its efforts to the end that labor may achieve its just rights through the exercise of its political powers. (p. 16) Convention urged a most generous support to the independent political movement of the workingmen. Time has arrived when working people should decide on the necessity of united action as citizens at the ballot box.

(1889, p. 23) Refused to energetically assist in the formation of a political labor party, which required formation of Federal Labor Unions in each assembly district. Would make a political labor movement distinct from A. F. of L.

(1890, pp. 12-21-23) Refused to seat delegate from a central body not chartered by the A. F. of L. and having in its membership delegates from the socialist party.

(1891, p. 15) In explanation of the action of the 1890 convention this declaration was made: "Our affiliated unions are guaranteed autonomy and independence. If they deem independent political action advisable, or if they desire to take political action by which to pledge candidates for public office, to stand by the advocates of labor measures and reward them, or to punish at the polls those who are inimical to their interests, these are matters entirely relegated to each organization without dictation or hindrance. What the convention declared was that a political party as a party, known by any name, has no right to representation in the trade union councils. At the last convention we took the ground that the trade unions were broad enough and liberal enough to admit all shades of opinion upon the economic, political and social questions. We reiterate that statement, and accentuate it with whatever force or ability may be at our command, and repeat, that good standing membership in a trade union is the first qualification to a voice in the councils of the trade union movement." (p. 40) Indorsed action of the Executive Council in refusing to send delegates to political conferences in Washington and Cincinnati, adding: "We declare in favor of remaining steadfast to its avowed principle that this Federation represents the trade union movement in the economic field of reform."

(1892, pp. 12-29) Shall we change our methods? Many of our earnest friends in the labor movement, having witnessed the brutal outrages of the monopolistic class and their hirelings on the toiling masses with in the past few months, have had their innermost feelings stirred and impatiently declare that a new path must be struck by the working people in order to overcome defeats and achieve victories. They look upon some of the recent defeats and predict the annihilation of the economic effort of organized labor—or the impotency of the economic organizations, the trade unions—to cope with the great power of concentrated wealth. There are few, if any, who have given our movement any thought but who have shared the intensity of feeling caused by the brutal exhibitions referred to; but feelings often prompt action which good judgment forbids. It is not true that the economic effort has been a failure nor that the usefulness of the economic organizations is at an end. (p. 29) No great change of method on the part of this Federation of Labor is necessary to meet the new weapons of capital; but that greater effort in the direction of the improvement

of the trade unions on financial lines and a more vigorous concentration of our moral force in the use of the trade labels should be made. (p. 13) They can exercise great influence to secure legislation in their interest by intelligent use of the franchise. We should rather be a unit in our demands than a political party. Upon the field of labor, like every other contest in human life, it is a matter principally of intelligence, judgment and foresight. (p. 45) Executive Council is instructed to carry on vigorous campaign of education to widen the scope of usefulness in the direction of political action, but "we wish the distinction to be made that partisan politics should not be confounded with the business of trade unions." (p. 46) Refused to form a labor party to take independent political action.

(1893, p. 12) An intelligent use of the ballot by the toilers in their own interest must largely contribute to lighten the burdens of our economic struggles. Let us elect men from the ranks of labor to represent us in Congress and the legislatures wherever and whenever the opportunity offers. Let us never be recreant to our trust, and, regardless of political affiliations or predilections, always vote against those who are inimical to the interests of labor. (p. 37) A political program was submitted to the fererendum without recommendation. It contained as plank 10 a declaration that "all the means of production and distribution should be owned by the people."

(1894, p. 14) The last convention submitted a program to affiliated unions for discussion. A number of the demands contained in that programme have been promulgated in also every trade union throughout the world, but deftly dovetailed and almost hidden there is one declaration which is not only controversial, but decidedly theoretical, and which even if founded upon economic truth, is not demonstrable, and so remote as to place ourselves and our movement in an unenviable light before our fellow-workers, and which, if our organization is committed to it, will unquestionably prevent many sterling national trade unions from joining our ranks to do battle with us to attain first things first. It is ridiculous to imagine that the wage-workers can be slaves in employment and yet achieve control at the polls. There never yet existed co-incident with each other autocracy in the shop and democracy in political life. In truth, we have not yet achieved the initial step to the control of public affairs by even a formal recognition of our unions. Nor does the preamble to the programme outline the condition of the labor movement of Great Britain accurately. In that country the organized wage-workers avail themselves of every legal and practical means to obtain the legislation they demand. They endeavor to defeat those who oppose, and elect those who support, legislation in the interest of labor, and whenever opportunity affords elect a bona fide union man to Parliament and other public offices. The Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress is a labor committee to lobby for labor legislation. This course the organized workers of America may with advantage follow, since it is based upon experience and fraught with good results. He would indeed be shortsighted who would fail to advocate independent voting and political action by union workmen. We should endeavor to do all that we possibly can to wean our fellow-workers from their affiliation with the dominant political parties, as one of the first steps necessary to insure wage-workers to vote in favor of wage-workers' interests, wage-workers' questions, and for union wage-workers as representatives. During the past year the trade unions in many localities plunged into the political arena by nominating their candidates for public office, and sad as it may be to record, it is nevertheless true, that in each one of these localities politically they were defeated and the trade union movement more or less divided and disrupted. What the results would be if such a movement were inaugurated under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, involving it and all our affiliated organizations, is too portentous for contemplation. The National Labor Union, the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor, entered the so-called independent political arena in 1872 and nominated its candidate for the presidency of the United States. It is equally true that the National Labor Union never held a convention after that event. The disorganized condition of labor, with its tales of misery, deprivation and demoralization, from that year until the reorganization of the workers about 1880, must be too vivid in the minds of those who were trade unionists then and are trade unionists now to need recounting. In view of our own experience, as well as the experience of our British fellow-unionists, it would be wise to steer our ship of labor safe from that channel whose waters are strewn with shattered hopes and unions destroyed. Before we can hope as a general organization to take the field by nominating candidates for office, the workers must be more thoroughly organized and better results achieved by experiments locally. A political labor movement cannot and will not succeed upon the ruins of the trade unions. (p. 36) The program presented in 1893 to the referendum was considered and amended, plank 10 being changed to a declaration for the "abolition of the monopoly system of land holding and the substitution therefor a title of occupancy and use only." A motion to adopt the amended platform as a whole was then defeated.

(1895, p. 66) We declare the A. F. of L. has no political platform. (p. 67) The 12 planks considered in 1894 were ordered published in the American Federationist as "legislature demands." (p. 79) "This convention declares that party politics, whether they be democratic, republican, socialistic, populistic, prohibition or any other, should have no place in the convention" was made (p. 81) part of the constitution.

(1896, p. 21) Few if any will contend the workers should refuse to avail themselves of their political rights or fail to endeavor to secure such demands by the exercise of their political power. Our movement distinctly draws the line between political action in the interest of labor and political party action. This was emphasized in the last convention when it was declared as the settled policy of the American labor movement that party political action of any kind shall have no place in the conventions of the A. F. of L. (p. 42) Refused seat to delegate who had used name of A. F.

of L. in politics. (p. 75) Convention declared that "no officer of the A. F. of L. be allowed to use his official position in the interest of any political party." (p. 75) Unions urged to encourage frequent elections in state, county and city and that legislative officers be selected annually.

(1897, pp. 80-97) Indorsed national movement for the purification of primary elections. (pp. 81-101) The A. F. of L. most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the A. F. of L. and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunctions of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth. That our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong. We must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls at every election.

(1898, pp. 104 110) We hold it to be the duty of trade unionists to study and discuss all questions that have any bearing upon their industrial or political liberty, but we declare that it is not within the province of the A. F. of L. to designate to which political party a member shall belong, or for which political party he shall vote. (pp. 97-128) Reaffirmed the action taken in 1897 (p. 101) adding: The A. F. of L. reaffirms its position in regard to the use of the ballot, and recommends to its International, National and local organizations continued and increased discussion of social and economic questions as they affect wage earners in their conventions and union meetings.

(1899, p. 107) A. F. of L. recommends that the various central and local bodies of labor in the U. S. take steps to use their ballots, their political power, on independent lines as enunciated in the declarations of principles of the A. F. of L. (P. 140) Candidates of any party who openly declare themselves in favor of the A. F. of L. platform of laws shall be indorsed.

(1900, pp. 132-4) We cheerfully accept, and desire, all the assistance and usefulness which may or can be given the trade union movement by all reform forces.

(1901, p. 206) Refused to amend section 1, Article II, by adding: "by all wage earners forming themselves into an independent political party." (pp. 234-240) The aims, desires, and aspirations of trade unionists comprise all that is necessary or possible to the well-being of the human family and in the pursuit or accomplishment of which we cheerfully accept and, in fact, desire all the assistance which can be given our movement by those reform forces which stand for the betterment of mankind. In this position we are in close relationship to the greater body of socialists and with them agree, that not only should the burdens of toil be made lighter, but that each worker has an undeniable right to enjoy the full benefit of that which he or she produces. We, like them, stand for greater liberty, and are determined so to act that the future shall be more congenial to the whole human family, and especially more bright and enjoyable to men and women bread-winners of North America, whom we directly and indirectly represent. It is true, nevertheless, that in furtherance of our claim, namely, that our principles comprise the fullest and highest scope of human activity, and from time to time will be enhanced and advanced in accordance with the demands to satisfy human needs and desires, the people we represent, the working class, hold different views on the best method of furthering the desired end, even, although, there is little difference among them as to the desirability of the position we hope to attain. We unhesitatingly announce that the trade union movement herein represented is the most practical, safe, and legitimate channel through which the working men and women of North America should not only continue to seek redress for their wrongs, but by which they can strengthen their economic position until it will control the political field, and thereby place labor in full possession of its inherent rights. We declare that since the inception of our movement inquiry into the best form of government has been its guiding motive, and will so continue while there is a high moral desire to gratify, or an injustice to correct. Our meetings, local and national, are now and always have been, free to the discussion of any legitimate economic or political question; but, on the other hand, are as equally pronounced against partisan politics, religious dissensions, or race prejudices, and as success has followed those meritorious conclusions, we would be unfaithful to the duty we owe to mankind to do other than strongly recommend a continuance of the methods, the inculcation of which means the greatest amount of safety to our movement, with the least degree of danger. In conclusion, we assert it is the duty of all trade unions to publish in their official journals, to discuss in their meetings, and the members to study in their homes, all questions of public nature, having reference to industrial or political liberty, and to give special consideration to subjects directly affecting them as a class; but, we as vigorously submit that it is not within the power of this organization to dictate to members of our unions to which political party they shall belong or which party's ticket they vote.

(1902, p. 227) The Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to prepare bills concerning such legislation by Congress as is desired, and especially concerning the subjects of Oriental immigration, government by injunction, eight-hour work-days and the involuntary servitude of children; that copies of these bills, when prepared, shall be sent to the executive officers of each of the state federations of labor, where such federations exist, and in other cases to such persons or organizations as may be selected, with instructions in each case providing that the bills for the desired legislation shall be submitted to the county conventions of all political parties with the request for an indorsement of the same by such conventions, and instructions from them to their delegates and nominees to act in accordance with such indorsement: that such further steps shall be taken as will secure the nomination by state conventions and the election by state legislatures of only such men for the House of Representatives and the United States Sen-

ate as are fully and satisfactorily pledged to the support of the bills prepared by the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor; that it shall be the duty of the officers upon whom the responsibility of promoting the proposed legislation shall devolve, to give the results of their work, as shown by the actions of conventions and the pledges of candidates, the greatest publicity, to the end that all trade unionists may know who their friends are. (p. 178) Reaffirmed declaration of principles adopted in 1901 (pp. 234-40).

(1903, pp. 188-198) Ten resolutions favoring partisan political action were defeated by a vote of 11,282 to 2,147.

(1904, p. 241) Refused to bar delegates occupying a political position. (p. 204) Rejected proposition for partisan political action.

(1905, p. 239) Partisan politics ruled out of order. (p. 177) All organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. urged to oppose the nomination and election of all candidates for Congressional and Legislative honors who have shown themselves to be unfriendly to the interests and principles of organized labor, and assist to the extent of their ability the nomination and election of candidates who are known to be friendly to labor legislation. (pp. 78-233) The systematic questioning of candidates is gaining in importance each year. More and more our state branches, central bodies and local unions are realizing the system's usefulness. It enables our people to prevent the evasion of issues by party machines, and the self interests of candidates cause them to answer favorably in most cases. And the success of organized labor's political work without engaging in party politics strengthens the union in the sentiment of its members and increases their number. Co-operation is also advanced with other interests, such as organized farmers. In Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Indian Territory and Texas the organized farmers, with organized wage earners, are questioning candidates as to the establishment of the people's sovereignty in place of machine rule. This is accomplished without a formal alliance. (The July 15, 1904, American Federationist describes the system.)

LABOR'S BILL OF GRIEVANCES—(1906, p 31) Much interest has been aroused regarding the active campaign inaugurated and carried on by the A. F. of L. in the recent past. Labor's opponents assumed to regard our actions as an unwarranted invasion of their domain, that the working people have no right to exercise their sovereign power of citizenship to punish politically those who are hostile or indifferent to our rights and interests, or to stand in advocacy of those who have proven themselves as friends and who have sympathetically supported the measures we deem requisite to secure the enactment of laws having for their purpose the abolition of inequalities and injustice and the protection and promotion of those rights to which Labor is so justly entitled. They accused us of "threatening" Congressmen with our political ill will, as though people of other interests do not advocate and support the election of those who favor those interests, and threaten with political defeat those who are opposed to them. Evidently, it is not understood that the ballot in itself is the weapon with which the constitution has invested the citizen, not only to threaten, but to carry that threat into execution. We are not unmindful of the fact that laws in the interests of labor have been enacted, but these have been fragmentary in character and of insufficient importance. When we contemplate the alacrity with which our Congresses respond to the demands of special interests, by the prompt granting of charters, franchises, immunities, special privileges, and special and class legislation, that are winged into enactment by legislative flights, while any measure in the interests of the toiling masses progresses as if with a leaden heel; that particularly in recent years slower progress has been made than heretofore; that the toilers appeals and petitions are treated with indifference and contempt, it is not surprising that the men of labor throughout our country have become impatient and have manifested that impatience. The A. F. of L. has often declared and often emphasized that as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls of every election.

That the A. F. of L. most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the A. F. of L., and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunction of the courts, nor act as the pliant tool of corporate wealth. Frequently our conventions have voiced their sentiments, views and demands relative to labor measures and the means and methods by which to attain them. From the rank and file among the workers of our country have come impatient inquiries as to the possibility of labor legislation at the hands of Congress, and the request to know whether the time is not opportune to conduct a campaign that will impress upon the minds of those who are juggling and disregarding the legislative interests of America's workers, the necessity for a more decent regard for those rights and interests. Being disappointed at the failure to secure justice, 117 presidents or representatives of national and international unions were invited to meet the Executive Council to devise ways and means by which labor's position in regard to our rights and interests might be discussed and formulated. The well-known Bill of Labor's Grievances was drawn up and submitted to the President of the U. S., President pro tempore of the Senate and Speaker of the House, as follows (p. 76):

"Gentlemen: The undersigned Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and those accompanying us in the presentation of this document, submit to you the subject matter of the grievances which the workmen of our country feel by reason of the indifferent position which the Congress of the United States has manifested toward the just, reasonable and necessary measures which have been before it these past several years, and which particularly affect the interests of the working people, as well as by

reason of the administrative acts of the executive branches of this Government and the legislation of the Congress relating to these interests. For convenience the matters of which we complain are briefly stated, and are as follows: The law commonly known as the Eight Hour Law has been found ineffective and insufficient to accomplish the purpose of its designers and framers. Labor has, since 1894, urged the passage of a law so as to remedy the defects, and for its extension to all work done for or on behalf of the Government. Our efforts have been in vain. Without hearing of any kind granted to those who are the advocates of the Eight Hour Law and principle, Congress passed, and the President signed an appropriation bill containing a rider nullifying the Eight Hour Law and principle in its application to the greatest public work ever undertaken by our Government—the construction of the Panama Canal. The eight-hour law, in terms, provides that those entrusted with the supervision of government work shall neither require nor permit any violations thereof. The law has been grievously and frequently violated; the violations have been reported to the heads of several departments, who have refused to take the necessary steps for its enforcement.

"While recognizing the necessity for the employment of inmates of our penal institutions, so that they may be self-supporting, labor has urged in vain the enactment of a law that shall safeguard it from the competition of the labor of convicts. In the interest of all of our people, and in consonance with their almost general demand, we have urged Congress for some tangible relief from the constantly growing evil of induced and undesirable immigration, but without result. Recognizing the danger of Chinese immigration, and responsive to the demands of the people, Congress, years ago, enacted an effective Chinese exclusion law; yet, despite the experience of the people of our own country, as well as those of other countries, the present law is flagrantly violated, and now, by act of Congress, it is seriously proposed to invalidate that law and reverse the policy. The partial relief secured by the laws of 1895 and 1898, providing that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, has been seriously threatened at each succeeding Congress. The petitions to secure for the seamen equal right with all others have been denied, and a disposition shown to extend to other workmen the system of compulsory labor. Under the guise of a bill to subsidize the shipping industry, a provision is incorporated, and has already passed the Senate, providing for a form of conscription, which would make compulsory naval service a condition precedent to employment on privately owned vessels. Having in mind the terrible and unnecessary loss of life attending the burning of the Slocum in the Harbor of New York, the wreck of the Rio de Janeiro at the entrance to the bay of San Francisco, and other disasters on the waters too numerous to mention, in nearly every case the great loss of life was due to the undermanning and the unskilled manning of such vessels, we presented to Congress measures that would, if enacted, so far as human law could do, make impossible the awful loss of life. We have sought this remedy more in the interests of the traveling public than that of the seamen, but in vain. Having in mind the constantly increasing evil growing out of the parsimony of corporations, of towing several undermanned and unequipped vessels called barges on the high seas, where, in case of storm or stress, they are cut loose to drift or sink, and their crews to perish, we have urged the passage of a law that shall forbid the towing of more than one such vessel unless they shall have an equipment and a crew sufficient to manage them when cut loose and sent adrift, but in vain. The Anti-Trust and Interstate Commerce laws enacted to protect the people against monopoly in the products of labor, and against discrimination in the transportation thereof, have been perverted, so far as the laborers are concerned, so as to invade and violate their personal liberty as guaranteed by the Constitution. Our repeated efforts to obtain redress from Congress have been in vain. The beneficent writ of injunction intended to protect property rights has, as used in labor disputes, been perverted so as to attack and destroy personal freedom, and in a manner to hold that the employer has some property rights in the labor of the workmen. Instead of obtaining the relief which labor has sought, it is seriously threatened with statutory authority for existing judicial usurpation. The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was instituted at the demand of labor to voice its sentiments, to advocate its rights, and to protect its interests. In the past two Congresses this Committee has been so organized as to make ineffectual any attempt labor has made for redress. This being the fact, in the last Congress, labor requested the Speaker to appoint on the Committee on Labor members who, from their experience, knowledge, and sympathy, would render in this Congress such service as the Committee was originally designed to perform. Not only was labor's request ignored, but the hostile make-up of the Committee was accentuated. Recently the President issued an order forbidding any and all Government employes, upon the pain of instant dismissal from the Government service, to petition Congress for any redress of grievances or for any improvement in their condition. Thus the constitutional right of citizens to petition must be surrendered by the Government employe in order that he may obtain or retain his employment. We present these grievances to your attention because we have long, patiently, and in vain waited for redress. There is not any matter of which we have complained but for which we have in an honorable and lawful manner submitted remedies. The remedies for these grievances proposed by labor are in line with fundamental law, and with the progress and development made necessary by changed industrial conditions. Labor brings these, its grievances, to your attention because you are the representatives responsible for legislation and for failure of legislation. The toilers come to you as your fellow-citizens who, by reason of their position in life, have not only with all other citizens an equal interest in our country, but the further interest of being the burden-bearers, the wage-earners of America. As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in

your power so to do. Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if perchance you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow citizens.''

No progress was made upon legislation which labor asked either included in the Bill of Grievances or otherwise. Then again on January 29, an Executive order was issued by the President of the U. S. upon the subject of the right to petition of government employes. The order follows:

''All officers and employes of the United States of every description, serving in or under any of the Executive Departments or independent Government establishments, and whether so serving in or out of Washington, are hereby forbidden, either directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interest any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its Committees, or in any way save through the heads of the Departments or independent Government establishments in or under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service.''

Congress adjourned without heeding our petition or granting the relief requested. We then acted upon the declaration of the conference of March 21 as contained in the Bill of Grievances, and appealed to the conscience and support of our fellow unionists and citizens, and we outlined, drafted and issued a document relative to a campaign, of which the following is a copy:

''A. F. OF L. CAMPAIGN PROGRAM.

Washington, July 22, 1906. To all Organized Labor and Friends in the United States: Dear Sirs and Brothers: Events in the industrial affairs of our people have rapidly changed and are rapidly changing. The trade union movement, as expressed by the A. F. of L., has kept and proposes to keep pace therewith. The wheels of industry can not be halted or turned back, nor should they be, even if that were possible. Welcoming industrial progress, labor must be ever alert to meet new conditions, recognizing that eternal vigilance is the price of industrial as well as political liberty.

The working people can not hope to maintain their rights or a progressive position in the varying phases of modern society unless they organize and exercise all those functions which, as workmen and citizens, it is their privilege and their duty to exercise. Labor makes no demand upon government or society which is not equally accorded to all the people of our country. It can and will be satisfied with nothing less. The position of organized labor upon the question of political action by the working class, their friends and sympathizers, has often been declared, but was more clearly set forth in the following declaration, unanimously adopted by the Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1897 and often reaffirmed since:

'' 'Resolved, That the A. F. of L. most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and workmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunctions of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth. That as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls at every election.'

''We have been ever-watchful to carry the purposes of that declaration into effect. At times we met with partial success, yet, within the past few years claims and promises made in platforms or on the hustings by political parties and politicians, and especially by the present dominant party, have been neither justified nor performed. Little attention has been paid to the enactment of laws prepared by us and presented to Congress for the relief of those wrongs and the attainment of those rights to which labor and the common people are justly entitled and which are essentially necessary for their welfare. Several Presidents of the U. S. have, in their messages to Congress, urged the passage of equitable legislation in behalf of the working people, but Congress has been entirely preoccupied looking after the interests of vast corporations and predatory wealth. Congressmen and Senators in their frenzied rush after the almighty dollar have been indifferent or hostile to the rights of man. They have had no time and as little inclination to support the reasonable labor measures, the enactment of which we have urged, and which contained beneficent features for all our people without an obnoxious provision to any one. Patience ceased to be a virtue, and on March 21, 1906, the representatives of labor presented a Bill of Grievances to the President and those responsible for legislation or the failure of legislation in Congress, reciting the failure or refusal of the party in power to adopt or enforce legislation in the interests of the toiling millions of our country. After setting forth labor's grievances and requests and urging early action, we closed that now-famous document with this statement:

'' 'But if perchance you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and support of our fellow-citizens.'

''The relief asked for has not been granted. Congress has turned a deaf ear to the voices of the masses of our people: and, true to our declaration, we now appeal to the working people, aye, to all the American people unitedly to demonstrate their determination that this Republic of ours shall continue to be of, for and by the people, rather than of for and by the almighty dollar. The toiling masses of our country are as much, if not more, interested in good government than our fellow-citizens in other walks of life. In line with the contention herein stated, the American Federation of Labor made its declaration of political policy as already quoted above. And in line therewith we hope, and have the right to expect, to arouse the citizenship of our common country, interested in good government, to the apathy or hostility of the party in power to the real interests of the people, so that men more honest, faithful and progressive may be elected as the people's representatives. Attention is called not only to congressional and legislative indifference and hostility to the interests of labor, but also to the interests of the large

mass of all our people. The press for months has been burdened with exposures of corruption and graft in high circles. The great insurance companies, the trusts, the corporations, the so-called captains of industry, have indeed become the owners of the legislators of our country. Public officials, many of whom have the cry of 'stop thief' nearest the tip of the tongue, have been elected through these very agencies and the contributions from them. If it has come to a condition in this, the greatest and wealthiest nation on earth, that the almighty dollar is to be worshipped to an extent of forgetting principle, conscience, uprightness and justice, the time has arrived for labor and its friends to raise their voices in condemnation of such degeneracy, and to invite all reform forces to join with it in relegating indifference to the people's interests, corruption and graft to political oblivion; to raise the standard of legislation by the election of sincere, progressive and honest men who, while worshipping money less, will honor conscience, justice and humanity more. We recommend that central bodies and local unions proceed without delay by the election of delegates to meet in conference, or convention, to formulate plans to further interests of this movement, and in accordance with the plan herein outlined at the proper time and in the proper manner nominate candidates who will unquestionably stand for the enactment into law of labor and progressive measures. The first concern of all should be the positive defeat of those who have been hostile or indifferent to the just demands of labor. A stinging rebuke to them will benefit not only the toilers but the people of the entire country. Wherever both parties ignore labor's legislative demands a straight labor candidate should be nominated, so that honest men may have the opportunity in exercising their franchise to vote according to their conscience, instead of being compelled either to refrain from voting or to vote for the candidate and the party they must in their innermost souls despise. Where a Congressman or State Legislator has proven himself a true friend to the rights of labor he should be supported and no candidate nominated against him. This movement must not degenerate into a scramble for office. It should be a determined effort, free, absolutely, from partisanship of every name and character, to secure the legislation we deem necessary and essential to the welfare and happinss of all our people. As the present objects of this movement are purely in the line of legislation all efforts should be concentrated upon the election of members of Congress and the various State legislatures. To make this—our movement—the most effective, the utmost care should be taken to nominate only such union men whose known intelligence, honesty and faithfulness are conspicuous. They should be nominated as straight labor representatives and stand and be supported as such by union men and their friends and sympathizers, irrespective of previous political affiliation. Wherever it is apparent that an entirely independent labor candidate can not be elected, efforts should be made to secure such support by indorsement of candidates by the minority party in the districts and by such other progressive elements as will insure the election of labor representatives. All observers agree that the campaign of our fellow-workmen of Great Britain has had a wholesome effect upon the government, as well as the interests of its wage-earners, and the people generally of that country. In the last British elections 54 trade unionists were elected to Parliament. If the British workmen, with their limited franchise, accomplished so much by their united action, what may we in the United States not do with universal suffrage? In order to systematically carry out the policy and work necessary to this campaign a 'Labor's Representation Committee' has been appointed. Those earnestly engaged in our movement must, we repeat, be guided by the fact that the principles for which we stand must be of primary consideration, and office secondary. We ask our fellow-workers and friends to respond to this call and to make of it a popular uprising of honest men, and to see to it that the best, most conscientious men of labor or their supporters are chosen as their representatives. Whatever vantage ground or improved conditions have come to the workers of our country were not brought to them on silver platters; they are the result of their better organization and their higher intelligence; of the sacrifices they have made and the industrial battle-scars of many contests. The progress of the toilers has not been due to kindness or consideration at the hands of the powers that be, but achieved in spite of the combined bitter hostility of mendacious greed, corporate corruption, legislative antagonism and judicial usurpation. Labor men of America, assert your rights! And in addition to strengthening your faith and loyalty to your organization on the economic field, exercise your full rights of citizenship in the use of your ballot. Elect honest men to Congress and to other halls of legislation, and by so doing you will more completely and fully carry out your obligations as union men, and more than ever merit the respect of your fellow-citizens. Labor demands a distinctive and larger share in the governmental affairs of our country; it demands justice; it will be satisfied with nothing less. The instructions contained in the resolution of the 1902 (p. 227) convention were to ascertain and prepare the membership for just such a campaign as has been recently inaugurated. The labor movement is a movement of the wage workers for the purpose of protecting and promoting the interests of the wage-earners, and to work for the betterment of our people. It has not kept out of politics. We could not if we would. We can and do avoid, and must avoid, if we aim to further the interests of the working people, constituting our movement into a political party. The wage-earners as trade unions exercise their political rights and power primarily to defend hostile legislation and to prevent acts on the part of the government hostile to labor and to labor's interest and advancement; to secure such action at the hands of the government which can be secured by trade union action alone: to give the trade union movement full and free right in the exercise of its lawful and natural functions. We indulge ourselves in these references, not because we deem them necessary as a vindication of the course pursued by labor, but to record historically in our official proceedings some of the incidents and declarations of the work of the

labor movement, so that friends may be in a position to defend the aspersions of the hypercritical as well as of the open and avowed antagonists. A close adherence to the policy declared for and enunciated by trade unions all over the country, and as understood and expressed by the A. F. of L. will bring to the toilers the greatest possible success with the least possible injury or danger to their interest or cause. Some of our opponents have insisted that the campaign inaugurated by labor was a departure from the course our movement has pursued in the past. This is scarcely within the purview of the knowledge of what our movement has done, for what it stands, and how it has been conducted. Labor has never stood for what our detractors assert, 'no politics in the union.' The fact is that we have declared against partisan politics. This has been scrupulously adhered to during the entire existence of our movement, the recent campaign included. From the time of the inception of our Federation in Pittsburgh, in 1881, we have declared for the political rights of labor. We have not only not failed to press them home upon Congress and the Legislatures, but we have even exercised our political power for the purpose of securing the political and economic rights of labor. At nearly every convention, the exercise of our political power was determined.'' (p. 31) Labor appealed not only to the working people, but to all the American people, that this republic of ours shall continue to be of, for, and by the people, rather than of, for, and by the almighty dollar. Later, the plan of campaign was formulated and the inspiring watchword adopted that: ''We will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent or hostile; and, wherever opportunity affords, secure the election of intelligent, honest, earnest trade unionists, with unblemished, paid-up union cards in their possession.'' The campaign fulfilled one of its most important missions; it instituted a great and much needed educational work—a work manifold in character. First, as to Congress itself; if we have not elected a single trade union member, we still have the encouraging prospect of a new Congress with many members, who certainly must have been previously classed as indifferent, now pledged to Labor's interests. Accepting the statements of those who have not been actively hostile to Labor's interests, when they say that this campaign has led them to look more carefully into the legislation which Labor asks, when such Congressmen voluntarily assure us that hereafter they will give friendly and sympathetic consideration and vote for Labor's measures, may we not take their assurances in good faith, for the time at least, and at an early day hope to see the fruits of this change of heart? The other educational work, and, of course, the one which is responsible for many seeing the light, is the change which we have already accomplished in public opinion. Truth is an eternal verity, and our cause needs only to be understood in order to win the support of all sympathetic, patriotic and right-principled men. We gain by every discussion. We gain even by every hostile attack which provokes comment and gives an opportunity to show what is the truth in regard to our cause. The discussion of the specific measures which Labor advocates has led to a consideration of the basic, economic propositions and philosophy upon which such demands are founded. Many so-called statesmen no less than the multitude of private citizens have found that our campaign has forced a more careful study of problems which heretofore have been passed over with conventional phrases which cover ignorance of important subjects. We repeat, a great educational work was begun many years ago, and has been continually carried on day after day as well as in our recent campaign. It will continue until full justice has been accorded to Labor. Labor's demands can no longer be dismissed with contempt. A man may not agree with us, but he must now show why he does not and the logic is always on our side because we are right. (p. 183) What is the true function of the A. F. of L.? What are its powers, limitations and duties? How far may it properly take the initiative in political affairs? With what authority, if any, may it assume to speak for the millions enrolled in its membership? Where is the line where interference begins with the freedom of action of the individual, guaranteed by the constitution of most of our affiliated bodies. How far is it either wise or expedient to attempt the identification of an economic and political movement in the same organization? These are very serious questions, not to be lightly answered, for in failing to answer them rightly, at least two of our predecessors, on the lines of national labor organizations, passed quickly into decadence. We shall assume, therefore, that trade unionism in teaching the paramount importance of questions affecting the lives and homes of the labor seller, also teaches the citizen that the use of his ballot should be determined by these issues, rather than by those put forward for purely political reasons. This teaching has borne fruit. Never in the history of the republic were there so many independent labor voters as today, and the number is increasing. We rejoice that this is so and claim for the educative influence of our union a large share of the credit. There is the great vital fact that more men are free men, politically, than ever before. The method in which they shall use this freedom is a secondary matter. The detail of political organization to be followed out in this or that locality may safely be left to local judgment. We regard with pleasure the recent political action of the organized workingmen of the country and by which they have demonstrated that they are determined to exhibit their political power. We are in full accord therewith and recommend to organized labor throughout the country that they persist in their efforts to organize as an independent political force to the end that labor may achieve its just rights through the exercise of the ballot. We apprehend that there is no more need for this organization handing down patent plans for utilizing this independent spirit than there is for its interference with local autonomy in the conduct of trade affairs. We therefore refuse to indorse any political party or any plan for the formation of a political party. Our members in each territorial division, state, municipal, congressional or assembly, know best how to use the independent ballot. Our corresponding

divisions of state and central bodies may safely be trusted to take the initiative as to methods. Let the principle be proclaimed in every community that associated labor will hold hostile individuals and parties responsible for the defeat of labor measures, and if there be really an independent spirit among our membership it may be entrusted to work out to our ways of achieving results. We are, however, of the opinion that it is the legitimate function of this organization to carry on an aggressive educational campaign and to furnish all possible assistance upon these lines, whether by statistics, literature, committees before legislatures, speakers upon the public platform, etc. We hold that the economic function and power of trade unionism is by far its greatest instrument for good. We further hold that the solidarity of our movement must not for a moment be permitted to be endangered by the attempt to identify it with a partisan political movement. We must have with us, in our economic movement, men of all parties as well as of all creeds, and the minority right of the humblest man to vote where he pleases and to worship where his conscience dictates must be sacredly guarded. We may properly furnish him the facts as they occur in the legislative field, the records of legislators, etc., and then leave him to use his own political judgment. We do not say whether an independent political party is a desirable thing or not. We do say that the attempt to delegate any authority, by this convention, to form political organizations on any specific lines, would to that extent identify the Federation of Labor with a party movement and inevitably vitiate one of the most fundamental principles of trade unionism. Political movements are ephemeral. The trade-union movement is not alone for today; its existence is too valuable to be staked on success in the political arena. The political wooden horse bears within it those who would destroy the walls of our now impregnable defense. At the risk of repetition, we desire to make the position clear. We are not a political party. We disclaim political party jurisdiction. We set up no claim of authority over the political acts of our membership. We could not if we would, for all the political authority we might assume would not vitiate the protection due every man from the union which grants him his card. If we are to create new tests of regularity in unionism we must first obtain new power from the affiliated bodies which make up the Federation. On the other hand, the Federation has repeatedly declared for the independent use of the ballot for the purpose of securing legislative and judicial reform. In the struggle for office for the mere sake of office, our movement should have no part. We are legitimately concerned as to those measures which affect our legislative and judicial rights. We, therefore, recommend to trade unionists everywhere the duty of independent voting and the formation of such organizations outside the trade union as, in the judgment of the membership, in each locality, may be deemed most effective.

(1908, pp. 27,223-4-5) "The American labor movement is not partisan to a political party; it is partisan to a principle, the principle of equal rights and human freedom." We call especial attention to this statement, in order that we may emphasize its soundness and because it has to some extent been disputed. We appeal to public opinion, we do our best to so cultivate it, so that it may become on subjects which we urge sufficiently extensive and strong to be crystallized into law. One political party deals with our policies and rejects them; another deals with them and adopts them; that is, it expresses itself as being in agreement with us on these policies, and if we are to remain true to the principles and policies which we have urged upon the public, we necessarily must work with such party for the accomplishment of our object. If an endorsement of our contentions by a political party is to compel us to abandon those contentions, then it needs but such endorsement of our very existence to compel us to disband. The thought needs but to be stated in order that it may be repudiated. Partisanship is exhibited by adherence to a party which refuses its endorsement, and non-partisanship consists in continued work for our principles regardless of what any political party may do. (p. 225) We feel the President of the A. F. of L. has gone to his fullest limit, physically and mentally, in carrying out the mandates of the previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the conclusions reached by the conferences of the representatives of the National and International Unions held in the city of Washington, D. C., in the years 1906 and 1908, and we agree with the President when he says that the campaign as carried on by the American Federation of Labor was on a high plane; that the educational features are bound to be of lasting benefit, and that a greater moral victory has been won. The policy shall be continued and every effort be made to bring the principles for which we contended and for which we shall continue to contend, not only to all members of the labor movement, but to all friends and adherents of popular government.

(1909, pp. 32-316) Inasmuch as there appears to be little disposition on the part of Congress, particularly in its present make-up, to give the relief that we should have from the decision of the Supreme Court of the U. S. in so far as concerns the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, relief from the abuse of the writ of injunction, or to enact legislation for the extension of the Eight-Hour Law, for the protection of seamen's rights, or for the regulation of convict labor, etc., we urge organized labor and all reform forces to begin an agitation and to organize so as to be prepared to take action in the next congressional election. In centering the effort of labor and its friends upon congressional and state legislative action we shall be following the direct instructions of a number of conventions of the American Federation of Labor, emphasized by the direction of the Denver Convention." We must be partisan for a principle and not for a party, but we must make manifest the fact that we have political power and that we intend to use it; otherwise the ballot will become an impotent weapon. The potency of the ballot begins in the primary independent or a party, and there the workers must begin to assert their adherence to labor's principles and demands. There the workers make of themselves an edu-

cational force. They must endeavor to draw with them those unorganized, perhaps, or who have not yet become familiar with the legislation which is needed. Let us restate that there can be no coercion of any man along party lines. Labor must learn to use parties to advance our principles, and not allow political parties to manipulate us for their own advancement. The distinction is easily understood and readily carried into effect. If each worker as an individual uses the ballot for the advancement of the principles for which labor stands and has declared there will be no question in future as to the power of labor to achieve its just demands; political apathy and partisan adherence will weaken; political activity and partisanship for labor's principles will bring strength and success. The activity, the loyalty of the workers in every part of the country is what we need in order that our political power may be used harmoniously with our ecenomic efficiency. The time is now for emphatic declaration and positive, practical preparation for action.

(1910, pp. 44-313) Some of the fruits of organized labor's participation in the political activities of the states and the nation are coming to the surface. We who have been conscious of what has been and what is being accomplished have had the gratification of witnessing the fact that other influential sections of society have also seen fit to make some effort to cleanse politics of contaminating influences. Since the A. F. of L. has taken a more active part in the political affairs of the nation, we have had the satisfaction of removing from office many bitter opponents to Labor's advancement, which includes and implies the advancement of the interests of the whole people. We have curbed the sordid, self-seeking agents of predatory interests—now somewhat softened by the new title of "big business." We have seen Mr. Cannon, the most potent evil influence against the people's rights and interests, stripped of his autocratic, arbitrary power as Speaker of the House of Representatives. We have seen the Rules Committee of the House reconstructed and reformed so that it shall respond to the will of the majority rather than be the pliant tool of "the interests" under domination of Speaker Cannon or any future Speaker of a like caliber and make-up. When we said in the now historic "Bill of Grievances," which we submitted to the President, and to the chief representatives of both houses of Congress in 1906 that unless the rights to which Labor is entitled were accorded by legislation we should appeal from the Representatives in Congress "to the conscience and the support of our fellow-citizens," the declaration was jeered at by those at that time entrenched in power in the House, and we were damned from Dan to Beersheba by the penny-a-liners who scribble for a hostile press as being dictators to Labor and scheming to "deliver the Labor vote." But their rantings were in vain. Their efforts to hold the workers of America in mental servitude to party idolatry and party slavery have been abortive. The militant organized wage workers have been so aroused, and the appeals to the people on the ground of humanity, liberty and justice rewarded with such manifestations of accord and co-operation, that success now appears on the horizon. Our achievements in both the industrial and political fields, especially during the year now closing, warrant the justification of our brightest hopes and the prediction of greater successes as time goes on. Passing, as we are, through the gravest crisis ever faced by the workers in the history of this country, Labor has not faltered. It has not abated one tittle of its activity. It has not hesitated in the face of the most trying circumstances to stand loyally, faithfully, and tenaciously for the rights of the toilers, for the rights and liberties of all the people. When we pledged ourselves to exert every possible legitimate effort to secure for the workers their inalienable liberties as a vital portion of the fabric of our civilization, a new declaration of human rights was recognized by our associates, and when we further pledged our fealty to carry on this work until every industrial and political right of the workers shall be guaranteed its permanent place and sphere of usefulness in the progress of our country, we challenged our opponents to try to prevent the achievement of these aspirations—if they dared. Today we are standing on the threshold of successful accomplishment. By the persistency of our endeavors in the interest of human welfare we have shaken the crafty and the greedy out of their position of confident self-assertion and converted them into apologists before their fellow-citizens. A great majority of the public news venders have conspired to keep silent on our extraordinary political successes in California, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York, Maine and elsewhere throughout the country. They ascribe a thousand and one fictitious reasons for the uprising of the people. Anything and everything in their eyes has been responsible except the one real cause. When so many elements, through their common interests, tacitly or by agreement try to suppress or pervert the truth, and thereby to keep the people in ignorance as to the most potent factor which has caused the important political upheaval and the legislative reforms in recent times it would be a false modesty, a modesty which is not a virtue, it would be wasteful and wrongful did not organized labor claim the just credit due it after the years of struggle and sacrifice which the toilers have undergone to bring about these achievements; achievements in the cause of a progress which is but at its beginning. Labor—militant organized labor—owing allegiance to no political party or formulated partisan creed, inspired the revolution of independent political thought and action and with practical aims called upon the people to claim their own. The political defeats that have taken place this year in districts and states which can be named, whereby many of our opponents have been consigned to political oblivion, have demonstrated beyond all quibble what element was responsible and hence is deserving of credit for the upheaval. The wholesale overthrow of the legislative and political jugglers with the people's rights and interests can unerringly be traced to organized labor's appeals to the people to defend their common interest and precious rights. In this day of reckoning which has arrived we are firmly con-

vinced that the A. F. of L. is most directly responsible for the strength of the aroused indignation of an offended and aggrieved nation. In this great awakening our men of labor have brought forcibly to the attention of the rest of our people the evils with which we have contended and still have to contend. We protest and shall protest against the abuse of the injunction writ by the courts—against being denied the fundamental right of equality before the law. We have been denied our constitutional rights of free speech and free press; we have suffered under laws primarily enacted to regulate and control great combinations of capital which have been interpreted to apply to the voluntary organizations of working people. We have so forcibly called these grievances to the attention of the public mind that we are now meeting with an unmistakably sympathetic response. If Labor will but maintain the vantage gained and persistently pursue the course it has adopted, it will not only effectively prevent any reaction or possibility of returning to the old basis of injustice and misrepresentation, but it will also steadily advance toward the goal of justice and freedom, the consummation of Labor's aspirations. We must never forget—never forget the men and their associates who did their utmost to reduce Labor to a bargain-counter commodity; never forget that the courts were made for men and not men for courts; never forget that legislators for state or nation are but the representatives of the citizens, in duty bound to enact such laws as shall make secure the freedom of all our people and be in furtherance of their rights and interests.

(1911, pp. 56-288) At length it has become evident to all open-minded men that important changes are impending in our methods of government, and especially with reference to the status of political parties. Voters are now demanding better reasons for their support of a particular candidate than his nomination by a party or his endorsement by some official or unofficial boss. The spirit of revolt and change is abroad in the land, and the spirit of liberty which first inspired the revolutionary leaders in 1776 has again entered the hearts of the American people. The people who form the rank and file of political parties are more progressive than their leaders. They will no longer submit to the rule of evasion and false pretense found in platforms, Presidential messages and public addresses. They demand straight talk and open, honorable methods. We hope to find henceforth that the millions of intelligent men of labor, having passed beyond the influence of campaign buncombe, have come to understand that the welfare of the people and the promotion of the cause of labor are more important than any party candidacy or empty partisan success. But political parties should, after all, be treated as means to an end. The success of a party should never outweigh the accomplishment in legislation or administration of the important purposes of labor. In casting our ballots we should ever distinguish, whenever possible, between our friends and our enemies, and between these should be no division on party lines among us. On general party issues it would be useless to attempt bringing about unity of action, and perhaps it is better in the long run that such is the case. But when we are seeking legislation from Congress on so vital a matter as curtailment of judicial power in the matter of injunctions and in all matters involving our personal liberties, including the right of free speech and free press, we should be a unit in opposition to candidates who stand in the way, no matter how exalted the office sought by them. (p. 298) Commended work of the Labor Representation Committee and authorized it to act with the Executive Council in any action deemed advisable.

(1912, p. 31) The campaign made by Labor in 1910 was, in a large measure, responsible for the change in the political complexion of the House of Representtives. Labor was recognized in the appointment of one of the important committees of the Sixty-second Congress. This committee did splendid work. (p. 314) Rejected a resolution instructing Executive Council to consider "the advisability of the formation of a strictly speaking national union labor party which shall be in strict accord with the policies and aims and legislative demands of the A. F. of L." (p. 135) Too much credit can not be given officers of state and city federations for the efforts they put forth to secure the election of trade unionists to office.

(1913, pp. 56-298) Sixteen members of trade unions had been elected to the House of Representatives and one to the U. S. Senate. (pp. 314-15) While our political developments are encouragingly progressive and should be continued and further developed in the future, the time has not arrived when, with due regard to the economic movement still young and hopeful in organization, a distinct labor political party should be formed. We are confident that, when our present political activities have suitably matured, a new political party will be the logical result, a party in which will be amalgamated the reform and humanitarian forces, which will represent and stand for the protection and supremacy of human rights, giving legislative expression to the sound economic and political position that the producers of wealth are entitled to their full share of the value thereof, and as opposed to a party in which may be found the forces representing and holding supreme the so-called rights of property, and whose legislative goal would be the guarantee of continuation of the system which puts the dollar above humanity. We are hopeful that in such a development there will be continued and greater activity to organize the unorganized into their respective or new unions, and that in their federated relationship general political activity will be given constant and ever-increasing attention, so that with the more complete organization of labor in the economic field there will be safer and greater opportunities for the creation and formation of a political labor party, or a party pledged to the conservation of human rights, whatever the party's name might be. For the present we declare for a continuance and development of labor's nonpartisan political position, namely, that the program and policy declared by the A. F. of L., as authorized by its conventions, through the Executive Council and the organized workers throughout the country, be reaffirmed, and we urge that this program and policy be pursued in subsequent campaigns. To our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens all over

North America we also urge that organized labor's slogan should live in its deeds—stand faithfully by our friends and oppose our enemies, and that members of trade unions be nominated and elected to municipal, county, state, federal and dominion offices.

(1914, p. 329) Refused to declare for an independent political party and reaffirmed action of 1913 convention. (pp. 68-361) A. F. of L. won a remarkable victory (the Clayton act) during the past year. It has brought to a successful culmination the political campaign inaugurated in 1906. The purpose of that campaign was to establish industrial freedom for the working people that they might have the right to organize and the right to activities necessary to make organization effective in human welfare. The law that accords the workers of America these rights contains the most fundamental, the most comprehensive enunciation of freedom found in any legislative act in the history of the world. The workers of our land were able to secure that law because they represented an organized economic power.

(1916, pp. 81-277) As result of Labor's nonpartisan political activities a tremendous change has been wrought in the policies and in the spirit of those who make up the administrative and legislative divisions of the federal government. It is an obligation that the members of the organized labor movement owe to those who have done so much to make possible the splendid humanitarian legislation that has been enacted, and to the spirit of administration mindful of humanity and justice, that our support should be given them that they may retain their positions in which they are able to accomplish so much for the movement. In accord with custom, representatives of the Executive Council, including the members of the Labor Representation Committee, attended the conventions of the three great political parties and presented to them the following demands:

"Government and all civilization exist for the service of human beings and the promotion of their betterment. Such purposes are best achieved when those who are primarily affected by policies and methods have the power of determining them. Under such conditions only will there be relations of good will between fellow-citizens and a spirit of true patriotism essential to the best development and unity of our nation. There must be reason for the conviction that citizens can rely upon the government for impartial maintenance of rights and protection. Such an attitude can result only when principles of human welfare are made paramount to any other consideration. Experience of other countries and scientific information substantiate the contention that sweated industries, overstrain, long and burdensome hours of toil, tend to physical deterioration, loss of mental virility and consequent decreased producing power. Standards of life and work, daily hours of toil and wages have a direct relation to economic progress and development as well as to preparedness for national defense.

"We pledge our party to maintain the federal law enacted by Congress securing to the workers the legal right of voluntary association, for mutual protection and welfare, protecting their rights against unwarrantable issuance of writs of injunction, and guaranteeing the right of trial by jury in alleged contempt cases committed outside the presence of courts.

"National preparedness, as well as commercial development, in keeping with the importance and the dignity of our nation, require that we shall have competent and able American seamen. We urge as essential to this purpose the vigorous enforcement of the seamen's act and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. We are opposed to any minimizing of present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public. It is essential to national safety as well as to the maintenance of an American merchant marine that conditions of work for seamen shall be such as shall induce resourceful, capable, liberty-loving Americans to follow that vocation. Such American seamen will constitute a trained reserve force in times of national peril.

"In order to protect the wages of our workingmen and their standards of living against the dangerous competition of low-priced labor, which will be largely increased at the close of the European war by the migration of such labor to this country, we demand that the immigration and contract labor laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the U. S. all persons who can not read some language.

"The fundamental step in national preparedness for development and growth as well as for defense, is education that will develop the power and faculties of all citizens and will enable each to take advantage of opportunities for life and work. We demand that there shall be provisions for industrial education and vocational training in addition to cultural education. National industrial efficiency is not a haphazard occurrence but is the result of carefully considered methods and policies. The initial requisite for any policy to further industrial efficiency is liberal appropriations for necessary education. As this is a matter of national concern we demand the early enactment of a law providing for adequate assistance to public educational institutions in the various states, which shall provide for industrial education and vocational training in accord with federal provisions and standards.

"We demand the enactment and rigid enforcement of a federal child labor law which shall give adequate protection to the child life of the nation.

"We demand the faithful observance and enforcement of all the federal eight-hour laws and their extension to comprehend all departments of government.

"We urge the enactment of a law by Congress for a comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation act.

"We demand the enactment of legislation excluding from interstate commerce the products of convict labor.

"We demand legislation that will abolish present preventable and appalling loss of life and maiming of human beings in American industry and transportation. We favor the creation and maintenance of a Bureau of Safety under the Department of Labor, which shall be authorized and directed to collect and collate data dealing with industrial hazards and to devise and recommend to Congress any further legislation necessary

for securing safety and conservation of human labor power, as well as to formulate and put into operation methods whereby adequate protection shall be afforded to workers from the hazards of industry and transportation.

"Under the euphonious and misleading term 'Scientific Management,' and systems of time study and stop-watches many have been deceived. Any system which ignores principles of human welfare, disregards consideration of fatigue and the effects of highly specialized methods of production which subdivide mechanical and other operations into such units that the individual tasks become machine-like and injurious to mind and body, can not be countenanced. These systems not only have injurious effect upon the lives—the physical and mental well-being of our workers—but curb the development of skill among the toilers of America. We therefore demand that all adaptations of speeding-up systems shall be forbidden in all work in which the government is concerned.

"For the safety and the protection of the workers of America we declare for the extension of the powers and functions of the federal bureau of mines.

"We pledge our party to the enactment of a law bestowing upon the people of Porto Rico the full right of American citizenship.

"We favor adequate compensation for all employes in the civil service and legislation establishing a reasonable minimum wage for all such employes.

"We favor the creation of a tribunal to which all employes in the competitive civil service may appeal for redress of grievances.

"We favor the enactment of a comprehensive federal compensation law to apply to all civil service employes.

"We favor and pledge our support to secure the enactment of an equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service.

"We assert that the acceptance of employment in the civil service of our government must in no case impair the employes' right of petition.

"We favor government ownership of telegraphs and telephones.

"We favor the absolute suffrage of women co-equal with men."

The responses which the conventions of the various parties made to Labor's request are contained in the labor sections of the various platforms. The platform of the Republican party contains the following planks of interest to Labor:

"The civil service law has always been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declaration that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

"We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a federal child labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all government employes. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of Labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

"The Republican party, reaffirming its faith of government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizing the right of each state to settle this question for itself."

The Progressive platform contains the following response to Labor's demands:

"A nation to survive must stand for the principles of social and industrial justice. We have no right to expect continued loyalty from an oppressed class. We must remove the artificial causes of the high cost of living, prevent the exploitation of men, women and children in industry by the extension of the workmen's compensation law to the full limit permitted under the Constitution, and, by a thoroughgoing child labor law, protect the wage-earner; and by a properly regulated system of rural credits encourage the farmer and give to the landless man opportunity to acquire land.

"A country must be worth living in to be worth fighting for."

Labor's demands were presented to the Democratic party which placed in its platform the following Labor planks:

"We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities, and have secured to the workingman the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

"We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the federal government, wherever it acts as the employer of Labor, should both on its own account and as an example put into effect the following principles of just employment:

"1. A living wage for all employes.

"2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.

"3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.

"4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.

"5. The standards of the 'uniform child labor law,' wherever minors are employed.

"6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.

"7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

"We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the states with regard to Labor within their borders, and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the nation should be conserved.

"We declare our faith in the Seamen's Act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and

we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

"We favor the speedy enactment of an effective federal child labor law and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

"We favor the creation of a federal bureau of safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

"We favor the extention of the powers and functions of the federal bureau of mines.

"We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the nation to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the federal government, by the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

"We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its excellent record in settling industrial strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

"We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as to men."

LABOR LEGISLATION—(1917, p. 105) The extraordinary legislative accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor since the historical declaration on a political program March 21, 1906, is here presented. All of those measures have been enacted into law in accordance with our demands with the exception of legislation enabling states to protect themselves from convict labor of other states. An analysis and close examination will disclose the fact that much more additional legislation in behalf of Labor and humanity than that contained in our first program has been secured because of the demands and increasing aspirations of the members of our affiliated organizations. We lay emphasis upon this fact because we find it essential that our own members and friends may study this list of legislative accomplishments and acquaint themselves with the real active, substantial progress of the American labor movement. To the critic or chronic faultfinder, either in or out of our organizations, we present these summarized facts and challenge their further disputation.

Record of Fifty-ninth Congress on measures of interest to Labor, December 4, 1905-March 2, 1907:

1. Employers' liability act secured.
2. Immigration laws amended and strengthened.
3. Law limiting railroad men's hours of labor to sixteen in any one day enacted.
4. Federal investigation of industrial conditions among working women and children ordered.
5. Amendments to Chinese exclusion law defeated.
6. Ship subsidy and conscription defeated.
7. Anti-compulsory pilotage proposition defeated.

Record of Sixtieth Congress on measures of interest to Labor, December 2, 1907-March 3, 1909:

1. Employers' liability law passed, substituting the act passed by the Fifty-ninth Congress which was annulled by the United States Supreme Court.
2. Compensation for injuries to government employes' act passed.
3. Child labor law for the District of Columbia enacted.
4. Proposed reduction of wages of employes of Panama Canal and Railroad defeated.
5. Ship subsidy and conscription bill again defeated.
6. Law enacted disapproving unfair personal injury act of territory of New Mexico.
7. Compulsory investigation of labor dispute bill defeated—a mischievous proposition intended as a forerunner for compulsory arbitration.
8. Proposal to waive contract labor provision of immigration laws in Hawaii defeated.
9. Efforts to establish censor of publications in Postoffice Department defeated.
10. First federal appropriation for investigation of accidents in coal mines secured.
11. Self-emptying ash pan law for locomotives enacted.

Record of Sixty-first Congress on measures of interest to Labor, March 15, 1909-March 3, 1911:

1. Employers' liability act amended and strengthened.
2. Federal employes' compensation-for-injuries act extended.
3. Law passed requiring railroads to report all accidents.
4. Bureau of Mines established.
5. Standard equipment act for railroads passed (a valuable safety appliance measure).
6. Federal locomotive boiler inspection law enacted.
7. Immigration law relating to deportation amended and strengthened, also extended to prohibit interstate transportation of so-called "white slaves."
8. Eight-hour provision incorporated in naval appropriation acts of both sessions.
9. Eight-hour provision included in act authorizing construction of revenue cutters.
10. Federal commission appointed on workmen's compensation and employers' liability.
11. Postal savings bank law enacted.
12. Porto Rican legislation enacted providing for an eight-hour day on public works; prohibiting employment of children under fourteen years of age, and providing an employers' liability law.
13. Rules of House of Representatives amended to prevent the practice of smothering legislation in committee.
14. Amendment to Constitution providing for income tax passed.
15. Law enacted compelling publicity of political campaign contributions.
16. Child labor law for the District of Columbia amended and strengthened.

Record of Sixty-second Congress on measures of interest to Labor, April 4, 1911-March 3, 1913:

1. "Gag" rule abolished. Rights of hearing, petition, and association restored to postoffice and other civil service employes.
2. United States constitutional amendment providing for popular election of Senators passed.
3. General eight-hour law enacted covering contracts for public work.
4. Eight hours in the contracts of fortification bill provided.

5. Eight hours in the contracts of naval bill provided.

6. Eight hours for letter carriers and clerks in postoffices made mandatory.

7. Extension of federal compensation-for-injuries act to Bureau of Mines employes.

8. Children's Bureau established.

9. Industrial Relations Commission provided.

10. Second-class postage rates assured for trade union and fraternal publications.

11. Eight-hour law of 1892 amended by extending it to dredgemen.

12. Law enacted providing for a Department of Labor, the Secretary of same to be a member of the President's Cabinet.

13. Bureau of Mines act amended and strengthened.

14. Seamen's bill passed Congress, vetoed by President Taft.

15. Immigration bill passed Congress, vetoed by the President.

16. Free smoker bill passed (in interest of cigarmakers).

17. Anti-phosphorus match bill enacted.

18. Anti-trust proviso passed Congress exempting organizations of labor from prosecution under Sherman law, vetoed by President Taft.

19. Physical valuation law for railroads and express companies passed.

20. Parcel post law passed.

21. Increased appropriations obtained for rescue work in Bureau of Mines.

22. Federal investigation ordered of the industrial conditions prevailing in the iron and steel industry, also a congressional investigation ordered of the United States Steel Corporation.

23. Law passed establishing the three-watch system in the merchant marine, for masters, mates and pilots.

24. Public construction in government navy yards of naval vessels and colliers secured.

25. Secured 5 cents an hour advance for pressmen in Government Printing Office.

26. Secured 10 per cent increase in wages for employes of Naval Gun Factory.

27. Federal investigation textile strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts.

28. Congressional investigation of the Taylor "stop-watch" system.

29. The amendment to the federal Constitution providing for an income tax, ratified by three-fourths of the states and made effective.

Record of Sixty-third Congress on measures of interest to Labor, April 7, 1913-March 4, 1915.

1. Organizations of Labor and Farmers taken from the purview of the anti-trust act.

2. Limitation of the use, and prevention of the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes.

3. Legislation defining and restricting punishment for alleged contempts of injunction writs and providing jury trial in contempt cases.

4. Trade unionist appointed first Secretary of the Department of Labor.

5. Department of Justice prohibited from using anti-trust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the anti-trust act.

6. Department of Justice prohibited from using anti-trust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the anti-trust act.

7. Department of Justice prohibited from using anti-trust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the anti-trust act.

8. Passage of seamen's law, abolishing involuntary servitude, providing better treatment of seamen and improving life-saving provisions on vessels at sea.

9. Old conciliation, mediation and arbitration act repealed. New law enacted with permanent officials appointed to administer it in behalf of railrod employes engaged in operating service.

10. Eight-hour law enacted for women and child workers of the District of Columbia. (Decided constitutional March 13, 1915, by Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.)

11. Eight-hour law passed for employes under the Alaska coal land act.

12. Public construction of Alaska railroad, with eight-hour provision for employes.

13. Industrial education provided with appropriations for farmers and rural residents under the agricultural extension act.

14. Taylor system, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in United States arsenals prohibited.

15. Taylor system, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in United States navy yards, gun factories and torpedo stations prohibited.

16. Piecework prohibited in Postoffice Department, Washington, D. C.

17. Public construction of battleships, transports and other vessels in U. S. navy yards extended. Repairs to vessels of the navy to be made in governmental instead of private yards. Steadier work assured to employes of government navy yards.

18. Licensed officers, such as masters, mates, and pilots guaranteed right to quit, and protected when reporting defects of their vessels to government inspectors.

19. Bureau of Mines act extended and strengthened. Ten new experiment stations and seven new safety stations provided.

20. Senatorial investigation of industrial dispute in coal fields of West Virginia, whereby peace was restored; the eight-hour day secured; check weighmen provided, and 10 per cent increase in wages gained—right of organization guaranteed and other improved working conditions included.

21. Compensation for injuries act extended to postoffice employes.

22. Postoffice employes—annual promotion maintained, notwithstanding the Postmaster General's efforts to substitute biennial for annual promotions.

23. Eight-hour law for postoffice clerks and carriers retained, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to change radically.

24. Letter carriers' salaries restored, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to reduce the pay of letter carriers, known as collectors, from $1,200 to $1,000 per year.

25. Locomotive boiler inspection act extended to cover locomotive engines and tenders.

26. Leave of absence with pay to employes of Government Printing Office extended from 26 to 30 days per year.

27. Impeachment proceedings of Judge Wright responsible for his resignation.

28. Special congressional investigation of industrial disputes in the Colorado coal

fields and the Michigan copper region, wherein all of the complaints and charges made by the men of Labor against the mining companies and the alliance of these companies with the political and military powers of the states were officially verified and substantiated.

29. An additional annual appropriation of $240,000, for the years 1914-15 was provided for the pay-roll of the metal trades mechanics employed at the Washington, D. C., Navy Yard. This was equivalent to a 7.81 per cent increase in wages.

30. The statutory enactment of an income tax in conformity with the recent U. S. constitutional amendment.

31. An additional appropriation of $139,000 for the work of the Children's Bureau.

32. More adequate appropriations for the Department of Labor to carry on its work.

33. Senate resolution demanding information from Cabinet officials as to what uses, if any, were made of Rockefeller or Carnegie funds in their departments.

34. Prevented a reduction in wages and installation and collection of rents for employes on the Panama Canal Zone.

35. Immigration bill providing for the literacy test, passed by Congress and vetoed by the President.

Record of first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress on measures of interest to Labor:

1. Passage of the child labor bill prohibiting the transportation of articles made by children under 14 along the highways of interstate commerce. Children between 14 and 16 must not work over eight hours in any day or over six days a week, nor between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.

2. Passage of bill prohibiting the use of the stop-watch or other offensive time-measuring devices in government navy yards, naval stations, gun factories and other government producing establishments for the purpose of speeding up workers beyond human indurance.

3. Farm loan law.

4. Department of Justice prohibited from using anti-trust enforcement appropriations to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations.

5. Law containing minimum and maximum fines for enforcement of railroad employes' sixteen-hour act.

6. Ordered printing of Industrial Relations Commission report together with the testimony and exhibits.

7. Comprehensive federal employes' compensation-for-injuries law.

8. Prohibiting enlisted men competing with citizens in private employment.

9. Remedial features and wage increases for clerks, carriers, printers and laborers.

10. Thirty days' leave of absence secured for employes in navy yards, naval stations, gun factories and arsenals.

11. Eight-hour law for railroad employes engaged in train service of interstate carriers and commission appointed to investigate fiduciary obligations.

12. Increase of 20 per cent in salaries for janitors, caretakers of public schools and street cleaners of the District of Columbia.

13. Ten per cent increase in wages for machinists, plumbers, electricians and other mechanics and helpers in the Government Printing Office.

14. Secured annual appropriation for navy yard employes. An increase of 5½ per cent in wages secured for 24,383 through President Wilson and navy yard employes.

15. Secured additional appropriations for the Bureau of Mines.

16. Secured an increase in wages for machinists, boilermakers and other metal mechanics on the Panama Canal Zone.

17. New appropriations of $6,000,000 for the purpose of equipping government navy yards in six cities.

18. Appropriation of $20,000,000 to construct and equip power houses for production of nitrates for munitions, fertilizers and other useful products.

19. Appropriation of $11,000,000 to establish a government armor plate plant.

20. United States Shipping Board established to encourage, develop and create a merchant marine and naval reserve.

Record of second session Sixty-fourth Congress and first session and portion of second of Sixty-fifth Congress to May 18, 1918:

1. Immigration law containing the literacy test for aliens over 16 years of age.

2. New organic law for Porto Rico granting citizenship rights to the people.

3. Federal eight-hour law applicable to contractors doing work for the U. S. greatly strengthened; basic wage for standard eight-hour day and minimum overtime rates.

4. Incorporation of provisions in all appropriation bills excepting for the Postoffice Department increasing wages of federal employes.

5. Re-enactment of the original proviso prohibiting the Department of Justice using such funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Sherman anti-trust law.

6. Re-enactment of the amendment prohibiting use of stop-watch or other time-measuring devices in government producing establishments.

7. Vocational trade training law.

8. Food control law.

9. Food survey law.

10. Amending judicial code enabling longshoremen and other marine workers to obtain compensation for injuries under the state compensation laws.

11. Providing appropriations for the Department of Labor to enable it to render better service in its Public Employment Service Bureau.

12. Comprehensive compensation for injuries law for benefit of enlisted soldiers and sailors and their dependents, better known as the War Risk Insurance law.

13. Enactment of War Risk Insurance law for the relief of seamen employed in the merchant marine.

14. Allowing dependents to receive pay while absent abroad in military and naval service.

15. Providing for reimbursement to officers and seamen for property lost.

16. Providing six months' gratuity to dependents of deceased sailors in the navy.

17. Establishing new ratings for enginemen and blacksmiths, etc., in navy.

18. Providing for housing and lands for shipyard and munition workers.

19. Housing for war workers.

20. Civil rights law for sailors and soldiers while in military service.

21. Daylight saving law. Setting the clock one hour forward the last Sunday in

March and setting it back one hour the last Sunday in October thereby giving one more hour of daylight.

22. Government taking over the railroads and just compensation to their owners.

23. Sabotage law, preventing destruction of war material and punishment for same.

24. Transportation of shipyard employes —amending the emergency shipping funds provision of the urgent deficiency appropriation act empowering the President to take over such transportation as necessary to accommodate the workers.

25. Amending the naturalization laws providing that aliens in the military and naval service be granted compensatory consideration under the naturalization laws.

26. Draft quota—reclassification of those registered.

27. Registration of those becoming 21 years of age since June 5, 1917.

28. Granting furloughs to enlisted men to engage in industrial activities.

29. Amending espionage act regarding punishment for disloyal utterances.

30. Amending War Risk Insurance act granting insurance to others than those to be insured.

31. Amending War Risk Insurance law, Section 13, regarding regulation of compensation of claim agents.

Political Results Must Be Foreseen—(1910, pp. 16-307) Politically, an invariable problem confronting the trade union movement is how to take action without binding itself to a hard and fast "ism," "ology," or platform. The best of these may quickly develop weaknesses imperiling the hard-won unity of the masses. As a matter of history, American labor organizations, national as well as local, have come to disastrous ending through converting themselves from trade unions, with clear principles and accepted methods and tried leadership, into political parties with vote-catching platforms, campaign methods and heroes of the passing hour for "standard-bearers." The lesson that has been heeded by the rank and file of the trade unions and has been learned by the veterans in the American Federation of Labor is to trust all the time to definite and time-tried trade union economic methods, and to the ballot only in so far as results are to be foreseen to a positive certainty. The political measures to be achieved must, beyond a doubt, form the cause for the workers' proceeding to vote together, but by the side of these measures the fortunes of parties and politicians fall to a subordinate, even a negligible place. From its present position the A. F. of L. is enabled to throw out feelers all over the continent and ascertain in what respects and how far the ballot may supplement the established and familiar forms of union effort in promoting the well-being of the wage-earning class. The preference the rank and file express for certain public men in some localities comes not so much from interest in the men in question as in the public work they have performed or bind themselves to perform. The votes the organized workers give in support of certain radical parties in other localities is less an indication of an acceptance of platform theories than testimony that the immediate practical demands of these parties are in accord with the needs of the wage-earners and the communities concerned at the present hour. In any case, such activities of the trade unionists in public affairs give contradiction to the charge of narrowness of their institution—the union. They illustrate the fact of an adaptability to occasion and opportunity that in itself is the best evidence of breadth. More, it is a breadth both of view and spirit, consonant with a lasting security of position and with every possibility of continuous experimentation. It was no narrowness of view, but a clear and comprehensive foresight of the results to be achieved through a change in the mechanism of our law-making, while remaining faithful to fundamental principles, that brought the A. F. of L. twenty years ago to a support of the initiative and referendum and their collateral reforms in the general plan of restoring to the people the power that by the legerdemain of representative misrepresentation had been taken away from them. In all the states and cities in which these rightful and truly democratic methods have been adopted, great progress has been made toward a satisfactory permanent basis for gradual steps through administrative purity and general reform to the future society of unerring and universal justice, a progress greater than has been made through all those movements of the years which have been characterized either by spasmodic upheavals, usually under unstable leadership, or by feverish propaganda actuated through visions of utopias always illuminated by the most iridescent of rainbows.

Politicians as Delegates—(1904, p. 241) Refused to adopt resolution prohibiting any one holding a political position being seated as a delegate.

Politics, Officers' Loyalty in—(1908, pp. 35-223-4-5) This declaration was made in 1906 (p. 184): "We must have with us in our economic movement men of all parties as well as of all creeds, and the minority rights of the humblest man to vote where he pleases and to worship where his conscience dictates must be sacredly guarded." We hold this declaration does not apply to an executive officer while he remains as such. Executive officers, when they are elected are aware of the declared policies and purposes of the Federation. They asume the office for the purpose, so far as they can, of sustaining and giving effect to such declaration and policies as have been adopted. If, after more mature consideration, they find themselves unable to agree with, and feel that they must, in order to be true to themselves, proceed to oppose these adopted policies, or any adopted policy, the A. F. of L. believes it to be their duty, as it certainly is their right, to resign from such office, and thus place themselves squarely within the Minneapolic declaration. Such action would be honorable to themselves and advantageous to the movement.

Popular Government League—(1913, pp. 71-394) Endorsed action of Executive Council in co-operating with the National Popular Government League, non-partisan in character, and urged all unions to join local bodies of the league. (1914, pp. 99-494) The National Popular Government League has proved itself true to its principles and its nonpartisan character is shown by the fact it has followed the policy of organized labor in aiding its friends and opposing its enemies in all parties. During the first

year of its existence it has accomplished notable things. The Bureau of Information is a valuable source of knowledge and advice. It must not be forgotten that the more government is made responsive to the will of the people, the easier it will be for organized labor to achieve better conditions for the workers, establish a higher standard of citizenship, and promote those humanitarian ends for which we are banded together. Therefore, the cause of bringing government closer to the people becomes an integral part of the work which we have set our hands to accomplish and it should be heartily supported by every man who carries a union card. (1917, pp. 104-41) Reaffirmed.

Porto Rico—(1900, p. 64) An appeal was made to the American Federation of Labor by a representative of Porto Rico workingmen, who urged: To aid in securing for the Porto Ricans full freedom of assembly, press and speech; that the various international unions have their constitutions translated into Spanish so the workers could become familiar with American methods; that a commission be sent to Porto Rico to investigate labor conditions and inaugurate a movement to organize the 15,000 workers, who would be glad to join the A. F. of L. The appeal stated that the workers were suffering from brutal oppression kicked and cuffed and imprisoned without any cause whatsoever and without being able to defend themselves. (pp. 116-119) Unions were requested to translate their general literature in Spanish, voted aid in securing freedom of assembly, speech and press and appropriated $3,000 to carry them into effect.

(1901, p. 230) Declared sense of justice had been outraged by the arrest of the representative of the A. F. of L. and his fellow workers and their sentence to various terms of imprisonment for endeavoring to increase wages and secure better conditions. Endorsed plan for organizing the Porto Ricans.

(1902, p. 15) The sentences were appealed to a higher court and reversed. The President of the U. S. and the governor of Porto Rico declared they were not in sympathy with the prosecutions and the latter recommended to the Porto Rico legislature a change in the code making lawful organizations formed to regulate wages, hours and conditions. The employers sought in other ways to accomplish their ends and a number of union men were attacked and efforts made to disrupt their organizations. But these failed. (p. 133) President A. F. of L. directed to call the attention of the President of the U. S. to the maltreatment of Porto Rican workers for no other reason than that they are organized into unions. (p. 144) Where international unions will not charter Porto Rico unions the A. F. of L. should issue them direct. (p. 155) Ordered investigation of persuction of Porto Ricans in Hawaii. (p. 226) Demanded national government recognize Porto Ricans as American citizens.

(1903, pp. 22-173) Best interests of the Porto Rican labor movement requires the President of the A. F. of L. to visit that country.

(1904, pp. 21-170) After a visit to Porto Rico the President of the A. F. of L. reported that the complaints made of the awful conditions prevailing among the people had been verified. (p. 174) Again demanded Porto Ricans be made American citizens. (p. 229) The representative of the workers of Porto Rico said: "I am here to represent the people of Porto Rico, a people who speak a different language from yours. We brought with us many hopes and many good wishes, for the A. F. of L. granted the first charter to the laboring men of that island. The working men there recognize the good that has been done by trade unions. I want to tell you something of the condition of the working people in the Island of Porto Rico. Under the Spanish regime the people made living wages. At that time, it is true, the people of Porto Rico had no freedom of the press, had no freedom to express their thoughts in meetings on the streets or in halls, and such a thing as a labor unions would have been disbanded by the police. Before the American troops landed on the island the people of Porto Rico had many hopes that they would be benefited by their coming. They dreamed that when the American flag floated over them and the American republic took possession of the island their condition would be improved. They dreamed that factories and railroads would be built and that they would be able to work and better their condition. So Porto Rico received the troops with open arms, with greetings from the people of both the country and the cities. The people in general, as well as the working people, were glad to see them come, thinking that conditions existing on the island would be changed under American administration. In the first three or four years under American rule we sank down. We had not yet the right to organize freely. We did not have freedom of speech or of the press, and things were bad as under Spanish rule. When the first strike took place on the island under the American flag many men were arrested and many labor leaders were persecuted and thrown into jail. The working people met in a convention in San Juan and resolved to send a representative to the A. F. of L., and we asked relief and protection from you. We wanted the good will of the A. F. of L. You answered us at once, and since your President went there the conditions of the working people have changed. Now we have freedom of speech, we have freedom of the press and we are allowed to associate ourselves into unions. We are not persecuted, we have a good government, but the mass of the working people have no work to do. There is misery and starvation among the people there. We have a right to speak and to associate ourselves together, but we have no work. The people of Porto Rico realize that the A. F. of L. is the only association that has recognized the citizenship of the men of Porto Rico." The eight-hour law was adopted for government employes and the pen with which it was signed was presented to the A. F. of L. (p. 164) Reaffirmed request for the printing of union constitutions in Spanish for Porto Rico and Central American countries.

(1905, pp. 16-187) A. F. of L. will give all possible assistance to the people of Porto Rico.

(1906, pp. 16-177-205) Owing to brutal attacks of the police who broke up meetings

of peaceable workmen who were on strike and the personal attacks and assaults it was impossible for the strikers to counsel with each other and hold meetings and they were therefore compelled to declare the strike off. Formal complaint was lodged here, reciting in detail, the action of the police and the authorities at Porto Rico. These were forwarded to the President, who sent a copy of them to the Porto Rican authorities, and the principal officer in charge of those alleged to have been guilty of tyrannical and brutal conduct. This convention declares its earnest sympathy with the expressed desire of the Free Federation of Labor for the attaining of self-government. (p. 208) President of U. S. was in Porto Rico and a telegram was ordered sent him asking him to favorably consider self-government for Porto Ricans.

(1907, pp. 26-87-204) Though some improvement has been secured much remains to be done in order to eliminate the poverty which is so prevalent. It should be our aim, as it is our duty, to be helpful to the generous, warm-hearted people of that island in the attainment of the conditions commensurate with those obtaining among the people of our own country. (pp. 105-193) We believe Porto Rico is a part of the U. S. and should have a territorial form of government. Recommendations for approval of the President of the U. S. were adopted. They covered education, payment of wages to teachers, eight-hour day and other reforms.

(1908, pp. 12-96-216-230) During the year 1906-1907 the labor movement in Porto Rico, affiliated with the A. F. of L., underwent a terrible crisis, due to the prosecutions against members, on the part of the corporations and capitalists combined. The fear and ignorance of our brothers made them abandon their cause and many unions became disorganized. Work is now becoming more fruitful, safe, and permanent. There are 112 unions in good standing at present, which are actively working and affiliated with their respective international labor unions and with the A. F. of L. Porto Rico, whose first years of trial and experience in labor questions have already passed has a brighter prospect within the ranks of the A. F. of L. The editor of a labor paper was sentenced to prison but had appealed. He was charged with libeling a judge and the principle of free press is involved.

(1909, p. 40) Every effort made to aid the labor unions of Porto Rico. (p. 217) Reaffirmed pledge to secure American citizenship and the just rights to which they are entitled.

(1910, pp. 19-307) In view of the splendid achievements in the interests of the Porto Rican workers made possible by the assistance of our American trade union movement, and because of the close identity of their people with ours, the continuation of every effort to thoroughly organize the wage-workers of Porto Rico is directed.

(1911, pp. 28-276) The organized workers of Porto Rico share in the general concern of Porto Ricans over the constant failure of Congress to frame a law fixing the political status of the people of the island. The practical question with the people is whether they are to acquire citizenship under the United States, or whether Congress is to keep the island in the position of a great factory, exploiting cheap labor for the benefit of large corporations of the U. S. The promises made in 1898, when our nation took possession of Porto Rico, that its inhabitants would be recognized and treated as full-fledged American citizens, have not been fulfilled. This bad faith has reacted to the detriment of the A. F. of L. The dissatisfied Porto Ricans make their protest felt by refusing to give voluntary assistance to any national organization or institution of the U. S. This course, feeble and inconsistent as it is, can be understood by all who have witnessed the usual actions of men actuated by blind resentfulness. The A. F. of L. has never ceased in its efforts to obtain from Congress all the rights of a free people for the inhabitants of Porto Rico. (p. 263) Reaffirmed demand for reforms.

(1912, pp. 17-250) Legislation that the citizens of Porto Rico are extremely desirous of obtaining from the Congress of the U. S. includes the following measures: Citizenship for Porto Rico; Department of Labor and Agriculture, and a new organic law for the island. A sentiment of earnest and sincere loyalty for the U. S. has been developing upon the island. The islanders are rapidly becoming Americans in sympathy, ideals, and customs, and to no factor is this sentiment more due than to the A. F. of L. and its organized fellow-unionists of the island. During the year the representative of the labor organizations of Porto Rico, in co-operation with the A. F. of L., has been insistently pressing upon the attention of the members of Congress a bill which would grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico.

(1913, pp. 58-376) Progress of Porto Ricans declared gratifying. Six hundred additional schools had been established. The increase in pupils from 30,000 to 145,000 was due entirely to trade union activity. Powerful corporations were trying to exploit the toilers because of their limited knowledge of economic and social rights.

(1914, pp. 53-364 and American Federationist for May) President of A. F. of L. visited Porto Rico. Nearly all of the cigarmakers and tobacco workers of Porto Rico were engaged in a strike for seventeen weeks. In all the long years of the trade they had scarcely ever gained a strike or any advantage. Their membership in the Cigar Makers' International Union, the payments of benefits by that union which sustained the men and women engaged in the contest, the conferences held and the addresss delivered, the conference held with the governor of the island and the managers and directors of the employing company, all tended, first to encourage, and finally to win for the cigar makers a great victory as to wages, hours, and other improved conditions of employment. We feel confident that as a result of this victory the workers in this and other trades will be encouraged to organize and instill into other members a resolve to be greater sharers in the products of their labor, and to make for the better life for all the people of the island. (p. 495) Directed that Congress and President of the U. S. be urged to appoint a commission to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the island.

(1915, pp. 112-180-332-370) Renewed efforts ordered to obtain citizenship for Porto Ricans.

(1916, p. 107) Citizenship bill passed the House January 23. Senate Committee was informed by the President of the A. F. of L. of the harsh industrial conditions on the island, the poverty in the homes and the struggle for rights denied the toilers. (pp. 163-336) Report of Porto Rica delegate approved and government requested to send a commission to investigate.

(1917, pp. 117-386) Citizenship law for Porto Rico enacted, the clause in the original bill requiring property and educational qualifications being eliminated on the insistence of the A. F. of L.

(1918, pp. 98-283) During a strike Governor Yager denied the workers the right of free assemblage and discussion and permitted the police to be used in strikebreaking plans. Charges were made by the President of the A. F. of L. to the President of the U. S. (p. 284) It is the sense of the A. F. of L. that to continue the policy of keeping the island of Porto Rico in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department as a part of the military arm of the national government, is repugnant to every principle of our democratic form of government, especially now when one hundred thousand young men of that island have registered under the selective draft act to make the world safe for democracy. That inasmuch as the people of Porto Rico having been granted a civil form of government in harmony with our territorial form of government, and being a law-abiding and peaceful race of people this convention, through its officers, requests of the President of the U. S. to transfer the official governmental business of that island from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and in our judgment the Department of the Interior, which department has always had official supervision over all our territorial forms of government.

Porto Rico Coffee—(1904, p. 183) A. F. of L. gives absolute recognition to the coffee of Porto Rico, to be consumed or bought by all union men in the U. S. where the A. F. of L. label is used to distinguish the product, and thus protect it from coffee from foreign countries.

Postage, One Cent—(1911, p. 300) Nonconcurred in resolution "opposing one-cent postage until, at least, the right of free speech and petition had been restored to employes of the Postoffice Department."

Postal Employes—(1897, p. 80-97) Endorsed bill for reclassification of clerks in second-class postoffices. They are subject to a cruel, cunning, systematic tyranny which prevents them organizing like other employes; are subject to every petty subordinate who holds a position higher than his coworkers.

(1898, p. 128) In view of the efforts of the trade unionists of the country to protect the interests of the postoffice employes we suggest they join the trade union movement and thus render a just return of service to other wage workers.

(1900, p. 67; 1902, p. 230) Endorsed bill providing eight hours for postal clerks.

(1905, p. 165) Endorsed bill classifying salaries of clerks in first and second class postoffices and for an eight-hour day.

(1907, p. 175) Reaffirmed. (p. 210) Increase in wages secured for letter carriers, postoffice and railway mail clerks. Executive Council instructed to urge better conditions and a shorter workday in this branch of the service.

(1914, p. 376) Endorsed reclassification of salaries of postal employes by increasing maximum to $1,400 in first-class and to $1,300 in second-class.

(1915, p. 311) Protested against the growing departmental policy of requiring postoffice and transfer clerks to perform certain necessary tasks on their own time, thus obliging them to work in excess of eight hours. (p. 116-293) Bills to eliminate unnecessary night work were opposed by government officials. The latter also recommended a nullification of the eight-hour law for clerks and carriers, but Congress refused to sustain the Postmaster General.

(1916, p. 338) Although cost of living increased greatly no increase in wages were given employes of the postal service (they had been decreased instead) and Congress was urged to enact remedial legislation. (p. 373) Urged observance of eight-hour law.

(1917, p. 114) Although postal employes receiving $800 a year and over were excluded from the scope of the horizontal wage increases voted by the Sixty-fourth Congress to all other government employes, they nevertheless succeeded in getting a total of 9,000 wage increases in addition to those carried in the automatic promotion law for postoffice clerks and city letter carriers. The wage-scale of postoffice laborers was raised from $840 to $900 a year, and these laborers were brought within the scope of the holiday compensatory time law. The postal weekly rest law and the holiday compensatory time law were amplified to cover postal workers heretofore excluded from their scope. Railway mail clerks succeeded in securing the adoption of a number of important reforms for which the affiliated clerks have long been striving, namely, an increased travel allowance, limitation of substitute service to 313 days and a provision to prevent wage reductions because of a change in assignments. (p. 416) Postal employes reported they had not received increase in wage for ten years and because cost of living had increased their wages had correspondingly decreased. Congress was urged to increase pay at least 25 per cent.

(1918, p. 123) Wage increases for postal employes provided in bills passed by Congress and then in conference. (p. 222) Protested against the lengthening of the work day of railway mail clerks.

Postal Employes on Sick Leave—(1916, p. 96) One of the greatest features of importance to postoffice employes was the insertion by the conferees of a provision nullifying the obnoxious 150-day sick leave regulation. The provision now reads: "The Postmaster General shall not approve or continue any rule or regulation which terminates the employment of any employe by reason of absence on account of illness for a period of less than one year, and that any postal employe who has entered the military service of the U. S. or who shall hereafter enter it shall, upon being honorably discharged therefrom, be permitted to resume the position in the Postal Department which he left to enter such military serv-

ice." Compensatory time will now be allowed for holiday service on any one of the thirty days following the holiday on which postoffice employes are required to work, the holidays being specifically mentioned, such as New Year's Day, January 1; Washington's Birthday, February 22; Memorial Day, May 30; Independence Day, July 4; Labor Day, the first Monday in September of each year; and Christmas Day, December 25, and such other days as the President of the U. S. may set apart as holidays. Special clerks will hereafter come within the scope of the eight-hour law for postoffice employes, thus assuring them pay for overtime and compensatory time for Sunday service, and other regulations accorded to the regular force, thus assuring to special clerks equal rights of all in the service. The federal employes' compensation law approved September 7, 1916, will supersede the old compensation regulation for postoffice employes as they with other federal employes will now be included within the purview of that law.

Postal Rates—(1901, p. 27) Post Office Department issued an order that publications of trade unions and other fraternal organizations would not be permitted to carry advertisements unless they applied particularly to the trade of the respective organizations, if they wished to avail themselves of the second class mailing privileges. (p. 188) Convention declared order unjust and a curtailment indirectly of the rights of free speech guaranteed to all alike by the constitution of the United States. In 1906 (p. 83) hearings were given in New York and Washington. In 1909 (p. 249) the third assistant postmaster general ruled that "organizations cannot pay for subscriptions of members for their official journals from the common funds, but must collect from each individual member, leaving each free to take such official journal or not." Executive Council was instructed to use its best efforts to have the rule modified or the law amended if necessary.

(1910, p. 42) Every effort had been made to have Congress amend the law to allow trade union publications to carry advertisements and to permit members to subscribe for them through dues paid to unions.

(1911, p. 64) Bills were presented but had failed of passage.

(1912, p. 43) Law amended to provide that publications issued not less than four times a year by trades unions, benevolent and fraternal organizations, organized under a lodge system and having a bona fide membership of not less than 1,000 shall have the benefit of second class rates.

(1917, p. 412) Condemned increase in postal rates and zone system.

(1918, p. 317) Declared zone system would develop sectionalism and create zones of thought so dangerous to our national unity and effectiveness. (p. 318) Executive Council was instructed to bring about an investigation of the Post Office Department, which shall establish the cost of carrying the various mails, approximate increase in first class mail attributable to second class, cost of the franking privilege and the wages and working conditions of employes. Declared printing industry would be hampered and embarrassed. (p. 352) President of the A. F. of L. instructed to telegraph the President of the U. S. to use his influence to prevent operation of the zone law July 1.

Postal Savings Banks—(1893, p. 37) Declared for establishment of postal savings banks, as "the best way to decrease crime is to increase thrift." Same declaration was made yearly until law was enacted. In 1913 (p. 276) and 1914 (pp. 82-326) sought amendment enabling "school district trustees to take their bonds to federal trustees of postal savings funds and borrow money thereon direct without the intervention of any third party." (1916, p. 98) An amendment added to the Postal Savings Bank Law is expected to be a great boon to the people as well as to the postal savings service. The maximum interest-bearing account which a depositor may now have has been increased to $1,000 as against $500 under the original law. The restriction upon the monthly amount that could be accepted by post-office officials from a depositor has been repealed so that any one may now deposit any part of the maximum amount which may stand to his credit at any one time. It has been estimated by post-office officials and others interested in the postal savings division of the department that the former restrictions on deposits compelled the department to turn away as much money as it has been possible to accept at depository post-offices. The number of depositors now is considerably over a million and the deposits in the postal savings division exceed $100,000,000; the average weekly deposits now exceed $1,000,000. It was found impossible to obtain legislation enabling school trustees to take their school district bonds to the trustees of the postal savings fund and borrow money direct thereon.

Postal Savings Loaned to Individuals—(1912, p. 379) Urged money accumulated in postal savings banks be loaned to individuals in the community where deposited and preferably to laboring people striving to obtain a home.

Postal Telegraph System—(1897, pp. 21-87) Indorsed postal telegram system which was reported to be near establishment.

Postmaster General Condemned—(1917, p. 363) The rights of workers to industrial enfranchisement has been denied by the largest employer of labor in the U. S.—the postal service. The present Postmaster General has time after time instituted revolutionary changes affecting vitally the rights and working conditions of the postal workers with an autocratic contempt for their opinions or for whatever protests they make, which is at variance with the ideas of our beloved President, Woodrow Wilson, who expressed this thought in his memorable speech to this convention: "Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. It is essential to the preservation of

service efficiency and for the perpetuation of our most cherished democratic ideals of government that these quarter of a million workers—men and women who are deprived of their economic power and circumscribed in the use of their political power—be not denied an avenue of expression or approach to the Postmaster General or restricted in their right to petition Congress. The A. F. of L. emphatically condemns the autocratic policy of the Postmaster General and the Executive Council is directed to cooperate with representatives of affiliated postal employes' organizations to place before President Wilson all the facts concerning this oppressive labor policy.

Post's (C. W.) State Invaded—(1910, p. 268) Indorsed meeting of Michigan State Federation of Labor in Battle Creek, Mich., from which place emanated vicious attacks on organized labor and where one of its most active enemies (C. W. Post) lives.

Post's (C. W.) Suit Against A. F. of L.—(1911, pp. 45-278) C. W. Post, the owner of Postum Cereal and Grape Nuts, as a stock holder in the Buck's Stove and Range Company, commenced an action in St. Louis to restrain the Buck's Stove and Range Company from carrying out the terms of its settlement with the American Federation of Labor, and also claiming, as a result of the making of such settlement, threefold damages under the Sherman act for the Buck's Stove and Range Company, in which he (Post) was interested as a stockholder. These damages he fixed at $750,000. The defendants to this action, against which this relief was prayed, included the Buck's Stove and Range Company, the A. F. of L., and practically all of its officers and the officers of the local organization in St. Louis, and others. A demurrer was filed on the ground that no cause of action was stated in the complaint against the A. F. of L. and the organizations and individuals affiliated with it. Judge Dyer of the U. S. court at St. Louis found for the A. F. of L. and the bill was ordered dismissed. From this an appeal was taken by complainant to the U. S. Court of Appeals.

(1912, pp. 134-348) The suit was fully argued. This litigation is an illustration of the lengths to which a hostile and unscrupulous enemy of organized labor will go in an endeavor to destroy effective and genuine protection for the workers. Having failed to undermine our movemont Mr. Post now seeks to destroy us by the process of litigation.

(1913, pp. 76-300) November 25, 1912, the U. S. Court of Appeals at St. Paul confirmed the opinion of Judge Dyer and this most unrighteous case was dismissed.

Poverty No Incentive—(1888, p. 9) There are some people who believe it is necessary that the condition of the people shall become worse in order to move them to action, to bring about the best results. If the poverty of the working people of the world was the factor that moved them to action and more prosperous conditions China ought to be at the head of civilization. On the contrary, we see that it is through the gradual process of evolution, the improved habits and customs, that instill into the minds of the people a recognition of the wrongs from which they suffer.

Premium System—(1910, p. 325) "We protest against the premium system and deplore the fact workers are so blind as to lend themselves to the mankilling method of pacemaking which degrades the workers and reduces the wages of the average employe below the living point."

President, Election of U. S.—(1899, p. 105) Favored election of President of the U. S. by a direct vote of the people.

President Favors Labor Laws—(1898, p. 25) The President of the U. S. made these recommendations to Congress: "The alien contract law is shown by experience to need some amendments; a measure providing better protection for seamen is proposed; the rightful application of the eight-hour law for the benefit of labor and the principle of arbitration are suggested for consideration; and I recommend these subjects to the careful attention of Congress."

President Fights Labor—(1910, p. 32) When the A. F. of L. urged the passage by Congress of an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill providing that no part of the money should be spent in the prosecutions of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view an increase in wages, shortening the workday or bettering conditions, the President of the U. S. made it a personal issue. He suspended other public business and swept aside every engagement. He called "wavering" republicans to the White House and demanded their support, even going so far as to say if it cost him the support of every laboring man in the country he would not approve of such a proviso in the law. The amendment was defeated. What is the obvious inference from the action of its opponents? None other than that, notwithstanding every action of labor should be fully within the law, they desired to hold over the head of the toilers the threatening sword of Damocles—criminal prosecution.

Press Should Be Used—(1909, p. 277) All national, international and local unions and state and city federations should make known through the press, wherever space can be obtained, the benefactions, aims and policies of the trade union movement, particularly those which embrace death, sick, out-of-work and other benefits, and that our aim is always for the uplift and betterment of conditions under which the toilers work and therefore for the betterment of all humanity.

Primaries, Direct—(1907, p. 196) Declared for direct primaries for the nomination of all municipal, township, county, state and federal officers. (1914, p. 99) An illustration in the field of state legislation which shows the evil results of worthless popular government laws is found in the operation of the direct primary. We should give this matter serious consideration. In several states, notably Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, the political machines found little difficulty in nominating their candidates in the respective parties. A great cry has gone up in the reactionary press that the direct primary is a failure and the blame is laid at the door of the people. A little examination will show, however, that the difficulty lies in the unjust provisions of machine-made primary laws. In Illinois, for example, a voter is required to declare his party allegiance, and one of the primary judges

announces the same "in a tone of voice sufficiently loud to be heard by all persons in the polling place. No person who refuses to state his party affiliation shall be allowed to vote at a primary." Having done this, he can not change his politics for two years. The result is that many workingmen fear to vote a ticket in opposition to their employers. Business and professional people do not care to offend their customers, and a large class of independent voters decline to be shackled. Years ago we had a tremendous fight to secure the secret Australian ballot which permitted a man to vote his own will without danger of oppression. It is evident that before the direct primary can be made a success we have this fight to make all over again in order to protect the secrecy of the ballot.

Primary Elections, Use of Money in—(1907, p. 196) Use of money should be restricted and publication of campaign expenses of candidates should be compelled by law. Favored direct primaries.

Primary, Presidential—(1914, p. 99-494) We favor a presidential primary law. The danger is that the reactionary politicians will undoubtedly endeavor to enact a fake law which will give the people no real power in choosing candidates for the presidency. We recommend a campaign of education for the Gateway Amendment which will provide an easier method of changing the federal Constitution and make it responsive to modern conditions.

Printing Office, State—(1896, p. 77) Indorsed plan for state printing office in Ohio and urged all unions to aid in influencing members of legislature.

Print Paper Prices—(1917, pp. 121-312) Resolutions adopted in 1916 were followed by investigations by the Department of Justice and Federal Trade Commission, the latter reporting its failure to find relief from the high cost of newsprint. (1918, p. 324) Urged United States War Trade Board to prohibit exports of newsprint paper from the United States and Canada to other than allied nations until the home market is supplied fully.

Prohibition—(1895, p. 60) Miss Frances E. Willard in a letter urged adoption of a resolution condemning alcoholic drinks, that saloons should not adjoin the homes of the poor as well as of the rich; that children should be forewarned against one of the most insidious foes of humanity; that slums should be wiped out, social purity taught and women supported in securing equal pay with men. As a substitute for this the convention declared:

"We recognize the evils resulting to all from intemperance, but we deny, even by implication, that the wage workers are the most or even equally guilty of intemperance as compared to the idle classes. It is also demonstrable that the achievements of the trade union movement in the line of reduced hours of burdensome toil, an increase in wages and improved environments have done more to reduce the evils of intemperance than all efforts from other directions. In the interest of temperance and morality we shall continue in the future, even with greater vigor, if that is possible, to secure the prerequisites, i. e., material improvement consequent upon more leisure and opportunity. The same reasons apply equally to 'Social Purity,' 'Pernicious Literature' and 'The Slums.' Nor have we merely declared in favor of equal pay for equal work for both sexes, but our organizations have by great struggles and sacrifices secured this result in many instances, and the very existence of our unions is an indefatigable effort in that direction."

(1897, pp. 46-97) A letter was read from the W. C. T. U. urging the adoption of resolutions condemning "intemperance and the legalized saloon, which are among the great foes of labor." The Convention declared: "We commend the efforts of the W. C. T. U. to elevate the condition of the workers by waging war against intemperance. And while we do not look upon these reforms as absolutely essential to the final emancipation of labor we regard them as a material aid toward the realization of the purpose of our movement. And we realize also the employment of the members of our organizations by temperance and other organizations would be a great inducement for them to consider favorably the teachings of such reform organizations."

(1900, pp. 65-78) Hearty greetings were received from the W. C. T. U. with the statement: "We are studying how to promote the labor cause and look to you for cooperation in abolishing the liquor traffic." This answer was sent:

"The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, at Louisville, Ky., accepts with thanks the good wishes for labor's cause as expressed by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, now in convention assembled, at Washington, D. C., and we extend to them our hearty co-operation in the good work for humanity that they are now engaged in. And the American Federation of Labor respectfully requests your organization to give aid and sympathy to the labor movement by promoting the sale of products bearing the respective trade union labels." (p. 137) A resolution recommending that central and local bodies "appoint committees to confer with similar committees representing the local and National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, whenever such action may appear of benefit," was laid on the table.

Property Qualification Law—(1910, p. 261) Rhode Island law providing citizens must own property to have the right to vote was condemned and the Executive Council instructed to aid the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor to repeal the act. Its purpose is to reduce the number of votes cast by workingmen on account of their economic conditions and to confine the voting power to supporters of special interests.

Provincial Workmen's Association—(1911, p. 352) Declared an outlaw organization and a menace to a civilized community. Has furnished strikebreakers during a strike in Nova Scotia and other parts of Canada of members of the United Mine Workers of America.

Public Ownership—(1881, p. 19) Resolutions declaring Congress should assume a wholesome supervision over railroad and telegraph companies so their operations may be as beneficial for the people as the postal service were ruled out as not germane to the purposes of the convention.

(1883, p. 11) Telegraphers were on strike and the convention demanded the govern-

ment establish telegraph lines and give service at actual cost so the system will not be subject to strikes.

(1891, p. 33; 1892, p. 39) Reaffirmed position on government ownership of telegraphs and telephones.

(1893, p. 36) Reaffirmed demand for ownership of telegraphs and the defeat of all Congressmen who vote against it. Reported I. T. U. had begun a campaign for government ownership of the telegraphs.

(1894, p. 48) Reiterated demand and voted to aid I. T. U. (p. 50) Demanded that all fundamental patents on telephones and incandescent lamps should be declared expired and none granted in future.

(1896, p. 78) Favored taking over telegraphs as part of the postal system.

(1897, pp. 62-82) Aid again voted the I. T. U. in its fight for government ownership of the telegraphs and telephones.

(1898, p. 26) Much wider interest shown in public ownership of public utilities. (pp. 84-94) Condemned Allen bill passed by Illinois Legislature and indorsed gallant stand of Chicago people for municipal ownership and operation of street railways. (1905, p. 176; 1906, pp. 158-166) Reindorsed.

(1913, p. 263) Executive Council directed to make thorough investigation as to wages and hours and conditions of employment, including rights of employes to collective bargaining and organizing, in such countries as have municipal ownership. (p. 264) Urged unions to use every effort to have laws enacted granting the right to employes of public-owned street railways to organize.

(1914, pp. 102-327) Whether under private or public ownership the only real improvements in labor conditions have been gained by trade union activity. Wherever public ownership exists the trade union movement emphatically insists there shall be incorporated in the law creating the municipally owned utility an adequate provision guaranteeing the right of the workers to organize upon trade union lines, and their right to a voice in the regulation and determination of the wages, hours of labor and working conditions.

(1915, p. 308) Heartily supported bill before Congress providing for government ownership of the telegraphs and urged a measure be submitted granting the right of employes of the government to organize.

(1918, pp. 202-245) Because of a threatened strike of telegraphers in retaliation for discharging employes for joining the union a committee of five was provided for to present the grievance to the President of the United States; also called upon the government to take over the telegraphs for the period of the war and as long thereafter as may be deemed advisable. A letter written the presidents of the telegraph companies by President Wilson was read. It follows:

"My attention has been called to the fact that the national war labor board, after careful consideration of the questions at issue between the telegraph companies and their employes, has arrived at a decision, the essential points of which are embraced in the following:

" '1—The employes have a right to join a union if they so desire and men discharged for joining the union should be reinstated.

" '2—The company should not be required to deal with the union or recognize it.

" '3—A committee of the employes should be received in considering and settling differences.

" '4—When difference cannot be adjusted they should be adjusted by the national war board.

" '5—The telegraphers' union should not initiate strikes nor permit its members to initiate them, but submit all grievances to the national war labor board.' I am informed the representatives of the union are willing to accept this decision, but the representatives of the telegraph companies have not accepted it. May I not say that, in my judgment, it is in the interests of this nation that the decision of the national war labor board should be accepted by both parties to a labor dispute? To fail to accept it constitutes a rejection of the instrumentality drawn up by the government itself for the adjustment of labor disputes set up with a firm desire to do justice in every case and for the purpose of safeguarding the nation against labor difficulties during the continuance of the present war. All these circumstances being taken under consideration I do not hesitate to say it is a patriotic duty to cooperate in this all-important matter with the government by the use of the instrumentality which the government has set up. I write therefore to urge that I may have your earnest cooperation in this matter as in all others and that you will set an example to other employers of the country by a prompt and cheerful acquiescence."

(1918, p. 245) Through the emergency created by the war, and in response to an insistent demand on the part of the people, there is a steady broadening of the functions of government operation, ownership and control of industrial utilities. There is much in this trend toward the extension of governmental functions that is encouraging to the workers; nevertheless, this vital fact should be borne in mind—that government employment, under an autocratic administration may become as harsh and tyrannical as any imposed upon the workers in private industries, as the experience of the Postal Workers abundantly prove. That whether in the nationalization of the telegraph systems or in the extension of government control into other industries now privately owned, the A. F. of L. insists that these rights of the workers thus brought into the government service, shall be held inviolate—the right to organize and affiliate with the A. F. of L.; the right of petition for redress of grievances and if needs be, to bargain collectively, and to enjoy other necessary safeguards as set forth in the official pronouncement of the National War Labor Board. The Executive Council be instructed to exert every effort to secure for all government workers these fundamental principles of employment.

Public Ownership Armor Plate Mills—(1897, pp. 63-82) Urged government ownership of armor plate mills (1916, p. 98) Congress appropriated $11,000,000 for the installation of an armor plate plant, which also would furnish, it was hoped, other materials for the navy.

Public Printer—(1888, p. 26) Urged president to appoint union man public printer.

Public Printer Accused—(1906, pp. 237-8) Ordered investigation of the general policy of the public printer, who, it was alleged, had issued an order to subordinates to prepare a list of employes whose services could be dispensed with because of "inefficiency, ill health, tuberculosis or lack of work."

Public Works—(1908, p. 258) Vast armies of workingmen are on the verge of starvation. With bread lines in New York, riots in Philadelphia and hungry school children everywhere we urge that municipal, state and federal governments at once take steps to furnish work by constructing schools and other government buildings, by protecting forests and reforesting cut over and waste lands, by building canals and extending deep waterways, by draining swamp lands, by building dykes and docks, by dredging harbors, by building roads and improving roadways and streets, by extending geological and agricultural surveys, by any or all means intended to employ the involuntarily idle and suffering of our citizenship in whom we desire to forever maintain the spirit of independence and freedom, tempered with sentiments of justice and love of order that must prevail to preserve a republic of freemen. (1912, p. 355) Favored liberal appropriations by Congress for all kinds of government work to furnish work to the unemployed.

Public Work Sent Out of Country—(1908, p. 165) Protested against New York City sending books for its public libraries to England to be bound by cheap labor to the detriment and menace of the American wage standard.

Railroad Brotherhoods and A. F. of L.—(1916, p. 65) The relations between the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods always have been good, but are better and closer today than they have been at any previous time. We hope the affiliations of these internationals may be reported in the near future and thus complete the union of all workers in America in one grand organization.

Railroad Employes, Efficiency of—(1910, p. 255) Owing to the number of accidents on railroads we are of the opinion that not less than one man shall be employed for each mile of track and a foreman to each section of six miles; that each six miles of single track shall be patrolled nightly by a competent trackwalker; that the government shall appoint skilled inspectors who shall be practical men to inspect at least twice a year all tracks over which passenger trains run; that every roadmaster and foreman shall be examined as to his competency.

Railroad Men's Hours of Service Law—(1906, pp. 28-177) Thousands of the traveling public and thousands of railway employes are killed or maimed every year on our railroads. It is not generally known that railroad employes are often required to work so many hours continuously as to render them in an unconscious or semi-conscious condition; it may not be generally known that many of the so-called "accidents" on railways are primarily due to the long hours of service without sleep or rest of railroad men. Having due regard for the exigencies which arise in railroading, and realizing that in their operation a hard and fast rule of a normal work-day may not be feasible, labor being convinced that there is a specific time beyond which railroad workmen should not be required to render continuous service, caused a bill to be introduced in Congress prohibiting the employment of railway employes more than sixteen hours continuously in any one day. (1907, pp. 41-208-313) Maximum sixteen hour law for employes of railroads was enacted, and while not satisfactory it will make amendment less difficult in the future. (p. 341) Approved agreement between A. F. of L. and unaffiliated railroad brotherhoods to secure legislation favorable to the wage earners of our country.

(1914, p. 83) Tried to amend law by fixing a minimum penalty of $100 for violation. Courts had shamefully trifled with the law, fixing fines at only 1 cent. (1915, p. 109) Amendment passed the House but died in the Senate. (1916, p. 94) Law enacted making $100 minimum and $500 maximum fine for violation of the sixteen hour law. During 1913, 1914 and 1915 there were 543,993 violations of the law reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Rafts, Lumber—(1901, p. 136) Congress urged to prohibit rafts containing several million feet of lumber being towed in the ocean.

Railway Carmen, Protection for—(1915, p. 302) Urged legislation requiring adequate covering for repair tracks to protect men engaged in repairing railroad cars.

Reciprocity With Canada—(1907, p. 195) Declined to consider resolutions against reciprocity with Canada until the Executive Council had made a complete investigation of the proposition.

Red Cross—(1910, p. 254) Encouraged donations to the Red Cross to be used in the war against tuberculosis. (1918, p. 229) We recommend that liberal contributions be given the Red Cross by all trade unionists as labor's offering to the cause of humanity.

Referendum—(1887, p. 24) Refused to refer adoption of Constitution to the referendum.

Referendum Election of Officers—(1894, p. 46) Standing committee on direct legislation was appointed to assist in the gradual introduction of the systematic practice of that principle to the extent feasible in unions.

(1897, p. 25) President of A. F. of L. suggested that despite the many difficulties a measure might be devised by which at least a beginning may be made to the more general introduction of the system. (p. 89) As terms of officers of A. F. of L. are short the application of the principle to their election is impracticable, as it would entail endless delay and expense. (1898, pp. 44-123) Reaffirmed.

(1900, p. 128) Refused to adopt plan to elect officers by the referendum. In 1911 (p. 206) the Executive Council was instructed to investigatethe practicability of such elections and questionnaires were sent all affiliated bodies asking for data and the position of each on the proposition. In

1912 (p. 162) the answers were tabulated and showed this result:

Number of national and international unions which elect their officers by the initiative and referendum system	34
Number of national and international unions which elect their officers by the convention system	75
Number of national and international unions favoring election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum system (representing 508,116 members)	23
Number of national and international unions against election of A. F. of L. officers by the initiative and referendum (representing 890,240 members)	52

The convention declared: "While we believe in the application of the principle of the initiative and referendum to the election of public officials and the enactment of general legislation, we do not believe it would be advisable to apply this method to the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. In the political field and on questions of legislation there is public and common information as fully available to one citizen as to any other through the public forum and the press. There are organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which elect their officers by the initiative and referendum. Some affiliated organizations which at one time applied the initiative and referendum to the election of their officers have returned to the convention system because of their experiences under the former method. Many others have not considered it advisable to adopt the initiative and referendum for that purpose. On that phase of the question members of unions electing officers through the initiative and referendum have opportunities through trade information of knowing something concerning the availability and qualifications of candidates for office. On the subject of applying the initiative and referendum to the election of the officers of the A. F. of L., neither of the preceding opportunities of essential information are apparent. The members of one union have little opportunity of receiving trade or other knowledge concerning the availability or personnel of members and nominees of other unions for officers of the A. F. of L. Apart from the enormous cost of such a method of election, the possibility of irregularities in connection therewith; the evident multiplicity of nominations which would follow and the impossibility of guaranteeing an election by a number approaching a majority vote, there is the evident fact that there are neither adequate methods of conducting such elections nor are there available opportunities for the dissemination of proper and essential information to properly conduct such an election.

(1915, p. 437; 1916, p. 364) The conventions, after hearing official reports that there had been no material change in the number of unions that had fully developed the initiative and referendum, again refused to adopt the system for the election of officers of the A. F. of L.

Republicans Held Responsible—(1905, pp. 74-232) We hold responsible the dominant party in power for its failure to fulfill and carry into effect its promises and pledges for an eight-hour law, for an anti-injunction law, for a law that shall protect honest workmen from the evil effects of convict labor coming into competition with the labor of free men.

Resistencia Condemned—(1900, p. 103) Executive Council instructed to use every means to secure for Tampa men and women the right to organize in any union affiliated to the A. F. of L. The Resistencia, some of whose members asked for and received aid for the cause of "Cuba Liber," was denounced for its treatment of labor unions. (1901, p. 19) Conditions in Tampa were improving.

Resolutions, Right to Introduce—(1916, p. 250) Departments of the American Federation of Labor cannot introduce resolutions. Right confined to delegates of affiliated unions.

Roll Call Decision—(1905, p. 222) An appeal from a decision of the chair as to the number of delegates necessary to demand a roll-call must be made at the time if a test of the sense of the convention was to be made. Can not be reviewed after matter had gone beyond that stage.

"Room at the Top"—(1914, p. 354) We declare against so-called caste in the labor field and denounce the assertion there is "plenty of room at the top" as a subterfuge set up to mislead, befog and dissuade wage earners from joining trades unions, where lie the only true means by which they can successfully work out upon the economic field their own destinies.

Rural Mail Carriers—(1917, p. 417) Executive Council was instructed to give all aid to rural letter carriers securing a law providing the government should furnish horse and motor equipment for delivering mail, as to supply them themselves operates as a reduction in wages.

Ruskin College—(1900, p. 156) Unions were warned not to give indorsement until after thorough investigation of its method of teaching, receipt of information from the British trade union movement and the approval of the convention.

Russia Must Honor Passports—(1911, p. 354) Approved of move to demand that the government bring about an equal recognition of passports in Russia, and pledged influence of A. F. of L. to force the fulfilling of treaty obligations in the honoring of passports regardless of race, creed or nationality.

Russian Fight for Freedom—(1905, p. 175) Convention sent its earnest congratulations to the toilers of Russia on the success of their recent strike, which stopped production and supply until freedom and popular government were conceded, and bid them godspeed in their great civil and industrial campaign until they could establish the Republic of Russia. (1907, p. 86) Again pledged labor movement to Russian freedom.

Safety Legislation—(1893, p. 13) Through aid of A. F. of L. car coupler law was enacted.

(1897, p. 22) A. F. of L. helped railroad brotherhoods secure safety appliance act, but Interstate Commerce Commission had given the railroads two years to conform to the law. (pp. 65-82) Executive Council instructed to agitate for factory inspectors

in all states where no laws have been enacted.

(1901, p. 192) Urged all unions to secure state laws compelling owners of machinery to cover such portions as may be dangerous to life or limb of the operatives.

(1903, p. 216) We believe the government should be as amenable as an individual, and while our central bodies have from time to time called attention to the nonconformity of the U. S. with municipal ordinances they have met with absolutely no redress. This convention therefore pledges itself to support the building tradesmen in insisting on an observance of all building, sanitary and municipal measures by the U. S. government. We also demand the enactment of laws by Congress looking to the preservation of life and limb of men employed in the erection and repair of bridges and viaducts.

(1904, p. 268) We are called upon at this time to reiterate our belief in the necessity to secure the enactment of municipal and State ordinances for the proper protection of life and limb of the men engaged in building construction and repair work. Too often are the lives of our workmen sacrificed by the erection of cheap and improper scaffolding, without regard to the injuries often sustained. This is a matter of more than passing moment. All central bodies should insist upon the enactment of such precautionary measures as will safeguard the lives of our members. (p. 145) Urged enactment of laws providing factory inspectors should wear uniforms or visible badges when on duty.

(1905, p. 242) Urged central and state bodies and organizers to support electricians in securing safety legislation that will protect them from exposed transmission wires.

(1906, p. 160) If laws enacted by various states were enforced fewer accidents would occur.

(1910, p. 300) Indorsed the principle of federal supervision of locomotive boiler inspection and urged Congress to enact necessary legislation.

(1911, p. 75) In view of the cruel and blind selfishness of a class of employers in regard to the health and safety of workers in several parts of our country, it is urgently recommended that our State Federations and city central bodies in industrial centers demand not only the enforcement of existing law in factories, workshops, mills, and mines, but also the promotion of inquiry as to the needed laws for better—aye, humanly considered, absolutely necessary—sanitary home and workshop conditions, including safety from dangerous machinery and from fire and panic. (pp. 60-286) U. S. Bureau of Mines created through the demand of not only the mining industry and organized labor but backed by public sentiment. The systematic manner in which the Bureau has undertaken the work of discovering the means of preventing accidents in mines is worthy of our highest commendation, which, supplemented by rescue work, also systematically conducted, has already been of great benefit to the mine workers. (p. 356) Urged unions to secure legislation establishing compulsory examination for all electrical workers handling high voltage currents.

(1912, p. 331) Urged Congress to establish a museum of safety wherein working devices may be on exhibition that will illustrate in a comprehensive manner the most approved methods of safeguarding machinery, eliminating dusts, noxious fumes and excessive heat, and furnish information to promote the health, safety and comfort of all toilers. A museum of this character should afford a means of establishing standards and offering an opportunity for factory departments of the several states to obtain information and assistance that will tend toward the accomplishment of more uniform enactments and effective enforcement of laws for the conservation of the life and health of the working people of America. (p. 256) Indorsed bill providing for automatic stop systems on railroads to prevent accidents and save life.

(1913, p. 53) Bill creating the Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor had been introduced. Such a bureau would furnish much needed assistance in the various more or less sporadic efforts to protect the bodies and lives of the workers. American industry and commerce are notoriously characterized by a cynical disregard of human life. There is needless danger and risk in every line of industry and commerce. These are due to carelessness and ignorance, as well as to greed of employers. The only protection there has ever been extended to the workers from the greed of employers has been their ability to compel better conditions through their organized power, assisted by a public opinion created by the information which the workers themselves have forced upon public attention. Competition has been so merciless and corporate organizations so heartless that human interests have been sacrificed in the struggle for profits.

There are employers who wish to be more just and humane; there are others, influenced altogether by financial considerations, who have been forced by laws which provide compensation to workmen in case of injuries, to place a monetary valuation upon the safety of their employes. Society has awakened to the fact that employers have been shifting their costs of production upon it by refusing to assume the burden of those maimed and killed in their industries. Whatever the cause, more employers are now interested in methods of safeguarding their employes, there is greater demand for information of the methods and devices that produce the best results. In order to meet these needs, it is proposed to establish a Bureau of Labor Safety. The work of such a bureau would have to do with making investigations of dangerous and menacing conditions existing in various industries, testing proposed methods and devices for correcting the evils, formulating labor safety rules, giving advice, and keeping accurate accounts of various efforts to secure greater safety of work.

The scope of the work of this bureau should comprehend more than accident preventatives, it should include methods to eliminate industrial diseases. A great injury to humanity is done through needlessly and carelessly permitting workers to be poisoned by white lead, injured by excessive heat, made tuberculous by dusts, diseased and stunted by working conditions that could be avoided. (p. 296) A Bureau of

Labor Safety would be of incalculable benefit to the workers and of great assistance to employers. Executive Council instructed to agitate for bureau. (pp. 55-297) Several bills for "automatic stops" were introduced with the chances good for their passage as soon as such a system can be proved serviceable. (p. 304) We deem the number of safety appliance inspectors inadequate to protect the lives of switchmen and other railroad men and urge Congress to take proper action.

(1914, p. 77) Appropriations increased for the purpose. Bill establishing standard headlights is before Congress. Bill submitted to improve safety regulations for men engaged in construction of buildings. (p. 83) Inventors and manufacturers of automatic stops for railroad trains have presented bills in state legislatures and tests are being made by experts from the Interstate Commerce Commission. (p. 349) President instructed to acquaint members of trade unions with the various hazards incident to their employment and the methods best calculated to preserve their health, safety and lives. (pp. 464-496) So many lives have been lost and men crippled because of the inadequate equipment for loading and unloading vessels we petition Congress and state legislatures to enact laws to remedy the evil. (pp. 95-292) Executive Council directed to take active steps to learn the truth concerning the industrial slaughter of our fellow beings and insist on responsible departments of government to provide means and methods by which the lives of the workers of the nation shall be more sacredly guarded and better conserved. Congress had failed to pass a Bureau of Labor Safety act.

(1915, pp. 103-349) Bill providing for a Bureau of Labor Safety had been amended to destroy its effectiveness, but had failed of passage. Reported the grievance would be taken up with factory inspectors of various states.

(1916, p. 107) Agreement made with Interstate Commerce Commission for the standardization of headlights on locomotives without waiting for specific legislation. They must be "safe and suitable."

Safety of Life at Sea—(1913, p. 254) These recommendations were cabled to the international conference on safety to life and property at sea in session in London: "An improvement in the manning system of ships is the first essential to effective service in time of danger. We approve all possible measures for improvement in ship construction and equipment, lifeboats, signaling apparatus, etc., at the same time insisting that efficiency, both in numbers and individual skill, of the deck crews of vessels is the most imperative necessity in the circumstances.

Sanitarium, National Federation—(1912, p. 264) Proposition to erect a National Sanitarium by the A. F. of L. was rejected, it being impractical at this time.

Sanitary Legislation—(1914, p. 356) Postal employes are menaced by germ-laden equipment used in transportation of mail assorted in insanitary post offices. Indorsed appeal of clerks to the department to have mail equipment properly disinfected and improve sanitary conditions of overcrowded post offices.

Sanitary Reforms—(1904, p. 265) Candidates for municipal offices should be pledged in advance to support movements to make cities and towns wholesome by good drainage, paving, water supply and correct tenement house construction in those localities that have been neglected, thus imperiling the health and happiness of the working people.

Sanitation—(1895, p. 53) Demanded laws for inspection of bakeshops and their regulation in the interest of the millions of bread consumers.

(1908, p. 166) Called on Congress not to repeal laws requiring more air space and better sanitary conditions on immigrant ships. (p. 175) Executive Council instructed to urge laws covering grievances: In localities other than cities and thickly settled centers, in the digging and construction of work undertaken by the federal and state governments, as well as by private corporations, conditions which are destructive of health and morals and dangerous to life generally obtained; that is, the workmen are generally huddled in large numbers in tiers of bunks, in freight cars, in cabooses in sheds, with plain boards for beds, with only sufficient room for men to lie in rows, where for months at a time they have neither the facilities nor the opportunity to disrobe or attend to the most ordinary requirements of cleanliness and necessary changes of clothing, thereby impairing not only their own health, but helping to spread filth and disease among the people with whom they come in contact after the season's work is closed. (1909, pp. 210-11) Reaffirmed.

(1910, p. 346) Called on legislatures of various states to enact laws regulating the building of renting houses and tenements to the end they will be built with more regard to the health of the tenants, the plans assuring more air, light and room, as well as looking to general sanitary improvements.

Saturday Half Holiday—(1907, pp. 177-193) Indorsed Saturday half holiday on public works during July, August and September. (1912, p. 252) Saturday half holiday the year round in navy yards and stations referred to mechanical trades. (1913, p. 277) President of United States, secretaries of war and navy were requested to issue an order granting a half holiday Saturdays during the entire year to employes of the navy yards, stations and arsenals. (1915, p. 313) Urged extension of half holiday Saturdays to all government employes.

"Scabs are Heroes"—(1902, p. 157) The head of a prominent American University, President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard, in a public statement made before the Economic Club of Boston, November 10, 1902, canonized the "scab," claiming that he was a "very good type of modern hero." The American Federation of Labor marvels greatly at this mental bias on the part of a great educator and deplores the inevitable consequences of such an uncalled for and intolerant attack upon the trade union creed by one whose true mission should be to promote the confidence of the masses in the judicial sanity of the teachings of our universities. We call the attention of the American public to the fact that in no other sphere of action has the traitor in his class and kind, from the days of Judas Iscariot to Benedict Arnold, been deemed worthy to receive the commendation of the great educators of the world, and that the logical sequence of this teaching of Harvard is that fealty to principle and devotion to one's association, wheth-

er that association be the union of crafts or the union of states, is unheroic and despicable.

Schools, Self Government In—(1905, pp. 79-233) The system of self-government in public schools means that the discipline necessary to the success of educational institutions shall be vested in the pupils themselves. They are supposed to try all breaches of discipline and to punish wayward pupils. The system has been introduced in quite a number of schools, and seems to have met with considerable success. Executive Council directed to investigate.

Schools, Wide Use of Public—(1904, p. 31) It is not only the aim, but the trend, of our movement to make men more moderate and temperate regarding the use of intoxicants. Through the influence of our movement the so-called labor bureau, that is, the places where unemployed workmen could seek employment, have been removed from the drinking saloon, as has also the place of the payment of wages been removed from that influence. Years ago saloon proprietors would give their meeting rooms free, or offer a bonus to such associations of workmen as could be induced to become tenants. This rule often applied to the unions of labor. Gradually, but constantly, the unions have sought meeting places in buildings in which intoxicants are not on sale; but despite their best efforts a sufficiency of halls and meeting places was not and is not available. We have the right to insist that our unions in the various cities and towns throughout the country shall have the right and the opportunity for the use of our public school buildings in which to hold their evening meetings. In several cities provisions are made for lectures in the public schools evenings and Congress has appropriated funds for lectures in Washington. Wherever this system has been introduced it has been fraught with beneficial results. (1905, p. 27) Reaffirmed.

(1906, p. 36) In the interest of sobriety and morality, we again strongly recommend to our affiliated organizations throughout the country that they inaugurate a movement which shall permit the use of our public school rooms for the evening meetings of our labor organizations.

(1912, pp. 54-267) From many of those in school work comes insistent protest against the abnormal ideals and conditions obtaining there, against isolation from the practical, vital affairs of life and work. To such, the present tendency in some localities to depart from these time-honored customs is a cause for satisfaction. Increasing demand for social centers has coincided with an appreciation of our failure to realize the greatest returns on the funds invested in school buildings. We Americans have prided ourselves upon the sums we have expended for school buildings, and then have usually permitted these buildings to be controlled by school directors chosen from the "representative citizens" of the town—usually men representing financial interests and the classic ideal in education, out of touch with modern social and economic thought and standards. These directors, as the custodians of the public schools, scrupulously maintained "high educationl standards" that all students might have an opportunity "to prepare for the University," guarded the buildings that no "intruders" might infringe on the children's territory, and, by innumerable, well intended regulations, shut off the schools, teachers, and students from contact with life and the work-a-day world. Such directors lack in efficiency because they are out of touch with modern problems, needs, and outlook on life. The demand for social centers gains in definiteness and intensity due to the increasing conviction that the affairs of the common life can best be managed by co-operation and mutual helpfulness. When neighborhood clubs and centers were first established in the cities, there naturally arose the question of the use of the school building as the logical place for these activities. With the movement to enrich rural life, the grange, and "the ruralization" of the country school, has come a similar wider use of the school.

Seamen—(1881, p. 12) Agitation for laws of benefit to seamen began by the indorsement of bill "for the better regulation of the merchant marine service both on internal waters and in interoceanic commerce and the protection of life and property on vessels." (p. 21) Indorsed demands of seamen that number of sailors should be regulated by the tonnage of vessel; requiring sanitary inspection to prevent sacrifice of human life; repeal of law permitting U. S. Marshals to charge a fee of $15 for executing a libel for wages on a vessel; to prevent discharge and the laying off of crews in foreign ports and to inspect all sailing as well as steam vessels.

(1882, p. 9) Secured defeat of federal bill designed to forbid seamen joining a union for mutual protection and made it a conspiracy and mutiny punishable by heavy fine and imprisonment.

(1883, p. 16) Called attention to legislative tyranny in proposing to make all combinations of seamen punishable for mutiny and conspiracy.

(1884, p. 15) Demanded passage of bill for protection of seamen.

(1887, p. 30) Demanded legislation providing that coal vessels in coastwise trade shall each have a master instead of one for ten.

(1889, p. 25) Urged International Marine Conference to adopt an "international load line" to prevent the nefarious practice of overloading and carrying upper deck cargoes, sending rotten vessels to sea and compelling sailors to live in forecastle berths that are insanitary.

(1891, p. 38) Urged laws making vessels liable in damage suits for extreme cruelty and inhuman brutality of officers; condemned injurious law known as "The Shipment of Crews in the Coastwise Trade"; protested against subsidy to a steamship company until it complies with provisions of the Marine Subsidy Bill.

(1892, p. 38) Demanded inclusion of seamen in alien contract law; favored abolition of advancing wages to seamen, which would stop "crimping system."

(1893, p. 46) Protested against sailors in the foreign trade being given insufficient food, some worse than prison fare, making scurvy more prevalent in American ships; imprisonment for seamen who leave an Amer-

ican ship in an American port means involuntary servitude and is contrary to the U. S. Constitution and to human right.

(1894, p. 44) Requested John Burns in his tour of the U. S. to tell of the condition of the seamen and the necessity for immediate action by Congress. Two delegates were sent to Washington to look after seamen's bills.

(1895, pp. 14-63) Seamen's bill became a law but did not give all relief desired. (p. 39) Denounced proposed amendment to shipping act of 1895 permitting allotment to original creditor, and that seamen shall forfeit their clothing for nonfulfillment of any contract to work on a vessel of the U. S., which would make them the helpless victims of the "crimps." (p. 57) Anti-crimp law enacted and proved a blessing to seamen.

(1896, p. 76) Urged enactment of a law prohibiting undermanning of vessels on the Great Lakes. If it continues the Great Lakes will be prevented from supplying competent seamen for our navy in case of emergency.

(1898, p. 62) Declared that while seamen appreciated the law enacted by last Congress they still wanted that most dear of all human rights—liberty, to ownership of their own bodies, and should be granted full personal freedom and full protection of the wages signed for. Also declared new law still contained provisions to imprison for violation of contract and the old evil the allotment to creditors. (p. 75) While in session the convention received a telegram that the seamen's bill had passed both houses, but that the amendment striking out the imprisonment clause had been lost. The convention declared (p. 86): While it is a good step in the right direction, it does not give to seamen that full freedom to quit work at will and move freely from place to place which is the inalienable natural right of man, and without which freedom loses its meaning and becomes but an empty phrase; and we therefore desire to reiterate the position taken by previous conventions, that under our flag no man, be he a seaman, a mechanic or a farm laborer, either on the mainland, in Hawaii or in any other possession of the United States, shall be, by contract or otherwise, compelled to labor against his will except as a penalty for crime; we demand this; it has been bought with blood, and we shall be satisfied with nothing less.

(1899, p. 13) President reported gains made through the seamen's new law: "The law does not grant all that was asked but in American ports, the ports of the British possessions of North America, Newfoundland, the West Indies, and Mexico, it abolishes imprisonment for desertion from the vessels and does not admit of their being arrested, compelled to go on board of a vessel, and to work against their will. It provides that the sums for wages due to seamen not exceeding $100 can be sued for under summary proceedings. To a majority of the crew, exclusive of the officers, is granted the right to demand a survey in any vessel in American ports. An improved scale of provisions for seamen was a feature adopted. The 'crimping system,' although not entirely abolished, was modified by reducing the possible allotment to the 'crimps.' It also gives the seamen the right to quit work at any time, and for any reason sufficient to himself, in any port in the United States. It gives to him immunity in the U. S. from being brought on any vessel against his will. It reduces the evils of the 'crimping system' by one-half. It provides for summary proceedings, and for an increased and improved scale of provisions. These are good steps in the right direction, but by no means sufficient. It is also a partial reversal of a policy which has existed in our country since 1793; namely, that of treating the seamen as serfs; and we may feel assured that having entered upon the reversal of that system to the extent of this law, we shall see within a reasonable time, the absolute abolition of the system of involuntary servitude under which the seamen have been, and are, in the foreign trade, still suffering." (p. 86) Reaffirmed demand for proper legislation for seamen.

(1900, p. 88) Protested against more than one cargo-carrying vessel being towed at one time unless they are capable of taking care of themselves at sea under sail or steam. (p. 121) We believe there is no hope of materially increasing the number of native seamen as long as those in our merchant marine still are subject in a foreign port to involuntary servitude.

(1901, pp. 25-187) The Commissioner of Navigation said there is no provision of law empowering any officer of the Government to regulate the number of vessels in tow, although the matter was referred to in the reports of the Bureau for 1889; that the chances for the passage of any legislation upon the subject would depend to an extent upon "a specific statement of the losses of barges and their crews." These could not be obtained. (p. 136) Executive Council instructed to inform the President of the U. S. that treaties with foreign countries permit involuntary servitude for seamen. (p. 141) Undermanning of vessels is driving native seamen from the sea.

(1902, pp. 20-145) Condemned practice of bringing Chinamen from China and placing them on American vessels. (pp. 22-145) Legislative committee had defeated attempt to restore provisions of the old law denying right of seamen to quit their employment even when a vessel is in safe harbor. (p. 108) Demanded repeal of treaties permitting involuntary servitude; repeal of law prohibiting licensed officers in the merchant marine from leaving their employment; opposed ship subsidy bill because it was calculated to extend the transportation monopoly now held by the railroads on land into and over the sea without in any way helping to develop a native or naturalized body of American seamen.

(1903, p. 160) Arresting and returning to their respective vessels such seamen as have deserted is contrary to human liberty; employment of inexperienced men as seamen has caused large loss of life; that Congress should enact a law giving all seamen full right to quit work in any safe harbor; urged Congress to prohibit towing of more than one vessel not capable of being managed under its own power; those that cannot be managed alone are known as coffins. (pp. 26-174) We demand the same individual and personal freedom for seamen that is enjoyed by other workers; we protest against a continuation of a system of contracts to work that are enforcible by im-

prisonment as degrading to the sailors and dangerous to other workers.

(1904, p. 161; 1905, p. 103) Renewed demands for laws governing rafts. (p. 104) Undermanning of ships has caused great loss of life and Congress should prohibit this reckless gambling with human lives. (p. 105) Demanded treaties be amended to prevent ownership of one man by another.

(1906, pp. 31-182) Condemned the disregard of human life as practiced by some vessel owners who often send one steam vessel to tow a number of heavily loaded barges which sometimes are cut adrift, and the helpless seamen find a watery grave. (p. 162) Endorsed bill to prohibit inefficient and insufficient crews on passenger vessels, lack of which caused three disastrous wrecks and loss of life in New York harbor, San Francisco Bay and off Vancouver Island; employment of Chinese on American vessels declared violation of the exclusion law; demanded laws to prohibit overloading of vessels. (p. 163) The freedom won by other working people has been denied seamen, leaving them to involuntary servitude; they have been forbidden the right to combine to obtain increases in wages to correspond with those of men of equal skill, thus making it impossible for them to marry, preventing boys from seeking the sea and men from remaining there to the detriment of our merchant marine and the serious danger to our national safety and prestige; asked amendment of the pilotage laws of Virginia which compel vessel owners in the coastwise trade to pay pilot fees although no service is performed by pilots or deemed necessary.

(1907, pp. 42-210) We note with pleasure the defeat of the anti-pilotage bill. Its defeat is in the interest of the safety of life and property at sea. We freely admit that the law as it stands works a discrimination against sailing vessels in favor of the steam vessels, but hold that the proper way to abolish the discrimination is to restore compulsory pilotage as regards steam vessels. A proper regard for the life of passengers, leaving the crew out of consideration, demands nothing less. (p. 195) Reaffirmed demand for law abolishing imprisonment for seamen who quit work in a foreign port.

(1908, p. 173) Demanded laws to prevent further deterioration of the U. S. merchant marine similar to the English—i. e.: No person to be signed as an able seaman unless he has served at least three years on deck at sea, must be a citizen and have a sufficient knowledge of the English language to understand orders on board. (p. 257) Reaffirmed demand for abolition of involuntary servitude of American seamen in foreign ports. Condemned law delegating to the inspection service the power of determining the number of officers and men to be employed on steam vessels as it does not provide standards of skill, language or numbers by which inspectors are to be guided.

(1909, p. 321) Re-endorsed bill abolishing involuntary servitude of American seamen in foreign ports and prohibiting under and unskilled manning of American vessels. (p. 245) Nine thousand sailors, marine firemen and cooks had been compelled to struggle against conditions sought to be imposed on them by the vessel owners on the Great Lakes, who had declared for the so-called "open shop" and almost immediately had opened employment agencies through which all seamen were employed after renunciation of membership in any union. The ship owners in a large number of instances made it a condition of employment that the men already employed, or seeking employment, must make affidavit that they are not now, nor will they be, affiliated with any organization of labor while earning their bread as seamen. Still feeling that men might be willing to make such illegal affidavit in order to continue in employment at times when employment in other avocations was scarce and difficult to obtain, and that, after all, they needed some stronger, and, in their opinion, more enduring means of absolute control over seamen, they sent special representatives to Great Britain, with a view of investigating, and, if suitable to their purpose, employing a system which had been used by the shipowners of that country for the same purpose as they themselves had in view. These representatives returned, and evidently reported that the English Shipping Federation, Limited, had been the means in that country of depriving the seamen of such hope and faith as, for a long time, was sufficient to prevent any efficient organization amongst them, and at the same time reducing the wages to such figures that it has been found increasingly impossible to induce white men to ship, and as a result, 65,000 Chinese and Lascars are now employed on British vessels. The Lake Carriers' Association determined to adopt this system, and impose it upon all its maritime employes. The main features of it are: A certificate of membership in the Shipping Federation, Limited, containing an agreement in writing to serve under any terms and conditions imposed by the shipowner; a registration of name, age, personal appearance, signature, if any visible personal peculiarities, such as birthmarks, scars or other still more effective means of identification; an industrial passport, the holder of which is to be thus identified, and a system of character marks, such as the master of a vessel may choose to give, and upon which future employment or non-employment is to depend. In fact, it is decidedly more vicious than even the English system in this, that the lake book was to be subject to revocation by any ship's officer at any time for any reason or no reason, such revocation being an absolute black list and exile from the calling. Not even the ship's owner had the power to return or replace it.

(1910, p. 252) Condemned attempt to amend New York pilotage law; condemned "welfare plan" of the steel trust. (p. 253) Urged Congress to make the seaman a free man, give him the right to help himself and improve the safety of travel at sea. This petition describing the status of seamen was endorsed: To those who govern nations, to those who make laws, to humanitarians, democrats, Christians and friends of human freedom everywhere: Do we, the seamen, the yet remaining bondmen, humbly yet earnestly submit this our petition that we may be made free men and that the blighting disgrace of bondage be removed from our labor, which once was considered honorable, which is yet needed in the world of commerce, and which has been held to be of great importance to nations with sea coasts

to defend. Existing maritime law, except in the domestic trade of these U. S., makes of us the property of the vessel on which we sail. We can not work as seamen without signing a contract which brings us under this law. The contract is fixed by law or authorized by governments. We have nothing to do with its terms. We either sign it and sail or we sign it not and remain landsmen. When signing this contract we surrender our working power to the will of another man at all times while the contract runs. We may not leave the vessel, though she is in perfect safety. We may not without the master's permission go to a mother's sick bed or funeral or attend to any other duties of a son, a brother, a Christian or a citizen. If our owner thinks he has reason to fear that we desire to escape, he may, without judicial investigation, cause us to be imprisoned for safekeeping until he shall think it proper to take us out. If we have escaped, he may publish our personal appearance along with a reward for our apprehension and return. He may through contracts between nations cause the peace officers and police to aid him in recovering his property. The captain may change, the owner may change—we are sold with the vessel, and so long as the flag does not change there is nothing except serious illness or our master's pleasure that will release us from the vessel. The master, acting for the vessel, may release himself and the vessel by paying a few dollars, with no alternative. He that owns another man's laborpower owns his body, since the two can not be separated. We stand in the same relation to the vessel as the serf did to the estate, as the slave to his master. When serfdom was abolished in Western Europe we were forgotten by the liberators and our status remained. When the slaves of the U. S. and Brazil were emancipated our status continued. When serfdom was abolished in Russia no change came to us. We now raise our manacled hands in humble supplication to restore to us our rights as brother men, to our labor that honor which belonged to it until your power, expressing itself through your law, set upon it the brand of bondage in the interest of cheap transportation by water. We respectfully submit that this serfdom of the men in our calling is of comparatively modern origin. Earlier maritime law bound while in strange countries and climes the seaman to his shipmates and his ship, and the ship to him, on the principle of common hazard. In his own country he was free—the freest of men. We further humbly submit that, as the consciousness of the seamen's status penetrates through the population, it will be impossible to get free men to send their sons into bondage or to induce free men's sons to accept it, and we, in all candor, remind you that you, when you travel by water, expect us—the serfs—to exhibit in danger the highest qualities of free men, by giving our lives for your safety. At sea the law of common hazard remains; there must be discipline and self-sacrifice, but in any harbor where the vessel and you are safe, we beseech you, give to us that freedom which you claim for yourself and which you bestow on others, to the end that we may be relieved of that bitterness of soul that is the heavy burden of him who knows and feels that his body is not his own.

(1911, pp. 64-285) We hope and trust that the importance to the nation, to the traveling public and to seamen employed is now sufficiently well understood to stop further opposition and to pass a just and too-long delayed measure. (p. 261) Urged passage of bill freeing sailors.

(1912, pp. 38-344) Seamen's bill passed the house. It restores freedom to the seamen; it provides a standard of skill for seamanship. It is drafted with the design of equalizing the operating expenses of foreign vessels and American vessels. It will tend to build up the American merchant marine without resorting to subsidies or subterfuge. It will encourage the American to follow the sea as a profession. It will provide in a much greater measure improved conditions of life on board ship for seamen. Its safety provisions will, to a considerable extent, increase security of life and property at sea. Above all and of vastly most importance, it will abolish the last provisions in our statutory law for compulsory labor within the jurisdiction of the U. S. Seamen will no longer be deprived of their individual liberty, or be compelled to suffer hardships and wrongs beyond what are naturally inherent in their dangerous, hazardous calling.

(1913, pp. 49-295) After many years of persistent endeavor we secured the passage of the seamen's bill by Congress, March 2, 1913, but were astounded to learn the President in the closing hours of that body had permitted the bill to die by applying what is known as the "pocket veto" on the plea that it would interfere with "treaty rights." The bill was again passed by the Senate and "it is our firm conviction the House will pass it without amendment at an early date." (p. 306) Immediate passage of bill by the House and its approval by the President urged.

(1914, pp. 84-363) Insisted on passage of the seamen's bill, and urged the immediate writing of letters to members of Congress by citizens of their respective home districts. (p. 329) We urge Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the U. S. as licensed officers. (p. 373) Absence of any standard of efficiency in the men employed is the direct cause of such manslaughter at sea as occurred in the wrecks of the Titanic, Volturno, Monroe, Empress of Ireland and many others. We therefore call on Congress to pass the seamen's bill and for its immediate signing by the President. The shipowners had opposed the bill ostensibly on the ground that it would be necessary to change sixteen treaties if it became a law.

(1915, pp. 93-356) The seamen's bill was passed by Congress and signed by the President. This measure marks a great forward step in the march of human freedom and progress. It removes the last vestige of involuntary servitude from the laws of the U. S. It is one of the first measures that the A. F. of L. urged Congress to enact into law. It will improve the working conditions of seamen. Opportunities for organization will be extended, seamen in other countries will enjoy its beneficent influence, the general public who travel on the high seas will be

afforded a larger measure of safety provisions. We feel confident in asserting that the passage of this wise and necessary legislation by the Sixty-third Congress was one of its distinctions. Nevertheless we find it to be a painful duty to call attention to the fact that a great danger still confronts this valuable piece of legislation. The cupidity and greed of not only the shipping interests of the U. S., but the shipping interests of the whole maritime world are so aroused that they will leave no stone unturned nor hesitate to stoop to any subterfuge to defeat the law and the wise, humanitarian and safety provisions which it contains. A continuous, persistent campaign has been made against the measure by the great financial interests of the nation under the management of the Chamber of Commerce. Under the guise of antagonizing the shipping bill favored by the present national administration, and which was withdrawn during the closing days of last Congress, the National Chamber of Commerce submitted for a referendum vote to its 600 affiliated local chambers of commerce, and other trade bodies representing some 300,000 business men, several propositions, including the following: "Subsidies from the government sufficient to off-set difference in the cost between operation of vessels under the American flag, and operation in the same deep sea trades under foreign flags." The vote upon these propositions was overwhelmingly in favor of the one quoted. It is, therefore, necessary that our membership be alert to the dangers confronting the people of the United States, because there is no question that the vested interests will exert themselves to the fullest extent to defeat the meritorious principles contained in the seamen's act. The licensed officers' bill also became a law. It affords greater protection to officers in the merchant marine when complying with their necessary public duty in reporting defects in their vessels to the proper federal inspection officials. The act also more clearly defines and extends the right of licensed officers in the merchant marine to quit the service of a shipowner at the expiration of their contracts without intimidation or risk of imprisonment. It is believed that all of the former elements of compulsion on the part of shipowners against the licensed officers have been removed by the passage of the measure. This act is a valuable addition to the legislation contained in the act protecting the rights of seafaring men and extending greater safety measures for those who go down to the sea in ships. (p. 373) Although the seamen's law was enacted after twenty years agitation, during which time it was endorsed in the platform of the two great political parties, attempts already were being made for its discredit and repeal. The law was supposed to have gone into effect November 4. The shipowners had had eight months to prepare, and nothing was done until three days before that time. The law provides for issuing certificates to able seamen. No certificate was issued until within four or five days of the fourth of November. This caused a tremendous congestion in the different seaports, of men who wanted to obtain certificates. As a result of that, or for some other reasons, the examinations as to physical fitness did not work altogether well or even reasonably satisfactorily in some places. In other places it seems to be going along pretty smoothly. There was a hope, no doubt, on the part of certain people that by putting in the physical examination they would prevent the seamen from looking for the certificates. They found that did not occur. The seamen presented themselves in such numbers that in some places they had to put on four or five doctors. The difficulties that have arisen, to some extent, have been from the examination of the eyes of the men. A man, to serve as a seaman, is pretty sure to have fairly average eyes; otherwise he would not be employed except in strike times. As it stands today in San Francisco there are men rejected because of color blindness, when they can walk up Market street and look at one of those moving electric signs with red, green and yellow in it and tell the different colors. It does not make any difference for the purposes of this law what they are doing in that matter. The higher they set the standard, the better it is for the seamen as a whole, and the better it is for the traveling public as a whole, and we shall not complain of the highness of the standard in that direction. It seems, however, there is a disposition along the coast and in this city to do everything to hamper the men in getting the proper certificates. When the law shall have been in operation long enough so that the smaller officials shall be prepared to carry it out in an honest and faithful way, it will probably prove the most successful legislation that has been adopted in half a century.

(1916, p. 98) Bills tending to weaken the seamen's law were introduced in Congress but none was acted on. (p. 298) Asked revision of Circular No. 265, issued by the Department of Commerce, dealing with the enforcement of the language clause in the seamen's act.

(1917, p. 463) The decision of the supreme court (Scharrenberg vs. Dollar Steamship Company) that the Chinese exclusion law does not apply to seamen evidently has rendered void section 13 of the seamen's act. As this exposes the seamen to impossible competition the Executive Council is instructed to bring these matters to the attention of the proper departments and if necessary to the President of the U. S.

(1918, p. 63) The Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation fully appreciative of the fact that workers must be dealt with as human beings, reached the conclusion that labor managers must deal with the shipping employes in an intelligent manner and thereby reduce the turnover and the causes of discontent and friction. Under the agreement between the Seamen's Union and the Shipping Board, schools of training for men who wish to become seamen have been established. However, this plan has met with difficulty as certain shipping companies have refused to employ these men even after they have been trained, although the members of the Seamen's Union have asked that places be made for these men. Even though some of the seamen may have difficulty in finding employment, the Seamen's Union is looking to the future when numbers of additional seamen will be required to man the boats that are being built. The government has shown its appreciation of the function of organized labor.

Seamen, to Protect Lives—(1899, p. 140) Government urged to adopt a style of life-

boat that will better protect seagoing people in case of shipwreck.

Secession and Suspension Penalty—(1904, p. 243) Section 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended or expelled by the A. F. of L., or by any national or international organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any central body or national or international union connected with the A. F. of L. under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Secession Movements—(1887, p. 4) Secession movements had become dangerous and this amendment to the constitution was adopted: "No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any national or international organization connected with the Federation shall be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation."

(1897, pp. 17-87) During previous year attempts had been made to divide the labor movement of the country on geographical lines. This was named the western movement. Steps were immediately taken to counteract this suicidal policy and for the time being the evil sought had been laid to rest never, it is hoped, to be again revived. The wealth possessors, the employers, allow no geographical lines to interfere with their interests. In everything that affects them alike they stand as a unit.

(1897, p. 106) Charge was made that most of the trouble over secession was the recognition given by the convention to protests from seceding bodies.

(1898, p. 17) Only one organization affiliated with the A. F. of L. gave the threatened division in the labor movement recognition. A few local organizations of the far west sent delegates, but found themselves overwhelmed in numbers. It is a tribute to the intelligence and principle of our fellow-unionists of the west that they have, with very few exceptions, declared their purpose to maintain the unity and solidarity of our movement, regardless of geographical lines. The enemies of our cause do not permit local prejudice or pride to interfere with whatever may promote their interests; they are not only combined in their interstate, but too often in their international, interests. It seems that the workers should certainly not fail to realize how important is the recognition by them that only by unity and solidarity is there any hope for protection and progress now and freedom and justice in the future. (p. 54) The effort to bring a schism in the labor movement failed.

(1901, p. 230) Discord or antagonism in the labor movement always is to be regretted.

Secretariat, International—(1909, p. 36) Report of fraternal delegate to the International Secretariat: At the Paris conference of the International Secretariat the principle which was brought out above all others, and emphasized on every possible occasion, was that the working classes of all countries today oppose war. They are systematically arraying themselves against the present military establishments and other preparations that in themselves constitute a warfare which bears most heavily on the working classes whose sons must fill the ranks, and which heaps up national debts that must be paid from the proceeds of toil. At the close of the conference a mass meeting was held in one of the large halls of Paris, attended by thousands of wage-workers, who listened to the delegates representing not only all the larger countries of Europe, but America, condemning the attitude of the privileged classes toward war and denouncing them as standing apart from the mass of the people, ready to perpetuate their powers through the interruption of social progress due to war. It must be admitted, however, that the conferences of the International Secretariat as yet find but little practical work to look after except the promotion of peace, the interchange of amenities, and the publication of labor statistics. The representation is not purely trade union. Professor Huysmans, of Brussels, international secretary of the Socialist party, was one of the two delegates representing Belgium, where trade unionism is about at the lowest ebb reached in Europe. The delegates from Austria and Holland confined their many speeches to wholly socialistic propaganda and denunciations of true trade unionism. The two delegates from France, leaders of the General Confederation of Labor, were classed in the French press and by the socialist delegates as anarchists. Upon explaining that the A. F. of L. had not yet decided to become affiliated to the International Secretariat, and that it was beyond my power, without your authority to become affiliated, I was accorded a seat in the conference with a voice and, of course, without a vote. Discussion on the very few propositions introduced at the conference such as those condemning the importation of non-unionists from one country to another during labor disputes, the action of the Prussian police in imposing excessive restrictions on wage-workers at the frontier; assistance for the Swedish strike; the promotion of the eight-hour day, were overshadowed by somewhat heated criticisms in turn of the French, the English, and especially the American trade union movements, by delegates from the countries whose unions have hardly emerged from crude beginnings, and are yet in large masses led by partisan, non-wage working class politicians. In these debates the delegates from Germany, France, and England maintained a wholly fair and honorable attitude toward the trade union movements in the countries criticised. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. adopted two resolutions to be presented to the International Conference at Paris in the form of suggestions. They are as follows:

"The International Trade Union Congress recommends to the trade union centers (General Federations or Congresses) of all countries the discussion of the proposition of establishing an International Federation of Labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed, the purpose of the federation being for the protection and the advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage-workers of all countries and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity. It shall be the purpose of the labor movement of all countries to endeavor to the fullest extent to prevent the workers from one country being induced to emigrate to other countries during periods

of industrial depression or when trade disputes exist or are in contemplation; that it shall be the duty of the recognized representatives of the labor movement of the country affected to notify the International Secretary, who in turn shall at once communicate the situation to the representatives of the trade union movement of each country."

These I submitted for such consideration as the conference could give, and I entered into a detailed statement in support of their favorable consideration. Of course, it was entirely out of the question for the conference to vote upon them, inasmuch as they were not on the agenda of business and were not presented in the form of propositions by a duly accredited delegate, but the conference decided that both questions shall be printed upon the program or agenda of the next International Conference which is to be held at Budapest, August, 1911.

On the whole, the conference served to clear the field for a possible deliberative international body, democratically organized, leaving to the labor movement in each country its autonomous rights, and excluding questions not within the sphere of trade unionism. (p. 318) A. F. of L. voted to affiliate with the Secretariat.

Secretary-Treasurer—(1889, pp. 23-34) Office of secretary-treasurer inaugurated.

Seven-Hour Day Retained—(1916, pp. 100-277) Attempt to increase the hours of employment for employes of the government overwhelmingly defeated.

(1918, p. 221) Legislation providing for lengthening the workday of government employes from seven to eight hours is vicious legislation, as its intent is to compel them to work one hour daily overtime without extra compensation. It is an insult to patriotic government employes, many of whom now work long hours overtime for which they receive no extra pay.

Scalpers—(1897, p. 62-82) Anti-scalping bills were denounced, the convention holding (1898, pp. 64-83) that a railroad ticket after its purchase belongs absolutely to the purchaser, and he has a right to sell it to whomsoever he sees fit. Similar denunciations were made by many following conventions.

Sectarian or Captious Issues—(1894, p. 25) We here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the trade union movement that the working people must unite and organize irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics. Such movements tend to divide labor's forces and produce bitter antagonisms and divert the working people from working out their own emancipation from the galling slavery of the present social and political conditions.

Senators Elected by People, U. S.—(1893, p. 36) Favoring election of U. S. Senators by the people.

(1899, p. 105) Favored election of U. S. Senators by direct vote of the people. (1893, p. 36) A. F. of L. declares the election of U. S. Senators should be by popular vote of the citizens of the various states. (1896, p. 75) Reaffirmed. (1912, pp. 42-345) After many years of persistent agitation we have finally succeeded in securing the passage of a measure through Congress providing for an amendment to the U. S. Constitution, making it possible for the people to cast a direct vote for their choice of men to represent them in the U. S. Senate.

Shaffer-Gompers Controversy—(1902, pp. 172-8) The following report of a committee appointed to investigate charges alleged to have been made against President Gompers by Theodore J. Shaffer, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, was adopted unanimously: "Your committee would respectfully report that, after the presentation of such evidence and matters as were submitted to them upon the question at issue, and after a thorough and careful consideration thereof, and after an emphatic and repeated statement and denial upon the part of Mr. Shaffer that he had at no time, in public or private, in writing or by vocal words, charged Mr. Gompers with any infidelity to the trade union movement, or unfaithfulness to any trust committed to his care, or in any way impeached him or charged him with infidelity to the trade union movement or its principles, your committee is constrained to find that any charges, or reports which appeared to charge Mr. Gompers with any infidelity to trade unionism or its principles are absolutely unfounded and unwarranted, and by unanimous vote and opinion of your committee, Mr. Gompers is therefore wholly and completely exonerated from even the shadow of suspicion in this regard."

Ships Built by Government—(1903, p. 117) Evidence shows that better work can be done in government than private yards and we renew our demand that the navy yards be used to the utmost in construction work so that not alone will labor be benefited but the ships may be well built and free from such weaknesses as result from poor work done to give contractors greater profits.

Ships, Government Ownership of—(1915, p. 304) The A. F. of L. is heartily in favor of the immediate creation by the U. S. government of an American merchant marine to be manned by American seamen under conditions that will make them an effective naval reserve, and recommends to the Congress of the U. S. prompt passage of legislation for the establishment of a shipping board for the building or purchase of vessels by the U. S. government to be operated for the development of our foreign trade under conditions that will give safety to the traveler and freedom to the seaman and to be available as an effective naval auxiliary for the protection of our country in time of war.

Sick and Death Benefits—(1916, pp. 145-278) Suggestion (1915, p. 444) for a system of sick and death benefits for members of unions affiliated direct with the A. F. of L. is impracticable and ill-advised. Such unions are transitory, being made up of members in trades and callings of which there are no national or international unions in existence. It would be an insurmountable obstacle to transfer members or unions having a property right in the sick and death benefit funds to which they contributed into other organizations or national or international unions.

Six-Hour Day—(1913, p. 284) Demand for six-hour day considered inopportune. While in sympathy with the proposition we feel that organized labor should strive for a more general application of the eight-hour

workday in all trades and occupations before devoting energies to introduction of the six-hour day. (1914, p. 340) Reaffirmed, believing a progressive decrease of working hours in keeping with the developments of machinery and productive forces.

Slavery and Serfdom—(1899, p. 141)—There must be no slavery or serfdom by ownership or contract tolerated under the American flag, and we shall make any one whose action in any way shall militate against this principle of human freedom responsible in every legitimate manner open to us.

Slogan of A. F. of L.—(1910, pp. 16-307) Let every union member regard it as his mission to organize, to bring at least one fellow-worker into membership of his trade union. Let the slogan be: "Organize, Agitate, Educate."

Snug Harbor, Sailors—(1903, p. 209) Requested Congress to give aid to Great Lakes Snug Harbor at Chicago.

Socialists—The Socialist party cannot be represented in the A. F. of L. conventions. Neither can any other political party. The socialists, however, as individuals have endeavored to have their party, the co-operative commonwealth and other political policies adopted by the conventions. Their contention is that more can be gained by political than economic action. In the 1884 convention this (p. 10) condemnation of the socialists was endorsed: "We do not hold with those theorists who would ignore present social conditions and who strive to direct the labor movement in pursuit of some will-'o-the-wisp millennium grounded neither on the capabilities of human nature or the dictates of common sense. We must walk before we can fly, and we believe the gaining of higher wages and shorter hours to be preliminary steps toward great and accompanying improvement in the condition of the workers."

In 1885 (p. 17) they unsuccessfully advocated a workingmen's political party with union men as candidates. In 1889 (p. 23) the socialists urged the formation of a political party by organizing federal labor unions in every election district in the U. S. to be composed solely of wage earners. The object was to make a political labor movement distinct from the A. F. of L.

In 1890 (pp. 11-21-23) a delegate was refused a seat because he bore credentials from a central body which had admitted into membership a branch of the Socialist Labor Party. The convention declared: We affirm the trade union movement to be the legitimate channel through which wage earners of America are seeking present amelioration and future emancipation. Its methods are well defined, its functions specialized, its work clearly mapped out. We further hold the trade unions of America, comprising the A. F. of L., are committed against the introduction of matters pertaining to partisan politics, to the religion of men or their birthplace. We can not logically admit the S. L. P. to representation and shut the door in the face of other political organizations formed to achieve social progress. We are of opinion a political party of whatsoever nature is not entitled to representation in the A. F. of L.; that this convention, while declining to admit representatives from the S. L. P. as a political party, declares itself tolerant of all phases of the reform movement and would bar no delegate as an individual because of his belief, whether radical or conservative." (p. 22) A motion made to have the unfavorable report of the committee and speeches made by both sides printed and referred to the various organizations for consideration brought this argument in opposition: "That the socialists would use the document for an extended propaganda to show they were entitled to representation. The motion was defeated and the report of the committee refusing a seat to a delegate from a central body having in its membership a socialist party branch was adopted. To the claim that the socialists had organized large numbers in England the answer was made (pp.23-4): "We never heard of John Burns, Ben Tillet or Mann or any others coming into the British Trade Union Congress or trade councils as representatives of the socialist democratic federation of England. They made no such preposterous claim. They came as representatives of trade unions and it was immaterial whether they were socialists or not. It is not fraternal to say that if the S. L. P. is not admitted there would be war and threaten us with destruction for doing what we think right." (p. 27) Rejected proposal for A. F. of L. to recommend all members of unions join with the S. L. P. in a contest against "capitalism on the field of independent political action." Another resolution by the socialists to confine all addresses at A. F. of L. conventions by others than delegates to union men was defeated.

(1891, p. 35) Libelous statements against the President of the A. F. of L. following the action of the 1890 convention in refusing to seat a socialist delegate from an ineligible central body brought this declaration: "We emphatically declare our faith in our President as an honest, upright and earnest worker in the cause of labor, and we absolutely believe him to be as far above bribery, political boodleism or corruption as the stars are above mother earth."

(1892, p. 39) Refused to endorse co-operative commonwealth. (p. 45) Executive Council instructed to use its best efforts to carry on a vigorous campaign of education by appointing organizers and lecturers and supplying economic literature to affiliated organizations to widen the scope of usefulness of trade unions in the direction of political action. But we wish the distinction to be made that partisan politics should not be confounded with the business of trade unions. (p. 46) Refused to endorse plan to form a labor political party.

(1894, p. 40) Refused to submit to the referendum the question of forming a labor political party.

(1895, p. 77) Refused to adopt declaration presented by socialists that it was as much the duty of trade unionists to maintain a political party devoted to their own interests as it was to organize into unions. Recommended independent voting outside party lines. (p. 79) When the Federation was formed it was the intention to allow the greatest lattitude of opinion and action consistent with progress and unity; to act together on points upon which we agree. It was not until in the 1892 convention that an attempt was made to divert the organization from these well established principles,

We have been through the school of political economy, and so long as we have the red flag of socialism thrust upon us we will have it combatted by philosophic anarchism. Let us drop them both and move along on independent political lines on the outside of parties.

(1897, pp. 17-87) During the miners' strike, affecting 140,000, there were a number of persons who sought to disrupt our movement, bring discord into the organization. They saw no better means at their command than to attack its officers. Perhaps at no time were men more scathingly, mendaciously, and unjustly slandered than were the officers of the American trade union movement during the miners' strike. Some with particular hobbies, which they change as often as does a kaleidoscope, but who yet had sufficient acumen to observe that with success for the miners upon trade union lines their hobbies would be cripples and their theories proven unsound, have, while assuming the garb of friendship, preached and prophesied defeat, and declared that nothing but disaster would overtake the miners. Never having attained success in any cause in which they were engaged, these Apostles of Failure realized that if the miners won, the ground of opposition to trade unions would be proven untenable. As no man can be brave in defense of principles in which he does not fully believe, so did not and could not men honestly or faithfully defend trade union action when they did not believe in trade union policy, trade union tactics. It is a source of satisfaction, however, that out of the miasmatic atmosphere of abuse and unjust attack stand the gratification and the voluntary evidence of the rank and file of the miners of the country to the splendid services rendered by the officers, the generous financial aid contributed by the trade unions, and above all, stands out in bold relief the success attending the miners' contest, an increase of 22½ per cent in wages having been secured for more than 80,000 and some increase, though not so large, for all other coal miners. It would be difficult to determine as to which among our affiliated organizations or who among the organizers, which so many of them sent into the coal fields, performed the best service. Sufficient is it for us to know that, for the first time in the history of our movement, representatives of different trades organizations practically conducted the contest in the field, each vieing with the other to attain the best possible results and each of them deserving the highest encomium of praise for the work done and the result secured. It was the purpose of our organizations, while furnishing men and money to conduct the contest, its direction was left in the hands of representatives of the miners—the officers of their organization.

(1898, pp. 104-110) In advocating joining the social democratic party the socialists made this argument: "There has been no progress in the trade union the past six years. We want the power of controlling economic and political situations. The improvements in machinery and the mobilization of wealth into trusts are grinding the laborers down. At the present time there are 170 to 175 trusts in the U. S., and there was no law against the big trusts swallowing up the small ones. The entire U. S. would be bound down by J. Pierpont Morgan and John D. Rockefeller. The most damnable policy is that of government by injunction, which takes place in almost every strike. In the great wire strike we held up 1,600 men, and they refused to accept the reduction of from 33 1-3 to 65 per cent and were kicked out into the street, after building up the institution, and blacklisted all over the U. S. We want the delegates to take some progressive steps to inspire our trade unionists who have lost courage. By organizing and voting upon all economic questions they can get a gigantic power, and then they can accomplish something and on election day use their ballots to effect. The resolution before us now is not the endorsement of the Socialist party, nor the endorsement of any particular party; we are simply endorsing the principle as to whether we can endorse some party when the occasion arises, and I am here to defend that principle. You will say, What is the strength of our organization? If it has lost, it is not attributable to socialism. It is because of the oppressions of employers. Socialists are the very best of trade unionists. I defy any man to show to the contrary. If this resolution is not passed today, it will be some other day, and I believe it will pass today. Why put it off?"

The trade unionists declared: "All the indictments made against the revolutionizing influence of machinery, the influence of trusts, the misuse of injunctions and military power have been again and again endorsed by all trade unionists, but the difference between us is one as to practice and methods. It is said the trade union movement is stagnant; that wages have been reduced and no progress has been made for years. In 1878 we had only nine national unions, and now we have sixty-eight. We have never made it a test of membership in the A. F. of L., or in any trade union, that a member should belong to any particular political party or endorse any economic creed. To do so now at this Convention would be to break faith with our members. It is charged here, because we favored free silver, we have taken political action and tied ourselves to the Democratic party. That is not true, for we endorsed free silver in 1893, three years before the Democratic party adopted it in its national platform. Because some of us stand firmly by the historical unitary and cohesive character of the trade union movement, as heretofore expounded by the A. F. of L., we are called 'pure and simple.' Better any time a pure and simple trade unionist than an impure and complex confusionist. Let us put an end to this continual political spirit-rapping, guided, as it is, by theoretical, speculative extremists. It is time we notified the men of isms and schisms in a labor movement that the trade union can never be sidetracked or befogged by economic theories or debatable small-potato politics. In this country let us use all political parties. Place them on record and show our people their shortcomings when they do not meet our demands. Elect trade unionists to every office and advance them on every possible occasion. Divest ourselves of petty jealousies. Arouse cohesive class feeling among the workers by industrial conflicts when forced upon us by unfair employers. Make the industrial struggle more intense so that the ties of

unionism will grow stronger. This question of politics is one which involves the enmity and the integrity of the labor movement. Either the trade union movement is right or it is is wrong, and the trade unionists must declare for trade unionism, without frills or feathers, or it is a confession that we are wrong. I contend that the trade union movement is the history of the development of the labor movement—of the expression, aye, the crystallized expression of discontent of the workers. 'By their deeds shall ye know them,' rather than by their honeyed and smooth words, with which they seek to allure our movement into such a vortex of complications and capture our movement as a tail to their political party kite. If they were to express themselves in this Convention as they do outside of it they would not be tolerated in the Convention two minutes, and I propose to succintly call attention to the difference between the mask and the real face of the Socialists who advocate and have presented the proposition contained in the amendment to this resolution now before the house, and which embodies the idea which would disrupt this organization. They have done all they could to mistreat the organization and wage-earners in the trade unions, and to disrupt them. Aye, one of the parties referred to called a convention for the purpose of forming a rival to the A. F. of L.—a rival to the trade unionist movement, a rival to the economic movement, and at the convention they had upon the broad streamer decorating the chairman's stand, emblazoned in colors of red: 'Wreck the Old Trade Unions; Pull for the Shore of Socialism.' They have besmirched the name of Labor and sought to destroy our organization; they have attacked the honor, fidelity and manliness and the principles of the men who have tried to stand by the workers in their natural struggle for bettering the conditions of today. The men who did not grope, but have fought in the struggle and have never shirked their duty nor their responsibilities, the trade unionists, have met the problems as they arise, and are willing, not simply to indulge in what is known as radical resolutions or radical talk, but enter right into the midst of the battle and take the responsibilities, no matter what the result might be to them." The convention rejected the proposition of joining the social democratic party.

(1900, p. 132) Rejected resolutions favoring the co-operative commonwealth.

(1901, p. 203) Plan to nominate and elect officers by the referendum presented by the socialists was defeated.

(1902, p. 178) Refused to endorse the co-operative commonwealth. The socialists contended: "The labor movement, in its great onward march, is facing, on the one hand, the combinations of capital that we are battling with, and behind us the great mob of unorganized laborers, by which its onward march is ever being impeded. The only true solution lies in the control of the powers of government. I believe that the Socialist party is the only one before the people today that advocates for the workingmen of this nation, for every citizen, regardless of his position, the right to live a free man under a democratic form of government. This problem, this question, must be met, and we of the Socialist party of the U. S. will not only appear in this convention, upon this floor, but in every city, village and hamlet throughout this country, and challenge a study of the question." The trade unionists declared: "As a matter of fact, the trade union form of organization is the historic and natural form of associated effort of the working people. The nearer and closer we hew to the line of trade unionism, exercising the functions as trade unions, the more direct and successful will be the progress of our movement. I heard a delegate on the floor of the convention say, that if you elected six Socialist Congressmen in the U. S., you will have very many changes. I respectfully call the delegate's attention to the fact that in the German Parliament there are nearly 100 Socialists, and there we find the most backward of all European countries in the interest of labor. The man who is held up to typify Socialism is Carl Marx. There is not a socialist that can find in all his utterances one word for a co-operative commonwealth. During his life he wrote not only his work, 'Des Capitale,' but he wrote a number of other works, and in one of them, replying to Proulhon, he denounced the socialists as the worst enemies of the laboring classes. I know that the socialists have taken that pamphlet and made a foot-note on it, and said that Carl Marx, in writing that, did not have the socialists of today in mind, but I call the attention of the gentleman who made that foot-note that it was made when Carl Marx was dead, not when he was alive, when he would have had an opportunity of repudiating those who wanted to expurgate the statement that he made."

(1903, pp. 189-212) This discussion followed recommendations that several resolutions favoring the co-operative commonwealth and endorsement of a class political party be defeated: By the socialists: "I will confine myself to an endeavor to prove that the Socialist trades-unionist is the most practical trades-unionist. Our movement suffers from the effect of injunctions, the calling out of the militia in case of strikes and court decisions holding members of trades-unions liable in damages. I submit that it is not necessary for Socialists to bring politics into the struggles of trades-unionism; that is constantly done by the capitalist class, who own and control the political machinery. Socialists propose to wrest from the capitalist class this political power, to place into public office the representatives of the wage-earners, that they may interpret existing laws and place such new laws upon the statute books as will redound to the benefit of the working class. I submit that this is practical. I agree with one of the previous speakers as to the great destiny of the trades unionism movement. But my idea of the ultimate destiny of the trades-union places it upon even a higher plane than my friend would suggest. I believe that it is the destiny of the trades unions of the world to ultimately own and operate the industries of the earth and operate them for the benefit of all the people instead of only the privileged few. I insist labor creates all values, that labor is the fundamental basis of all civilization and that when labor is crushed civilization must fall. If labor creates all wealth and is the foundation of civilization it is logical for us to demand that labor should own the wealth which it has created. I have realized for years that

there was something wrong in the body politic. I realized there was wrong years ago when I discovered that children were called from the schools to go into the mine, to the shop, to the factory, to assist to bring bread and butter to the family table, and I see no platform, no policy of any political body anywhere today which is willing to stop it at the beginning, but the Socialistic platform. That is why I have become a Socialistic advocate. This question that is before us has for its theme the betterment, the uplifting of the trades-union movement. This is the position I take, and in offering the resolution which I did, I did so believing that the conditions warranted us adopting a new method in this great struggle under which the entire labor world is engaged with the master class. If the resolutions are not adopted we will have no basis for bettering our condition other than the methods we have used during the past; that the entire capitalist class, with a few honorable exceptions, was massed against us throughout the industrial field, the magazines, the newspapers and even the pulpits, and to maintain our rights we could not merely depend upon the strike and boycott, but must use the ballot box as well."

Argument by the trade unionists: "I am always impressed with an earnest man's utterances, and to me a man who makes a statement and gives me an assurance, my disposition has always been to be credulous and to believe him. When an organization makes a declaration, my disposition is to believe it. I am always inclined to believe a man or an aggregation of men to be honest, but when I discover that a man has made professions of one thing and his actions belie his words, then I am like the Missourian; after that, so far as he is concerned, he must show me. Attention has been called to the conduct of the men who clothed themselves in the mantle of Socialism, and assumed a position of superiority, mentally, in honesty, in work, and in ennobling purposes. It is because their professions are in entire discord with their actions in this Convention that it is necessary to call their position in question. I shall not refer at this time to their very many detailed acts of treachery to the trade union movement; but I shall refer to some of the declarations made upon the floor of this Convention by delegates participating in this discussion, and show you that though they may believe themselves to be trade unionists, they are at heart, and logically, the antagonists of our movement. Our friends, the Socialists, always when with us have an excellent conception of the trouble in our industrial life. They say, as we say, and as every intelligent man or woman says, that there are miseries which surround us. We recognize the poverty, we know the sweatshop, we can play on every string of the harp, and touch the tenderest chords of human sympathy; but while we recognize the evil and would apply the remedy, our Socialist friends would look forward to the promised land, and wait for 'the sweet by-and-by.' Their statements as to economic ills are right; their conclusions and their philosophy are all askew. The action of the committee has been found fault with because they did not bring in a substitute for the resolutions presented, but instead took a course that will bring this matter fairly and squarely before the Convention. At the last Convention in New Orleans, through placing us in a false position, the resolution upon this question came within an ace of being adopted; but this year the committee has made this question a plain, broad proposition. The vote that will be recorded here today against the report of the committee will be fairly and squarely recorded in favor of Socialism; and the vote that is recorded in favor of the committee's report will be against Socialism. And it will be recognized as such throughout the land. There has not been a legislative body before which the other officers of the Federation or I myself have appeared, nor an association of employers, nor individual employers with whom we have met in conference but that we have been confronted with this Socialistic amendment, so-called, which came near being passed at New Orleans. It has made, and will make, our work doubly difficult, because these employers have refused and do refuse to confer for the adjustment of difficulties and disputes when they are led to believe by declaration that property is in danger of confiscation. We have been asked how many trade unionists there are in Congress. I venture to say that there are more trade unionists in Congress and in our state legislatures holding clear cards than there are elsewhere in similar positions the world over. Do you suppose the Socialists want trade unionists elected to Congress and to the legislatures? (Delegate: 'No.') Of course, no. Of course, Socialist delegates, no. I am proud of you for your honesty in admitting it. But what he has admitted on the floor is true of every other Socialist in the Convention. As a matter of fact, wherever there has been a trade unionist candidate for any political office if there have been half a dozen Socialists in town, they have always tried to defeat the trade unionists. Now, there has been a remark made about the passage of the military law by Congress. I agree it would have been a good thing if we could have prevented the passage of that law, but the delegate said that if we even had a minority in Congress, it could not have become law. I point him to the fact that in Germany they have the largest number of any party in the parliament of that country, and yet they have the most tyrannical military laws of any country on the globe. It is all very well to make a declaration, but the facts are another thing. We are told we ought not to rely upon an indiscreet remark by a Socialist here and there; but if not, then why rely upon the remarks of trade unionists here and there? Yes, an indiscreet remark—but the difficulty here and outside of the Conventions of the A. F. of L. is to find a Socialist who is not all the time guilty of making indiscreet remarks. He is at it all the time. When the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance broke way because of the domination of one man they started out to form a new socialist party and declared what one delegate announced on the floor of this Convention—that the trade unionists must be unhampered and fought from within. One of the reasons I am not with the Socialist party is because I want to be in line with the declaration that the trade union policy, the movement and the work, must be unhampered by your political nostrums. When the

Socialists formed the American Labor Union in rivalry to the A. F. of L. I took occasion to continually say in the American Federationist that it was but another attempt to form another Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, without its practical courage to openly declare its enmity to the American trade union movement. Is it not a fact that no matter what we achieve, we are belittled by the Socialists? Even the Labor Day we have achieved for all the people of our country—the proposition comes in here to abolish it and to make Labor Day in line with the Labor Day of continental Europe, May 1st. The A. F. of L. in 1879 addressed a letter to the French workingmen, suggesting to them to celebrate the 1st of May when the carpenters were to inaugurate the eight-hour day; and from that suggestion, made by your humble servant, they have made the first of May of each year their holiday, and so they celebrate it, usually on the Sunday before or the Sunday after. They take no holiday, but they sometimes celebrate it in the evening of May 1st. In no country on the globe has labor ever taken a day for itself without asking consent, or begging or apologizing for itself, except in this country. And yet the Socialists want us to give up our own Labor Day and celebrate on May 1st, in the evening. The secretary of the Socialist party has severed his connection with the reformed (!) Socialist party, because of his being opposed to the hostile tactics of that party to the trade unions; and, being at heart a trade unionist, he was forced out of his position. Since that time he has given to the world the real reasons why he was forced out—because he dared to stand up in defence of trade unions and against the policy of antagonizing the trade unions and hoisting up the American Labor Union. Is it not true, to a very great extent, that your Socialist American Labor Union, except the miners and a very few others, is made up very largely of expelled members of the trades unions who broke faith with their fellow-workmen? Do you Socialists here deny it? Your official papers say so, and your Socialist organizers' reports admit it. Are your unions not boycotting the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union label and the International Paper Makers' Union label, and other international unions, and where they do not boycott them hold the threat over the heads of some other unions, compelling them either to submit, or forcing them to waver in their fealty and loyalty to the movement? The cigar makers' union of Denver has had this condition of things confront it. They were threatened with a Socialist boycott of their label, and their president and those poor fellows, many of whom can not labor elsewhere, must submit to the dictates of the Socialist organization, for they have no other alternative except to get out of Denver. Because they can not otherwise work and support themselves, they must submit, or be boycotted by Socialists out of the beneficent climate of Denver, and driven elsewhere, to pine away from the ravages of that dread disease from which so many suffer and by reason of which they sought that climate for the relief afforded. Men of labor, if you were in the office of the A. F. of L. for a time and you knew the things that transpire in the labor movement in a general and in a specific way—for they are all focussed there, and we know what is going on and we know the enemies of the labor movement—you would have your opinion clear cut upon this subject. Why, we have spent more money in organizing in Colorado itself than in any other state, notwithstanding that, industrially considered, it ought to cost very little. I want to tell you, Socialists, that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve. And I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy. Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility." The resolutions were defeated.

(1904, p. 237) The socialists announced they would join issue only on the question of an amendment to the constitution providing "no 'lobby' (legislative) committee shall be maintained or money appropriated for the purpose." They contended: "All methods of lobbying are bowing the head and presenting ourselves in an undignified attitude, and the results obtained so far have not been commensurate with the efforts put forth or the funds expended in that direction. Trade unionists as such do not hold any consistent position on the subject of legislation. We find them on one question blowing hot and on another question blowing cold. There is no settled policy. Both the republican and democratic parties vie with each other in using the big club to bowl down the laws you request. Both the political parties will respect us when we cease to beg and not before. We have the power. It remains for us to have the will to take charge of the government and then rectify all along the line the things we want abolished and secure the legislation we now beg for."

The trade unionists' answer: "There may come a time when we may with some degree of safety do away with—not the lobby, as it is sneeringly termed, but the legislative committee—and rely entirely upon our economic organizations. I believe that time may come; but I am confident that time has not arrived, and I feel it will not arrive for a considerable period of time. Today more than ever, as intimated by one delegate, the capitalists or the worst elements of the capitalists, stand as a constant opposition to anything we may demand, and also as a constant force to try and invade the rights we have already secured, and to take away from us the advantages we have achieved. I look upon the efforts of our legislative committee as those of a watchman, of a guard there to prevent iniquitous and hostile legislation. It is true that at times we have been required to report our regret that much has not been achieved of an affirmative character; but I do not believe we should lose sight of the wonderful effect our movement and our legislative committee has had in preventing hostile legislation. The legislative committee can bear that out, and the

history of our movement can bear that out. If it had not been for our legislative committee, and the President of the American Federation of Labor co-operating with it, we would have upon our statute books today a law that would bind us hand and foot and prevent us from exercising our natural functions as trade unionists and citizens. I think it is about time this sneering, slurring tirade against the legislative committee and the officers of the A. F. of L. should cease. The assertion has been made that we bow our heads and bend our knees, that we 'wear off the knee pads,' as some have said. That may be the conception of some who attack the trade union movement in season and out of season; but that does not conform to the facts. Stenographic reports of the hearings before the House of Representatives and the Senate Committees are published, and I challenge any man to produce one sentence, one remark, one indication of an attitude on the part of the A. F. of L. or its president that is not a bold assertion of labor's rights." (p. 204) Resolution favoring the study of economic conditions and have lectures on them in lodge rooms for the enlightenment and advancement of the proletariat were defeated as socialist propaganda.

(1905, pp. 21-188) Referring to the organization of the I. W. W.: There are but two hypotheses upon which can be explained the conduct of those who endeavor to engineer the scheme of trade union disruption; one, that they are incompetent derelicts on the industrial sea, a constant menace to the trade union crafts; or, second, that they are in league with the worst elements of an antagonistic capitalism to render as effective service as they can to try and confuse, diffuse, pervert, and make trade union activity the least possibly effective. Some years ago we declared it superfluous and unnecessary to defend the trade union movement. Time has proven this a mistaken course. Men under all circumstances must defend the faith that is in them, the cause which they espouse, and particularly is this true of the trade union movement, which has aroused bitter, relentless, and ignorant antagonism, and has been assailed on every hand by sordid greed, by the driftwood of professionalism, and the scuttling of pirates and buccaneers. Fortunately, the trade union movement of our country, though by no means as fully developed as we may hope for, is sufficiently well established and fortified, has earned and deserved the confidence and good will of our fellow workers, has done so much for the material, moral, and social advancement of the toiling masses, is so thoroughly respected by all the people generally, that it can look with disdain and defiance at the pronunciamentoes of antagonism uttered, whether by the Parrys, the Posts, or by the palpably false political prophets and propagandists. It is because of the well-known fact that one may do more injury than ten can do good, and that it is easier to demolish than to construct, that attention is called to this last declaration and effort made at Chicago. It is but a repetition of numerous others gone before, and shows the attitude and betrayal of labor's interests by some of those who, under the garb of sympathy for the toilers, aim a blow at the very life of labor's citadel, the trade union movement. Though the effort prove abortive, discloses the intent. The trade union movement which has been assailed as no other institution on earth, which has withstood capitalistic opposition as well as governmental tyranny, which has grown great and strong numerically and is an important influence for good; the trade union movement, which has increased wages, shortened the hours of labor and made conditions of employment far superior to those which have obtained in any period in the history of man; our movement which has compelled a better conception and a more enlightened public opinion regarding the wrongs from which labor has suffered and the rights to which the toilers are entitled; that movement which has given our fellow workers the opportunity, the right and the power to stand erect and look the whole world in the face and declare themselves men, with all the attributes of manhood; the labor movement which has taken millions of children from the factory and workshop, the mill and the mine and placed them in the home, the schoolroom, the playground; that movement which has done so much and whose mission is to accomplish more in the interest of the workers and the human family—that movement cannot and will not be successfully assailed or its existence seriously threatened. It has a high purpose and mission to fulfill, which beyond peradventure of a doubt will triumph."

(1911, pp. 217-8) Resolutions expressing disapproval that any officer or member of the labor unions of the country holding membership in the National Civic Federation were defeated by a vote of 11,851 to 4,924. The convention adopted this report of its committee on resolutions: "Your committee in connection with the consideration of these resolutions has endeavored to secure such information relative to the National Civic Federation as could be presented by the delegates introducing them, and in addition such information as could be given by those who as trade-unionists have held membership in that body, or who have in any manner noted the influence of the National Civic Federation upon the safety and progress of the trade-union movement and the principles for which it stands. In addition your committee has examined its official records for the purpose of discovering the aims and objects of the National Civic Federation and of assuring itself as to whether there existed any variations between the principles of that organization as laid down in its organic laws and the rules it has adopted, and in its practice. It finds that the National Civic Federation was organized in part for the purpose of furthering the adjustment of disputes between employers and their employees through the methods of friendly conference, conciliation or arbitration, when mutually acceptable, and the consummation of joint contracts and agreements covering the terms of employment. In addition, to bring together representative men from all groups for the public discussion of the questions affecting the relations between employers and organized workmen. This organization, we find, at the time of its inception, set the official seal of its approval upon the recognition of trade unions by employers, and as endorsing the consummation of formal agreements covering the terms of employment between employers and organized workmen. It has had no information

placed before it which would indicate that the National Civic Federation has at any time departed from its policy as above outlined, but evidence has been presented which demonstrates that it has extended its original program by creating departments whose entire work has been to give a widerspread influence in favor of the peaceful adjustment of all questions arising between employers and organized workmen. No evidence has been presented which would indicate that the influence of the National Civic Federation has ever been unfriendly to organized labor or that it has been detrimental either when negotiations were in progress between employers and trade unions or when industrial controversies had led to strikes and lockouts. Officers of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have appeared before your committee and testified that on numerous occasions interviews and conferences were secured with employers who had previously refused to meet any representatives of their organizations, through the kindly offices of the National Civic Federation, and that as a result of these interviews and conferences and the friendly influence of that body, satisfactory adjustments of controversies were effected. Your committee is aware of criticisms which have been directed against the National Civic Federation by some members of organized labor, but none of these compare with the vindictive and vicious attacks which have been made against it by every association of employers in America which is organized for the purpose of opposing and antagonizing our trade unions and the principles they are contending for. The bitter hostility of the anti-trade union associations has evidently been directed toward the National Civic Federation because that body has emphatically declared its conviction that trade unions are essential to the workmen's welfare, and that as indispensable organizations they should be given full recognition and encouragement. It appears that the criticisms which have been made by members of labor organizations are directed more towards certain individuals holding membership in the National Civic Federation than against that body itself. It is not to be expected that in an association composed of representatives of trade unions, employers and the general public that every member will be equally acceptable to all of the others because of his views and personal attitude; men differ in their viewpoint, and these differences become more apparent when representatives of such groups as organized workmen and employers meet upon a common footing to discuss problems affecting both directly. But are we to hold that we shall not meet and discuss the grave problems which affect the wage earners' standard of civilization with an association whose membership may include some whose vision has not yet been sufficiently broadened?

These individual members of the National Civic Federation, against whom criticism has been directed, are in many instances active members of the church, of fraternal and of other civic organizations, contributing to their support. Their attitude toward many questions may fail to meet with with the approval of their associates, but is this sufficient reason why any member should withdraw his affiliation from such organization or organizations, or that recommendations should be made by this convention that members of organized labor should withdraw from any of them? Since the formation of the National Civic Federation there has been in its membership a number of trade-unionists, among these being men who have deservedly earned our full confidence, and who for years have been selected by organized labor in this and their own organization as among the most trusted and capable officers and members. These representative men have had the fullest opportunity of becoming familiar with the policies and the influence of that body upon the welfare and progress of our trade union movement, and we are convinced that if any of them had discovered that the National Civic Federation was in any manner inimical to the welfare of our movement that they would have been the first to sound a note of warning.

(pp. 189-307) In answer to the request of the National Socialist Party for the A. F. of L. to aid in the election of a candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles the convention indorsed this recommendation of the Labor Representation Committee: "Your committee has given the subject due consideration, and submit the following, with the accompanying resolution, for the consideration and action of this convention. It is true, as stated in the communication, that the enemies of labor are making a determined effort to break the spirit of the workers in Los Angeles; that they have chosen that city as a battleground where they hope to crush labor so completely that it will not lift its head in self-respect and struggle for its rights again; that they are making this attempt both on the economic and the political field, and that just at present the fiercest part of the struggle is on the political field. Your committee feels gratified that the assurance is given that any action by this convention upon this subject will not be regarded as any general or other endorsement of the Socialist Party or its principles or policies, and that any action this convention may take in the matter will not be so construed. We cannot refrain from pointing out a misconception contained in the statement of the National Executive Committee when it says that that body thoroughly understands the 'non-political' character of the American Federation of Labor. As a matter of fact, the trade union movement as typified in the American Federation of Labor, in its constant struggle, aims, and methods could not avoid being political even if it sought to be. Every economic, industrial and legislative effort made by the organized labor movement of our country has its political influence and significance. The American trade union movement is not non-political, it is politically non-partisan. The situation which has existed in recent years in Los Angeles discloses the fact that since the campaign of bitter hostility toward labor inaugurated by General Harrison Gray Otis of the Los Angeles 'Times,' the reactionary element of the wealth possessors of that city has consistently sought to crush the spirit of labor, curb the rights guaranteed to the people of that city, and stand as an obstacle in the path of progress for the betterment and uplift of the workers. This hostile and reactionary element in Los An-

geles is typified in its Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, of which General Otis of the Los Angeles 'Times' is the moving spirit, and whose puppet is Mr. Alexander, the present mayor of Los Angeles and its candidate for re-election. Under Mayor Alexander's administration the fiercest and most brutal invasion of the people's rights has been the policy and the activities of that administration. It has placed the dollar before the rights of man. For the past eighteen months the working people in the metal trades of Los Angeles have been engaged in a great struggle for economic and sociological reform, the establishment of a normal workday. The combined hostile forces of the employers in the metal trades, with the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and General Otis are sponsors for the candidacy of Mayor Alexander. Despite the bitterness of the struggle, progress has been made in many ways so that during this period the membership in the trade unions of that city has increased more than 7,000. We have therefore the knowledge and the satisfaction that the spirit of the workers has not been and will not be either curbed or crushed, but like that of every other movement of the people for justice, for right, for freedom, and for common uplift, will triumph over oppression and tyranny." This resolution was adopted: "That inasmuch as every effort by the moneyed interests and reactionary forces of Los Angeles and elsewhere is now being concentrated in the effort to re-elect Alexander, and realizing that labor cannot entertain the hope to win its victories in matching its meagre resources to the money bags of corporate power, yet we call upon the workers and the sympathizers with progress throughout the country to give their moral support and to contribute such money as they may be enabled to afford toward the campaign fund in the effort to elect Job Harriman mayor of Los Angeles."

Society, Ideal State of—(1895, p. 16) The ideal state of society or government aimed at by state socialists, philosophical anarchists, populists, single taxers and others should not be permitted to stand in the way of immediate and practical efforts, because the ideal state of society hoped for only can be reached, if ever it is reached, by an educational evolutionary process, which means too great delay to suit the masses of our wage workers, who are asking for relief from the ills of today rather than agitating for reforms that will secure the comfort and happiness of coming generations.

Soldiers, Competition of—(1886, p. 16) Requested Congress to enact law prohibiting U. S. soldiers competing with citizens of any trade or calling under any condition whatever. (1889, p. 20) Declared army bands furnishing music to civilians were a gross injustice to union musicians and instructed Executive Council to express the indignation of the A. F. of L. to Congress. (1897, p. 22) President reported order had been issued that government musicians should not compete with civilians. (1898, pp. 69-113; 1904, p. 162; 1905, p. 106; 1911, p. 260) Indorsed bill making Marine Band part of naval service, the attorney general having decided it was not. (1914, p. 330) Requests president of the United States to issue necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band from interfering with the professional engagements of civilian musicians either in or out of the District of Columbia as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, but arbitrarily set aside by a decision of the then attorney general. (1915, p. 294) Adopted similar request and approved bill prohibiting enlisted men in army, navy and marine corps accepting any engagement in civil life which shall interfere with the customary employment of civilian musicians.

South African War—(1901, p. 219) Much as we deprecate and condemn the outrages perpetrated upon the Boers we cannot recommend adoption of a resolution denouncing its continuance because our own government is engaged in operations of a similar character. Furthermore, we find such a resolution has no place in a labor meeting.

Southern Conference—(1911, p. 266) Reaffirmed indorsement of Southern Conference on Women and Child Labor adopted in 1910 (p. 266).

Souvenir Books—(1901, p. 233) Perhaps there has been no more prolific source of dishonesty perpetrated in the name of organized labor than that involved in the publication of souvenir books. Unscrupulous projectors have victimized merchants and other friends of the movement in a most shameful fashion. The editor of the American Federationist is directed to publish in a conspicuous place in each issue a notice that the A. F. of L. is not sponsor nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind. (1905, p. 213) Declared practice of publishing souvenir books by central and state bodies should be discontinued.

State Employes Organized—(1914, p. 333) Called upon all state bodies to follow the lead of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and organize employes of state institutions; also to secure legislation for them providing for one day's rest in seven, reasonable compensation for labor, annual vacations of at least two weeks, adequate housing facilities and a practical tribunal for the redress of grievances and the protection of the employes.

State Federations of Labor—(1907, p. 301) We hold that a state labor federation is as essential to the success of the labor movement within a state as is a national federation to the workers of a nation. A state federation of labor has, at least, three distinct functions to perform: to seek state legislation favorable to labor; to aid in promoting the work of organization within its territory and to encourage education among the wage working classes. The efforts of the several state branches in seeking the passage of laws regulating the employment of inmates in penal institutions, bearing on compulsory education, adequate factory inspection, efficient employer's liability and much other remedial legislation, speak emphatically of the necessity for active state organizations. We must not underestimate the educational value of the conventions of state branches. They offer to members of local unions in the numerous cities of a state opportunities for studying the philosophy of the labor movement not otherwise afforded. They are in a measure trade union schools, and thus become a potent factor in the general movement.

Statistics—(1906, p. 137) The immense value of the tabulated statistics in the sec-

retary's report showing the progress made by the affiliated organizations, the gains made by the organized workers in wages and better conditions, is something hard to overestimate, as it not only gives information as to the progress made but serves as an inspiration to still greater effort in the future. We, therefore, instruct that this feature of the secretary's report be continued, and we most earnestly urge upon the secretaries of all affiliated unions, the absolute necessity of being prompt, diligent and accurate in furnishing data as to the condition of their membership and all change in wages, hours of labor, working conditions, etc., so that this feature may be made as complete and authentic as possible.

Statistics of Unions—(1902, p. 14) While not discrediting any statistical bureau, it was declared A. F. of L. should be in a position to present its own statistical records, as the trade unions had nothing to fear from statements of fact in regard to the movement. But all reports should be absolutely true.

Steamboat Inspection Service—(1914, p. 375) Many marine disasters would have been averted if the U. S. Steamboat Inspection Service had performed its full duty, and the Secretary of Commerce is hereby requested to make it serviceable to the general public.

Street Car Men, European—(1914, p. 218) Wherever the tramworkers of Europe enjoyed advanced wage and labor conditions their trade unions were responsible for them. Where the trade unions are active there the best results obtain, and whether dealing with a municipality or a private company the employes have found it necessary to maintain their unions to establish and protect their conditions.

Street Car Men Want Less Hours—(1912, p. 381) No street railway company should require of their employes more than twelve consecutive hours in any one day to put in their regular day's work of eight to ten hours.

Strike Benefits—(1912, pp. 91-398) Proposal to increase A. F. of L. strike benefits from $4 to $6 per week referred to Executive Council for investigation and report at the next convention. (1913, pp. 97-303) Investigation by the Executive Council shows the national and international unions pay higher strike benefits in some cases but less in the greater number than the A. F. of L. pays to local and federal labor unions. The convention declared: The American Federation of Labor must be exceedingly careful when making any kind of a promise or declaration, for it is better to keep our faith in making promise of a small benefit than to promise large sums which we shall be unable to pay, and thus destroy the confidence of the membership in the word, honor and plighted faith of our federation. (p. 323) We recommend to all national, international, local or federated bodies, they put forth every effort at their command to establish, as early as possible, a system within their own organization providing weekly financial assistance for their members when involved in strikes and lockouts; thus providing for and rendering financial support of a more definite and substantial nature than usually results from circular or personal appeals.

Strikebreakers, Foreign Troops Used—(1903, p. 200) Condemned commander of French man-of-war Tage for landing musicians in New Orleans to take place of strikers and asked proper steps be taken to complain to the French government concerning the unwarranted act.

Strike Dues, Relief From—(1904, p. 235) Delegate of Hospital Employes' Union No. 10038 contended that from the nature of the work of the members they could not engage in a prolonged strike and therefore desired to be relieved from paying dues into the defense fund. Refused.

Strike, General—(1911, p. 138) The delegate to the International Secretariat in 1911 was given this instruction: "We do not favor the general strike as proposed by the Confederation General du Travail."

Strike, General—(1918, pp. 203-4) Refused to recognize right of a central body to call a general sympathetic strike without consultation with the national and international unions affected.

Strike in Dublin Indorsed—(1913, p. 383) Expressed sympathy for the workers on strike in Dublin, Ireland, for higher wages, less hours, better working conditions and the right to organize.

Strike Pictures on Screen—(1910, p. 338) Central bodies and local unions were urged to enter protest against unwarranted misrepresentations in moving pictures of occurrences in strikes.

Strike, Refused to Limit Aid—(1901, p. 148) Proposition to give assistance from assessments by A. F. of L. only to an amount equal to that raised by the organization to conduct a strike was defeated.

Strike, Right to—(1916, p. 337) Men individually or collectively have a right to stop work any day or any time in a free democracy, and that their right is natural, legal, inalienable, and never should be surrendered; and that laws that violate this right are hereby denounced as reactionary, unconstitutional and dangerous to the stability of democratic government. This cannot be taken away by laws providing for enforced investigations by an industrial commission appointed by a governor servile to the employers of the state.

Strikers Cannot Refuse Union Work—(1904, p. 243) Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Strike Statistics—(1883, p. 14) Legislative Committee instructed to gather statistics of strikes, causes and consequences for the benefit of unions generally. (1884, p. 10) Legislative Committee reported the machinery for collecting strike statistics was not effective enough and better means should be supplied.

Strikes, Assessments for—(1906, p. 68) Resolutions adopted by the Executive Council, providing for suspension of unions not paying assessment for a strike in progress by August 1, 1906, caused a number to settle their financial obligations.

Strikes, Attitude A. F. of L.—(1884, p. 10) While conscious of the fact the strike

is industrial war, whose precipitation is to be avoided if possible and whose consequences are often lamentable, we are yet convinced this way is sometibes a necessity as affording the only alternative against outrageous injustice and intolerable oppression. We contend that the strike when based on justice, conducted with discretion and used as a last resort is a perfectly legitimate weapon whose force is moral as well as physical and whose results are often more beneficial than its apparent ending would indicate. "Beware of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in, bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee."

(1886, p. 7) The question of strikes is perhaps in the present movement of labor organizations one that is receiving the largest share of consideration by workmen, not wholly, we must confess, guided by that intelligence which we think the subject deserves. We do not as a federation or as individuals wish to be understood as the advocate of strikes. Yet while we deprecate the measure of warfare in the labor movement we, however, cannot and will not join the general hue and cry of condemnation. Strikes are bad, no doubt, but only are they so when failures; but not so bad when successful. Therefore to know when to strike, and more especially when not to, are the questions of greatest import. To "order" a strike, with nonchalance, of large numbers of men and "order" them back again to work under more degrading conditions than before they went on strike, with the bombast of a Don Quixote, is not, we submit, the best means of improving the condition of labor.

(1888, p. 11) President reported: "For quite a time a great deal has been said in condemnation of strikes by labor or pseudo-labor men with which, I confess, I have no patience. It is true that no man who has given the question of strikes and the labor movement any thought can look upon strikes with favor; but to be continually condemning them is entirely another thing. To know when to strike, and particularly when not to strike, is a science not yet fully understood. To strike upon a falling market or being insufficiently organized, or, if organized, not properly equipped with the ammunition so necessary to a successful strike—funds—is unquestionably the height of ignorance. The story of the strikes that may have failed of their immediate objects yet have prevented reductions in wages and worse conditions will probably never be entirely told. Mounting condemnation of strikes does not, we find by experience abolish or even reduce their number. As a consistent opponent of strikes, though I do find that those organizations of labor which have best provided themselves with the means to strike have continually less occasion to indulge in them. The most potent factor to prevent or reduce the number of strikes is a well organized trade union with a full treasury ready to strike should the necessity arise."

(1892, p. 12) The efforts of the toiling masses to carry on the struggles for improved conditions have been met in the spirit of the bitterest antagonism. Our methods to gradually improve the condition of the masses have been regarded and treated as if we were the enemies rather than the friends of the human family. War has been practically declared against the labor organizations, and war measures resorted to in the effort to crush them. But will they be crushed? We answer, No. A thousand times, No. The labor movement is the manifestation of that unrest born of the conviction that injustice prevails which needs remedying and supplanting by justice and right. The labor movement voices the aspirations of the toiling masses as well as lays bare their wrongs. It is the means through which tyranny is held in check; it lives in their minds and hearts and will not and cannot be crushed.

(1893, pp. 13-42) Tendency on the part of the courts and officers of the government to make all strikes, particularly those on railroads, an offense against the laws of the country. One judge issued an order compelling railroad employes to continue at work and sent to prison an engineer who had not complied with the order. Another judge went even further in his denial of the right to cease work. The postmaster general and superintendence of mail recommended making strikes on railroads unlawful. A mail train was defined as any train "with a single pouch or railway postal car." Aid to defeat enactment of such a law was voted. (p. 14) Report made that men tried in Coeur d'Alene on charges of conspiracy, treason, riot and murder committed during strikes were acquitted.

(1896, pp. 20-61) One of the stereotyped arguments which are urged against the trade unions most often is that strikes are old and effete weapons, that they have lost their power to secure permanent or even temporary advantages. As a matter of fact, there is no one who has devoted thought to our movement but who will endeavor by every means within his power to prevent the inauguration of strikes, or to take such measures as will bring their number down to a minimum. It would not be amiss to say here that I have yet to meet an active trade unionist who does not deplore the necessity of strikes, and who has not, in countless instances, averted them. But to assert that strikes are ineffective is to assert that which has no foundation in fact. In the very nature of our being, we are determined, as we are justly entitled to demand, a larger share in the product of our labor. We want peace, but we shall insist that peace shall be maintained consistent with the increasing needs of our workers and those depending upon them. We organize, and the better we are prepared to enter into strikes, the less occasion will we have to resort to them in order to insure success in securing justice to labor. With organized labor, corporations and unfair employers will soon realize that concession will be less costly than conflict. All being conscious, however, of what is involved, we are now more careful of entering into haphazard strikes than ever before, not because they are ineffective, but because the voice of labor is more distinctly and emphatically heard. We need never fear that the workers will fail to secure relief, improvement, amelioration, and finally emancipation, provided they are organized as true trade unionists. With this basis for their organization, they will prove a citadel of power and defense against all antagonism directed from whatsoever source.

The secret of labor's success, to labor's progress, to labor's best improvement, lies in the one word, organization; for there can not be organization without education; there can not be organization without agitation; there can not be organization of the wage-earners on trade-union lines which does not mean final emancipation. But wholly aside from the indisputable facts which demonstrate that strikes or preparation for strikes are a most potent weapon to secure better conditions for the workers, a cursory view of modern methods by which industry is conducted will convince, that now more than ever, are strikes most effective. The concentration of large numbers by which one industry is so closely allied to another that the stopping of one branch may mean the paralysis of nearly all; the vast sums invested in the plants and in the highest developed machinery, these and countless other considerations make the modern strike not only effective but more so than ever before in the world's history. We observe the effort in civilized nations to reach settlements of disputes by other means than a resort to arms. Is this not a realization of the fact that modern warfare is so destructive that nations prefer making concessions rather than to indulge in what might practically be a war of extermination? Despite these peaceful settlements by nations, however, they neither of them disarm nor do smaller or weaker nations enjoy these blessings at the hands of the larger, the stronger. The same reasoning applies to the organizations of labor and the employers of labor. Wealth, Capital, are the arms of the employing class. The trade unions with funds—the ammunition of labor—provided by the workers during periods of peaceful employment, are the arms of labor. Such a condition may mean practically armed peace, but that that is preferable to unarmed slavery no sincere lover of mankind and progress will dispute.

(1898, p. 18) Textile workers had engaged in a strike in New England with this result: Uneven as the contest was by reason of lack of organization and preparation on the part of the textile workers, yet the contest itself has had a salutary effect. For years and years the conditions of the textile workers have deteriorated. The employers have come to look upon them as docile and willing to submit to any conditions which might be imposed. Reduction after reduction of wages was the invariable rule with each recurring season. The strike at New Bedford made the victory of the employers an expensive one. It taught them the lesson that there is a limit beyond which the workers will not yield without a struggle. It has effectually stopped reductions; and if the textile workers will but organize in their union upon a common-sense basis for their protection and advance, there can be no question but a turn in the tide is at hand.

(1900, p. 112) We note with regret that employers of labor still believe in the principles of absolutism as applied to industry, thus holding to the idea that "their business" is exclusively their own and, therefore, refusing to redress grievances and give such amelioration to the worker as will make his life tolerable. The large number of strikes during this year indicate a greater prevalence of these opinions than we had a right to expect. While this conception is prevalent, conciliation is impossible, and, for the worker, under those conditions, there remains but one thing to do, namely, to strike, or, in other words, to stop production until grievances are redressed. We are pleased to observe that the largest number of strikes during the past year have been successful, and we have no doubt that more would have been, but for the fact that postal laws, interstate commerce laws and injunctions as yet do much to prevent the use of means which, in themselves, aside from these laws and injunctions, are in morals and law entirely justifiable and proper. Records of strikes won or lost by no means furnish a reliable or complete statement of what organization has done, or failed to do. Wage and other settlements secured without recourse to strikes are of greater value in measuring the worth of organization and should be included in any statistical statement, in order to make it approximately correct; and we, therefore, recommend that all organizations affiliated be requested to fill out blanks provided for this purpose by the A. F. of L.

(1902, pp. 10-143) Apart from the miners' strike there has been no general trade contest involving large numbers of any particular craft, nor have there been so large a number of strikes during the past year as in former years. Of those reported the great preponderance have been for higher wages and reductions in the hours of labor, and these have been largely successful. One organization reported that it has increased the wages of its members fully $1,000,000 per annum, while there are few whose membership working more than eight-hours per day have not secured a reduction in their working time, and the organizations largely having the eight-hour work-day have extended the beneficence of that rule. It is unquestionable that the lesser number of strikes which have occurred are due to the better organization of our fellow-workers, and the greater readiness with which employers have been willing to concede reasonable demands.

(1903, pp. 16-172) During the year a considerable number of strikes occurred. It will be observed that the gains achieved in the interests of our fellow-workers were considerable—advances in wages, reductions in hours of labor, and improvements in other respects—and that but comparatively few of the strikes inaugurated were defeated in the objects sought. Much of the expenditures reported because of strikes were made during last year. It will be observed, too, by reference to the table that many organizations have gained large advantages while they have expended infinitesimally small amounts. These are particularly attributable to the organizations referred to having accumulated funds and systems of beneficial features which have given them such stability and resourcefulness that employers were more willing to concede reasonable and fair demands rather than at the outset risk losses which they know result from long drawn-out contests. In connection with this subject, we at this time desire to again impress upon the minds of all unionists the necessity of the payment of higher dues, the establishment of benefits, and the accumulation of reserve funds in the trade unions.

These would not only be available in strikes which might occur, but they will be more potent in preventing them. Many organizations seem to believe that they will be immune from attacks, only to find themselves in the midst of an industrial conflict threatening their very existence. We are anxious that we shall have the largest amount of success during periods of industrial activity, and not be compelled to recede an inch during any industrial reaction; that our organizations shall be strong enough in members, influential enough in solidarity, and powerful enough in financial resources so that we can successfully refuse to bear the burdens of the incompetency or avarice of some of the captains of industry and other employers. It seems wiser to risk the slower growth of our organizations, or even the loss of some members in times of industrial activity, than it is to invite discouragement and enfeeblement of the members as a result of defeat in contests. More strikes are avoided and averted by thorough organization and preparation for them than by any other known means. There is a most erroneous impression prevalent regarding losses occasioned by strikes. Of course, it is true that a strike involves the loss of work and wages for the time being, but there has not one strike occurred but it has been followed by greater activity in the trade. In other words, the time for the performance of the work and the payment of the wages has been deferred; that is, that the stoppage in the trade has been made to suit the convenience and the purpose of the workmen, rather than the convenience and purpose of the employer. A strike involving wages, hours, and other conditions of employment, even if temporarily defeated in the attainment of the immediate purpose, has always checked greater invasion on the part of the employers, or has paved the way for the ultimate achievement of the object sought by the workmen. Taking the strike as an economic or social factor, it has never lost. For men contending against deterioration or for improvement, if, say, they lose the strike, what occurs? Those occupying a higher material condition do not displace those engaged in the contest. If they are displaced at all it is by those whose conditions are poorer or are unemployed, and, taking the worst view of the situation, it has been merely a change of personnel of those occupying the relative positions. But the truth is, and the entire history of industry has demonstrated it to be a fact, that the workers who have intelligence and manhood enough in their makeup to contend against the imposition of poorer, or to strike for better conditions, never go down in the economic scale. In other words, though the workmen may be defeated in the immediate contest, their character, perseverance, and ability always make for the next highest rung in the industrial ladder.

(1913, pp. 84-301) During the past year, the miners of West Virginia have been engaged in a prolonged, serious, and even bloody contest for the right to organize and to enjoy the privileges of free workmen. The miners of West Virginia have long been held in well-nigh feudal subjection by the coal operators. As is well known to organized labor, the coal operators not only own the mines, but large tracts of land surrounding them and controlling all approaches; they own the houses the miners must rent, the stores from which they must purchase their necessities and supplies; they own the land surrounding the post-offices, sometimes the building itself, and control approaches to it. In addition to this economic control over the lives of the workers, their wages and conditions of work, the expenditure of their wages, the mine operators for a long time have had control over the political forces and agencies of the state and have maintained their own individual government on their possessions by means of the so-called mine-guard system. By collusion with state agencies, the mine operators had been seeking to direct foreign immigration to the West Virginia coal mining districts, evidently in order that they might maintain on oversupply of labor and thus to render the workers practically helpless. Such were the conditions against which the miners of West Virginia rebelled in 1912. After an intense struggle entailing suffering, hardships, and loss of life, peace has at last been secured with recognition of the right to organize, increased wages, and improved working conditions. During the course of the struggle, issues were raised which diverted attention from the immediate objectives of the miners to larger matters of fundamental importance to all workers and to all liberty-loving people. We refer to the subordination of civil government to the military and civil courts to a military commission with the function of a court-martial. This was done in defiance of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees to the citizens of every State the right trial by jury and the constitution of the State of West Virginia which absolutely prohibits the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the declaration of martial law. Workers imprisoned according to the orders of a military commission demanded the right of habeas corpus and took appeal to the highest court of the state. That court decided against the contentions of the miners. Judge I. E. Robinson gave a dissenting opinion in which he declared the military could lawfully be used in the execution of the laws but should not be used "to oust the laws of the land." He held that the necessity for military law is at an end when the arrest of the offender in his violation of the law is overcome by his arrest and detention —force should not be applied in finding guilt and fixing punishment. All of the state officers and agents of West Virginia have been so long under the domination of powerful and wealthy interests that the avenues of redress and justice have been almost closed to the workers. However, this uprising of the miners and the light of publicity thrown upon corruption in political offices have roused the honest, decent citizens to a realization of their duty. Investigation of corruption in the state legislature has resulted in the punishment of guilty members. An inquiry into the charges of violations of the immigration law has been instituted. If the demands of organized labor and all right-thinking people are made sufficiently insistent and compelling, changes may be forced which will reclaim the people's rights and prerogatives from the control of predatory interests which have perverted and polluted democratic government. The subversion of civil, representative government to military, arbitrary domination

means the destruction of our free institutions and practices—things gained at the price of heroic sacrifice. If arbitrary irresponsible government is allowed to establish itself unchallenged in any state, what guarantee have we that the vested interests of other states may not with impunity adopt the same devices? This is a most serious issue and one of grave import to the toilers who have ever been the sufferers wherever oppression has existed.

(1914, pp. 103-366) The various different movements of the miners for improved conditions have been more conspicuous this past year than those of any other organization. This is due to the intensity with which the struggles have been waged, amounting in each instance practically to civil war; to the number of human beings to whom the struggle meant privation, suffering and losses. Land holding conditions involved in some mining districts have enabled the operators to establish what amounts to a feudal operating system for the mines. They own vast tracts of lands, hundreds and even thousands of square miles in extent on which the mines are located. The mining companies own and therefore control all roads that traverse the land. They own the houses in which the miners live; the villages made up of these miners; the school houses to which their children must go for mental training; the churches which minister to their spiritual needs; the stores from which they buy their clothing, food and other necessities; the post-offices where they get their mail, money orders, and conduct their crude banking transactions. Every detail of mining life is under the supervision of the mine operators through their power of ownership. In time of strike the mine operators have the power of eviction and have forced hundreds of strikers and their families to seek shelter in tent colonies, with the consequent dangers of exposure. There can be no real freedom under such conditions of industrial tyranny. In addition to the problems arising from feudal ownership of land, the mine operators have assumed police power. They employ armed mine guards to maintain their regulations and to guard mine property. In times of industrial peace the mine guards serve as police and prevent "undesirable" persons from trespassing upon the land of the mining companies. The elastic term trespass has been interpreted to mean all manner of organizing activities. In times of industrial disputes the mine guards are increased and more heavily armed. These conditions beget violence, and industrial disputes in many of these districts are now practically civil war. The use of armed troops by mine operators and the power resulting from ownership of large tracts of contiguous territory and the subversion of civil government to military rule are some of the most serious of modern industrial problems. We recommend and urge that the various state federations of labor endeavor to secure legislation prohibiting this brutal practice which is subversive of all industrial justice and freedom.

Strikes, Cooperation in—(1913, p. 345) Executive Council was instructed to appoint a committee to devise ways and means for better cooperation in strikes and lockouts between affiliated unions. (1914, p. 61) Effort was made to work out a plan whereby power might be placed in the hands of the A. F. of L. to levy, collect and distribute a tax upon each member for the purpose of meeting the expense of any strike or lockout of a national character. A letter was sent to each national and international union requesting their advice. The answers showed only a few of the affiliated organizations felt disposed to concede the authority to the A. F. of L. to levy assessments upon their members. Convention instructed Executive Council to make no further efforts along that line at this time.

Strikes, Endorsement of—(1904, p. 242) Mode of procedure by which applications to strike are made and how local unions become entitled to benefits from the defense fund: Local unions anticipating any difficulty, or proposing to make any demand, make application to the A. F. of L., setting forth the demands that are to be made, or the cause of the matter in contention. Immediately upon receipt of this information at office, a competent organizer or other representative is communicated with by mail or telegraph, as is most necessary or convenient. In the meantime, manifold copies of the application of the local union are submitted to the members of the Executive Council by mail, with the request for a telegraphic vote as to whether or not the union shall be sustained and become entitled to the benefits of the defense fund should a strike occur or a lockout be inaugurated. When a majority vote of the members of the Executive Council has approved the application, the union is immediately advised that if a strike or lockout is unavoidable, it will become entitled to the benefits of the defense fund. The effort of the organizer or representative of the A. F. of L. is continued in the meantime for an advantageous and peaceful adjustment of the matters in dispute.

Strikes, Investigation of—(1882, p. 9) Senate Committee on Education and Labor had been directed to investigate strikes, their cause and report what measures were necessary to prevent them. No trade unionists had been invited to give evidence. In 1883 (p. 10) Convention instructed a committee to present views of the organization and requested all delegates who had grievances to present them. (p. 15) Invitation for labor officials to testify was received from the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. (1884, p. 16) Adopted request that 300,000 copies of the report on strikes of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor be printed.

Strikes, Local Union Autonomy in—(1917, p. 458) Refused to amend constitution providing for the organization of unions based on a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade locally as well as nationally or internationally.

Strikes, Mail Signs to Defeat—(1896, p. 76) Endorsed bill prohibiting the marking of cars "U. S. Mail" when they do not carry any, as it is a cloak for the intimidation and coercion of employes. (1899, pp. 14-148) Complaint was entered to the Post-office Department against the street railroad companies abusing the right of using signs, designating their cars as authorized to carry the U. S. mails. The department answered

that transportation companies have no right to have any sign on their cars or vehicles, unless the same are used in the actual carrying of the mails, or that the same are used exclusively for carrying the mails. Answer was made that in the event of any complaint being made, the guilty parties will be prosecuted.

Strikes on Railroads a Misdemeanor—(1916, p. 100) This amendment to the Adamson law was easily defeated in the Senate: "Sec. 5. Any person who shall knowingly and willfully obstruct or retard the operation of trains mentioned shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished by a fine not exceeding $100, or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both."

Structural Building Alliance—(1904, pp. 84-266) Executive Council expressed hope the Structural Building Alliance would cooperate with rather than deviate from the purposes of the A. F. of L. Convention believed the alliance to be a friendly body, willing to encourage and maintain fraternal relations with all existing recognized central bodies, and would at no distant day become part and parcel of the A. F. of L.

Subsidies, Ship—(1898, p. 128) While we favor ar increased national merchant marine we are opposed to any and all subsidies, holding that they are unnecessary and so far have done nothing to improve the condition of the employes of either the shipbuilders or shipowners or induced native boys to become seamen. (1899, p. 119) Reaffirmed action with this declaration: "We are decidedly opposed to all legislation of this kind and will not give it consideration until the great shipbuilding firms of the country withdraw their opposition to our eight-hour workday legislation and cease their discrimination against the employment of union men." Also declared the resources of the country permitted building of ships cheaper than in Europe.

(1899, p. 123) These principles were adopted: While we rejoice in the diversified industries of our country, and in the multiplication and extension of our commerce, we are opposed to the granting of any subsidies whatever for the following reasons: 1. A subsidy in the very nature of things is the granting of a special privilege, empowering some men to fill their pockets at the expense of others through the forms of law. 2. Special privileges of all kinds have a corroding and demoralizing effect on the citizenship of our country, inasmuch as they debauch our legislative halls, and tend to the belief that a public office is a private gain to be worked for personal profit and class interest. 3. Such legislation cultivates the belief that anybody may, if they can, stick their hand into the public treasury and fill their pockets without harm to others. 4. We are further opposed to the endorsement of such legislation by this body, because subsidies in general are always passed by the liberal use of corruption funds, and we cannot afford to have it charged that the labor movement of America has had its judgment warped and conscience polluted by meddling with measures of this character. Its endorsement would justify the rank and file of our members in raising the question of integrity of delegates so voting, thus destroying the confidence in our representative men, and thereby undermining the very foundation of our movement, inviting universal disintegration. 5. To sanction this at this session would be but an entering wedge to open wide our doors for subsequent legislation of this kind, and the lobbyist armed with a corruption fund, and with loud pretenses for labor's interest, would be a fixed institution in our midst, polluting the very atmosphere in which he moves. With all confidence destroyed in one another, we would find ourselves overwhelmed by the greatest disaster that could possibly befall the masses struggling for a higher civilization. 6. Even were the principle of government subsidies permissible in justice and equity, it would be unwise for this body to commit itself to shipbuilding subsidies until the shipbuilders of this country unionized their plants, and show by such conduct that they are in harmony with the objects of organized labor.

(1900, p. 26) Report made that A. F. of L. objections had been submitted to bill providing for ship subsidies.

(1906, pp. 27-180) We find that the ship subsidy bill before Congress provides for enlistment of seamen in the naval service, and, in fact, makes employment on a subsidized vessel conditional upon such enlistment. It is equal to a law which would make it necessary for a carpenter, a miner, a molder, or any other tradesman to become a member of and remain in the National Guard before he could work at his trade within the state in which he lives. The theory upon which the bill is drawn and the reasons given by its advocates, are that we have not the vessels needed as auxiliaries to the navy, and not at all the men needed to man the navy in time of war. Accepting these contentions as facts it is contended as reasons therefor that the cost of building a vessel in an American shipyard and the cost of sailing a vessel under the American flag in the foreign trade is so much higher than that under other flags that a subsidy is necessary. It is further contended that with an adequate subsidy we shall have more vessels, and having more vessels we shall have all the native or naturalized seamen needed.

That we have not now the necessary number of native or naturalized seamen needed for the merchant marine and the navy is a fact not disputed; it is patent to all who are at all acquainted with maritime conditions. The American boy is not seeking the sea as a means of livelihood, and the American man at sea is seeking and finding more agreeable and more remunerative employment on shore. There is employed at present, according to the census, about 120,000 men as seamen or deep-sea fishermen under our flag, and among the seamen from 10 to 15 per cent are either natives or naturalized, the rest are men owing allegiance to other flags and not subject to draft upon order of the President If the seamen and fishermen employed in our fisheries and our coastwise and lake trade were either native or naturalized Americans, the number of men necessary for the navy could at any time be obtained. The difficulty, therefore, lies not so much in the number of men as in the number of men available, and the primary cause is that for some reasons the American does not seek the sea or remain there. If the American does not seek the coastwise trade, where there is no competi-

tion with the foreign vessels and small wages, and onerous conditions are not caused thereby or an excuse therefor, there seems to be no reason why he should seek employment in the foreign trade where the shipowner has the reason of competition for the wages and conditions which he imposes upon the seamen. The American ceased to go to sea because he could do better on shore than he possibly could at sea, where, no matter what his industry and thrift, he could not and can not earn sufficient upon which to keep a family. As to the cost of operating a vessel under the American flag the contention that American vessels in the foreign trade provide better quarters, more and better food, that they carry more men, and pay more wages than vessels under other flags, is not based upon facts. When the steamers "Paris" and "New York" were placed under the American flag the number of firemen and coal passers and of able and ordinary seamen was reduced. The wages of sailors and marine firemen depend upon the port in which they are engaged and the voyage they are about to make, and not at all upon the flag under which the vessel sails, and our law, enacted in 1884, gave to the ship owner the right to hire his crew in a foreign port, bring them to the U. S. and back to a foreign port without re-shipping them in the U. S. This puts him on an absolute equality as to wages, exclusive of officers, with any country with which he trades. He pays English wages if he trades with England, French wages if he trades with France and Chinese wages if he trades with China; the law gives him this privilege and he avails himself of it to the fullest extent. The other costs of operating a vessel are, coal, lubricating oils, and provisions; like other vessels, he buys it where it is cheapest. If it be a sailing vessel it consists in spars, canvas, ropes and blocks, and these things we furnish to other nations to a very large extent. Since the organization of our government no industry has been as well cared for through absolute authority over the men employed therein, through immunities granted and special privileges conferred, as has been the merchant marine. By law enacted in 1790 the seaman was made the property of the vessel upon which he served. If he sought to withdraw himself from the servitude of his master he could be and he was arrested, put in prison, there to remain until called for by such master. If he succeeded in escaping from his service and his master he could be and he was pursued from state to state, or from one country into another, forcibly returned to his master and compelled to continue the labor on pain of imprisonment. When involuntary servitude was taken off the negro, by war and the Thirteenth Amendment, and the statutes revised accordingly, the vessel's ownership of the seaman remained undisturbed. Conditions as to quarters on board, food and working hours were by Congress left at the discretion of the owner. Some improvements have been made but the seamen's status yet remains that of a serf or a peon. He is still compelled to live in a place six feet long, six feet high and two feet wide. In this place he has to eat, to live, and to sleep, when off duty. It has been described as too large for a coffin and not large enough for a grave. He is still compelled to sign away in the foreign trade a certain sum of the wages to be earned in order to obtain employment. He must obey any order from the master or any other officer or go to prison. But if crippled for life by injury thereby received he had no remedy. He must, in obtaining employment, compete with the unskilled and destitute, not only in this country, but from all nations and races. The vessels are under-manned, both as to skill and number, and the ship owner is resisting every improvement by every means within his power. In the meantime the ship owners have been relieved of: Risks arising from acts of God or dangers of the sea through a system of insurance; arising from piracy through the present perfect policing of the seas; from those arising from popular local disturbances through damages paid by such localities or states; of liabilities to the shipper, passenger or seaman through limited liability laws and judicial decisions; of taxes on floating property by several states; of fees to be paid for the enforcement of navigation laws, except in some unimportant instances; of care and cure of sick seamen, cost of which is now borne by the public treasury, and the burial of dead seamen who are handed over to the coroner and then buried by the community; of the duty to carry a certain number of citizens in the crew of the vessel; of the duty of training men for the sea service now done by foreigners or in training ships at public expense. In addition to this he may carry as many or as few men as he pleases, with such skill or lack of skill as he chooses; he may carry as much cargo on deck and load his vessel to any depth that he thinks profitable. There are no laws or regulations on these subjects. He may hire, and, in a foreign port in the foreign trade, by assistance of the police, keep the cheapest men that can be found in any part of the world. Under our coastwise navigation laws he has an absolute monopoly of all trade from one American port to another. Under the act of 1892 he may make contracts to carry the mail through which he receives more pay for this service than he pays in wages to every man and boy employed on his vessel as a seaman in any capacity. Having been relieved of risks and liabilities, and having been given immunities as have been herein mentioned, and having driven the American from the sea, thereby weakening our navy, and now employing and thereby training foreigners and men of alien and antagonistic races, making them ready to be employed by other navies, he insists upon continuing these conditions, while he urges Congress to further tax the whole American people to help him carry on his private business.

(1907, pp. 27-208) The A. F. of L. defeated the ship subsidy bill. A plot to suborn and corrupt two labor men in New York to make it appear the rank and file of organized labor was in opposition to the A. F. of L. was exposed. Letters had been forged as well as the names of officers of unions and the evidence was placed before the prosecuting officers in New York City, before the committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and published in the January (1907) American Federationist. The unanimous declaration of the 1906 (p. 108) convention was reaffirmed.

(1909, pp. 28-315) The special interests and prospective beneficiaries of this vicious

and mercenary "special class legislation" are active on ship subsidy bill; in fact, they never sleep. When this bill was supposed to be quietly resting in the pigeon holes of the committee room, during the closing days of the Sixtieth Congress, it surprised the members when the "interests" which would be benefited by the enactment of the bill made a vigorous effort to muster strength enough to put it through the House as the Senate had passed it in the first session, but the opposition which aided in mustering against it was sufficient to prevent the iniquitous features of this bill, with its odious contemplated conscriptive features from being at this time foisted upon the American people.

(1910, p. 252) Full information on the ship subsidy question will disclose that any subsidy under existing railroad domination for transportation by water as well as by land will be a subsidy to the railroads and of no value whatever to the shipping of the country.

Substitutes for Recommendations—(1902, pp. 93-252) Submitting substitutes for carefully prepared recommendations by the Executive Council is unwise, because they are drawn hastily and at moments of great excitement.

Suffrage in Danger, Manhood—(1895, p. 38) Condemned attempt being made to curtail manhood suffrage by educational tests until all states and territories had enforced compulsory education.

Suffrage, Women—(1890, p. 29) Convention favored amendment to U. S. Constitution granting enfranchisement to all citizens regardless of sex. President instructed to secure signatures to a female suffrage petition to present to Congress.

(1891, p. 16) President reported 270,000 names had been secured.

(1892, p. 39) Reaffirmed stand for female suffrage.

(1899, p. 63) Miss Susan B. Anthony appealed to the convention to endorse a sixteenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution for the enfranchisement of all citizens regardless of sex. (p. 163) A. F. of L. earnestly appealed to Congress to submit a sixteenth amendment prohibiting the states from disfranchising U. S. citizens on account of sex.

(1903, p. 207) Best interests of labor require the admission of women to full citizenship as a matter of justice and as a necessary step toward insuring and raising the scale of wages for all. (1904, p. 147) Reaffirmed.

(1905, p. 78-233) Equal political rights as between men and women have become an established institution in four states, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. This year, for the first time, the National American Woman's Suffrage Association declared for the establishment of the initiative and referendum in political affairs, and during the coming year will assist in Oregon in submitting an equal suffrage constitutional amendment to a vote of the people by means of the direct initiative. On behalf of the A. F. of L., which has declared for equal suffrage, we welcome the Equal Suffrage Association's co-operation for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in place of machine rule—the only system that enables the voters to rule. Executive Council authorized to co-operate with the association and such other organizations having for their purpose securing the same political rights for women that are enjoyed by men.

(1906, p. 161) Reaffirmed declaration favoring amendment to Constitution.

(1912, p. 382) To enforce the principle that a given work demands a just compensation whether done by a man or woman and to protect women's unions, especially in time of strike, the ballot is a most necessary factor; therefore we favor woman suffrage.

(1917, p. 418) The splendid services of the womanhood of all the warring nations since the outbreak of the world-war has fully demonstrated woman's capacity to take a full share in the responsibilities and duties of citizenship. We therefore reiterate our demand that Congress submit an equal suffrage amendment to the states.

(1918, p. 116-231-331) This joint resolution was passed by the House: "1. The right of citizens of the U. S. to vote shall not be abridged by the U. S. or by any state on account of sex. 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article." It was further provided that if within seven years from the date of the submission of this article to the several states it shall have been ratified by three-fourths thereof, it shall become a part of the Federal Constitution. This resolution then went to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Women's Suffrage.

Sunday Closing World's Fair—(1891, p. 41) Refused request of American Sabbath Union to endorse closing the World's Fair on Sunday. Declared that, while it was agreed the opening of the exposition Sundays was contrary to the spirit of the shorter workday movement, "we are forced to protest that the existing environment of the wage class compels us to use the rest day for the purpose of entertainment and enlightenment along the lines open to the possessors of wealth on all days of the year. Rest day should be jealously guarded against the encroachment of those who live upon the labor of others."

Sunday Labor—(1888, p. 27) Heartily favored elimination of Sunday work to lighten the burdens of those who toil. (1890, p. 35) Endorsed general movement to close barber shops Sundays. (1891, p. 41) Declared wages were lower in vocations where the seven-day labor system prevails; that one day's rest in seven is an increase in wages; same cause operates to make eight-hour workday wages higher than those for a ten-hour workday. (1911, p. 185) By penalizing work on Sunday it had been gradually eliminated, and in those industries where Sunday work was imperative it had been reduced to a minimum. (1900, p. 154) Members of the Theatrical Stage Employes' Union had been locked out in Detroit for urging the Michigan legislature to close theaters on Sunday. The employes were actuated by being forced to work continuously Sundays without time for meals and without additional compensation.

Supply and Demand—(1906, p. 107) The law of supply and demand is one of those fetiches always held up to the workingman when there is any effort made on his part to take advantage of his increased intelligence and of an opportunity that will bring

him some better reward for his labor. This law of supply and demand is rolled under the tongues of our so-called economists like a sweet morsel. It is repeated parrot-like by their spokesmen and defenders and apologists as a cause for all the evils resulting from modern mismanagement of industry. They always tell us the law of supply and demand is an immutable law, so immutable it is impossible to ever change or regulate it. When they say that they have the workingman in mind; they have in mind that it can not be changed or regulated or interfered with by labor. They have no objection at all, not only to interference, but unwarrantable interference on their own part with the ordinary operations of the law of supply and demand. Reference was made to the workmen in our movement who secured the passage of the Chinese exclusion law and the law to protect the workmen against aliens coming over here under contract to tear down the standard of life of the American working man. Before that they did not permit the ordinary operations of the law of supply and demand to have its workings in our own country, but they scraped the face of the earth to bring in the scum as an element to tear down; to interfere with the operation of the law of supply and demand. The formation of trusts, or corporations that undertake at any time to shut down operations in any one plant is an interference with and the control of, the law of supply and demand. The cornering of the market —what is that but interference with the law of supply and demand? The shutting down of a given industry in order to obtain a more favorable market for the product held —is not that an interference with the law of supply and demand? As a matter of fact, the law of supply and demand would, if permitted to continue in its operations naturally, have prevented the people from emerging from barbarism; it would have interfered with the development of the progress of the people. The progress we have made from all time has been through the increase of human intelligence to overcome the evils resulting from the law of supply and demand. And it is the organizations of labor that have done most to protect the working man and the people generally from the evils of the so-called natural operations of the law of supply and demand. We propose, the labor movement proposes, to match our intelligence, to match our manhood and our right as against the machinations of the greedy captains of industry.

(1907, pp. 23-203) That the law of supply and demand has its place in nature and in primitive, natural conditions, no thinking man will dispute; but when we realize what science has done and what progress has been made to overcome the primitive conditions of nature; what has been accomplished in machinery and tools of labor; in the means of transportation of products and of man, the means of transmission of information and intelligence, the fact becomes immediately patent that man has made nature conform to his wants and that the original conception of the law of supply and demand has been largely overcome, and can be still further overcome by intelligent, comprehensive and determined action of the wage earners who by their associated effort shall refuse to have their brain and brawn, their hearts and the hearts of those beloved by them, weighed in the same scale with the side of a hog or a bushel of coal. The law of supply and demand applies to supplies for and demands of men, but does not apply to supplies of and demands for men who are living intelligent organisms capable of regulating the supply of, if not the demand for, the use of their own labor power.

Sweating System—(1890, p. 41) Called upon Congress to investigate the "sweating system" in force, the wages and hours of workers, as well as physical fitness and school attendance of children in the cities where it prevails in tenements.

(1892, p. 38) Urged Congress to enact law prohibiting transportation or sale of goods made in sweatshops.

(1893, p. 46) Favored laws regulating manufacture of clothing and prohibition of child labor.

(1894, p. 46) Illinois factory inspectors brought to light during an epidemic of small pox in the sweat shops of Chicago that clothing containing germs had been shipped out of the city. "Any constitution that will block this vitally necessary reform must be amended or abrogated."

(1898, p. 115) Protested against government making contracts for army, navy and Indian clothing with contractors manufacturing under the labor contract and sweating system.

(1900, p. 87) Sweat shop system, especially in New York, is still a menace and the Executive Council is directed to give its attention to violators of the sweat shop laws of that state.

(1901, p. 135) Journeymen tailors asked aid to eliminate tenement and home work and establish free shops. (1905, p. 77) While sweat shops had been largely eliminated it still obtains in too large an extent in many metropolitan cities.

Sympathetic Strikes—(1890, p. 42) It is inconsistent for union men to work with nonunion men, especially when latter are displacing union men on strike; that help should be given sister unions in such cases.

(1893, pp. 16-43) Sense of convention that contracts made by unions with employers should be faithfully observed as long as they are not violated by employers, and any trade dispute with such employers by other unions than those having contrac shall not be cause for violations of agreements by those having regular contracts. Unions when making contracts should consult and act in harmony with all unions with interests at stake.

(1895, p. 82) Trade unions should not tie themselves up with contracts so they can not help each other when able, but they can not be expelled for doing so.

(1902, p. 144) Urged no agreement be made which by its terms prevents one union from supporting another whenever it shall find its interests, as well as of the movement as a whole, will be best served.

(1910, p. 255) Refused to endorse plan to vest power in the A. F. of L. and central bodies to call sympathetic strikes to assist brother union men in the struggle for better conditions.

(1915, p. 389) Executive Council requested to consider advisability of devising ways and means to bring railroad and marine transportation workers together so they can give each other necessary support in industrial strife.

(1918, p. 397) Unions advised to enter into no agreements that call for the surrender of any right to strike in support of other workers.

Syndicalism, Criminal—1917, p. 117) Anti-syndicalism bill introduced in the House defines "criminal syndicalism" and prohibits the advocacy thereof, also the advocacy of crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends, and assemblage for the purpose of such advocacy; declaring it unlawful to permit the use of any place, building, or rooms for such assemblage; and providing penalties for violations, the penalty ranging from $500 to $5,000 fine and from one to ten years imprisonment or punishment by both fine and imprisonment. No action has been taken upon this measure and the probabilities are that none will be taken.

Tanner, John R.—(1898, pp. 72-115) The A. F. of L. expresses its heartfelt thanks to John R. Tanner, governor of Illinois, for the noble stand taken and the precedent established by him for the cause of organized labor.

Taff Vale Case—(1901, p. 24) It is not, perhaps, generally known that under the English law trade unions are permitted to register and assume a quasi-corporote status. When Parliament enacted this union registration law it was regarded by all, including the members who spoke in its favor, as a valuable concession to organized labor. The avowed intention was to confer a benefit—not to impose a burden or restriction. A distinguished English writer who has for years been a legal adviser of the British unions, thus explains the law in regard to registration of unions:

"Until the acts of 1871 and 1875, which legalized trade unions and strikes, the unions were illegal societies, and could be robbed with impunity. The authors of those acts assumed that in making unions legal they did not make them corporate bodies capable of suing and being sued. When some of the unions were asking for power to sue as corporate bodies, some of us on the royal commission told them that, if they had the right to sue, they would be exposed to the liability to be sued, in which case they would soon be ruined. But from that day to this it has been held that trade unions could not be sued as a body and made liable to the whole extent of their funds—benefits to widows and children and all."

But lately the House of Lords (the tribunal of last resort in Great Britain) rendered a decision which practically makes corporations of unions in spite of themselves, and which exposes the whole of their funds to legal liabilities. The case is known as the Taff Vale case, and grew out of a railroad strike. In the course of this strike the officers of the railway employes' unions circulated documents "calculated to injure" the company and to cause the boycotting of its line. It was the alleged injury inflicted by these circulars that constituted the ground for the company's suit for damages. The House of Lords, overruling the court below, held that unions may be sued in their registered names as though they were full-fledged corporations; that they are responsible collectively for the acts of their respective officers, and that their funds are liable to attachment and may be taken to satisfy all legal claims. This would have been sweeping and revolutionary enough, for the decision violates the intent, spirit, and letter of the registration law. Indeed, the lords, in their opinion, based their conclusion not on legal principles, but on what they were pleased to term "public policy." They inferred that Parliament, though it did not say so, meant to make unions corporate bodies to all intents and purposes; and they argued that the power to own property, to maintain an organization, and act through officers, ought to be accompanied by the liability to be sued and held collectively responsible for injuries caused by the officers. In short, the lords, finding that the law did not go far enough to suit their notion of public policy, read a new meaning into it. It was a case of absolute judicial legislation or usurpation. But this was not all. A second decision, rendered almost almost simultaneously with that in the Taff Vale case, "filled up the holes" left open by the first. The principle established by this second decision is this, in the briefest possible terms: That when a trade union seeks to compel or coerce an employer or merchant by "inducing" others not to deal with him, it may be civilly liable in damages. This means that even where no violence or intimidation is used, and unionists limit themselves to means strictly peaceful, employers who are inconvenienced or injured by a strike, and merchants who are injured by a boycott, may obtain damages for such injuries. Such sweeping law practically destroys the right to advise a strike, the right to persuade men not to work for unreasonable employers, the right to picket, and the right to boycott or circulate boycotting literature. To make injury the test of legality is to revert to the absurdities of the common law of the early years of the struggle of the laborers. As we have repeatedly shown: Injury does not necessarily imply wrongful action. A man may injure another without overstepping for a second his proper sphere of action. The question is not whether a man injures another, but how he causes the injury. A blow is a tort. A libel or slander is a tort. A threat to kill or destroy property is criminal. But injury by means of a peaceful strike or boycott—even when by persuasion and appeal thousands are influenced to join such strike or boycott—does not morally or legally, entitle the injured party to damages. The House of Lords has thus minimized the labor of years of effort and progress and reform.

(1906, p. 96; 1907, p. 129) Parliament passed the Trades Dispute Act which set aside the decision of the House of Lords in the Taff Vale cases. The law and an explanation of its provisions follow as given by the British fraternal delegates to the 1907 convention:

"The first clause reads: 'An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable.'

"That settles for all time that what one can do legally two or more can do, and that is all the Trade Unions demand. That is what we thought we got in 1871 and in 1875, but this wording is far more clear

than the wording of the former bills. We are satisfied that this wording gives us absolutely the right of combination and the right to use our combination just as any individual is allowed to use his right under the law. Next came the question of picketing. Restructions had been put in by the law which made it practically impossible for us to do any effective picketing. Then we decided on these words:

" 'It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a Trade Union or of an individual employer or firm in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.'

"Now I want to point out three words in this clause of the bill which are of supreme importance. After we had the principle established they said, 'We will allow you to picket at or near a place,' and 'We will allow you to picket in certain numbers.' They said they would allow us three pickets, and when we refused that they said they would allow us six. We knew that would not do because in large works where six or seven hundred men were employed there might be six or seven exits, and the men could be turned out at different doors from those where we are stationed . We decided we would have no limitation, the word 'peacefully' in our opinion being sufficient to safeguard the employer and the blacklegs from interference. We know in ordinary law the pickets will be subject to the examination of the magistrates as to how far they have been peaceful or otherwise, but we are willing to take the chance. A strong fight was made against the words 'or happens to be.' If you definitely state where the pickets were to be and they should go outside that they would be liable. We insisted that the provision should be so wide that wherever we met the blacklegs we would be able to say a word or two to them in regard to the strike. Another important question was the breach of contract. We said so far as breach of contract was concerned, every man or woman who made a contract should be held to it or stand the damages individually held by law. A breach of contract on behalf of a hundred men would land the unions into large suits for damages. We also secured the right to persuade a man to break a contract. What does the employer do? Immediately it is known a strike is going to take place in a mill the foreman and boss begins to persuade some men not to come out. Is not that persuading the individual workman to break his contract with his union? We were given no remedy in that case, so we said if it is right for the employer and his officials to secure breaches of contract between the men and their unions, we claim an equal right to secure a breach of contract between the employer and his men. We know that the individual who breaks a contract is liable and we did not complain. The rules of the mill might say, 'Any workman leaving this mill without due notice sacrifices all wages due,' but we were quite willing to let the individual workman lose the wages due, because we would make that good. Then comes the most important part of our bill, the question of immunity of union funds from any liability to damages. The words of this clause are very important.

" 'An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the Trade Union in respect of any tortuous act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the Trade Union, shall not be entertained by any court. Nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of a Trade Union to be sued in the events provided for by the Trade Union Act, 1871, Section 9, except in respect of any tortuous act committed by or on behalf of the union in contemplation or in furtherance of a trade dispute.'

"All trade unions ought to be liable for their business contracts. If you purchase or rent land or a building you ought to be responsible and pay for the goods you order. That is all this latter clause refers to, simply the ordinary business transactions of the trade union. We were asked to accept a thing which no doubt you will be asked to accept. At the present time trade unions are voluntary bodies, without legal right to enforce their decisions on any of their individual members. The employers and some of the politicians said, 'Why not accept the position of a full corporate body with full rights and full responsibilities, and we will put the employers in the same position?' That looked fair, and so far as legal argument is concerned it is fair, but there is all the difference in the world between a legal argument and an actual fact. I will give you two instances which will show the difference. We had a dispute in one of the trades. The employer decided to continue the work as best he could after we struck, and secured the help of another employer close by. The work against which we were on strike was being done by our own members in another mill, and we decided that firm No. 2 would be told unless they stopped doing work for firm No. 1 we would bring about what is known as a sympathetic strike. We were stopped then because the sympathetic strike was illegal, though it is legal today. We had to go to the employer and tell him the reason why we were going to have this sympathetic strike. On all occasions we have to go to them and tell them what we are going to do. All our doings are above board, and it is easy to have a case proved against a trade union but suppose an employer wants to get rid of a trade union man or a dozen of them, he does not have to tell the world why he is discharging them. No reason was given to me or to other active trade unionists why we were discharged; we simply had to go. Suppose you demand a reason? What good is that? This one case did more to convince Parliament that our position was reasonable than anything we brought up. A number of molders were on strike and the federated employers received a letter from their secretary with a list of names inclosed. The letter said a strike was on at a certain mill. That letter was signed. Another letter, unsigned, with a list of 133 names of the men

on strike was inclosed. Not one of the 133 could get work in a federated workshop. There was no public statement of the fact, no possibility of legal remedy. That was the danger in accepting what was legal equality in the eyes of the law. We said we would take the position we had taken all the way through; that they could not make us equal in law, and if they could not make us equal in law we would retain our old position. Individual members of the union are liable for any personal act of their own. Citizenship carries its responsibilities everywhere, in the workshop, the school or the streets, and we do not demand that any privilege be given to individual trade unionists that is not given to everyone."

Tariff, Harness and Saddle—(1904, p. 160) Complaint that a large part of harness and saddle importations came through the port of New York ready for sale because of the low tariff was referred to the Executive Council without recommendation.

Tariff Commission—(1915, p. 310) Endorsed the idea of a nonpartisan tariff commission, because industrial depressions are often prolonged by the political methods followed in dealing with tariff schedules.

Tariff on Books—(1906, p. 158) Favored increased duty on imported English and foreign language books in order to more adequately balance the wage standards of European and American bookbinders and conserve the higher standard of living of the latter.

Tariff on Steel—(1906, pp. 227-8) Refused to endorse a proposition to repeal tariff law on steel products in retalliation against the United States Steel Corporation, which was using all its influence to crush the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. (1909, p. 255) Petitioned Congress to investigate the methods of corporations in the steel industry, which induced the levying of a high tariff on the plea it desired to maintain the better industrial conditions prevailing in this country, and if it is found money from that source is being turned into the pockets of the owners instead the tariff on steel be suspended.

Tariff on Wool—(1906, p. 166) Wool sorters complained that many wools are imported under the class skirted and graded so as to evade the extra duty, thereby depriving the wool sorters of this country of their means of livelihood. Executive Council was authorized to petition Congress to have the duty fixed at a rate that will protect labor.

Tariff, Protective—(1881, p. 4) Section 2 of the platform declared for full protection "to every American industry from the cheap labor of foreign countries." There were many protests against its adoption, one delegate declaring that if there was any one rock on which the Federation could split it was section 2, because it would creat two factions, as the west and east differed on the tariff issue.

(1882, p. 14) Section 2 was stricken out.

(1883, p. 17) Notice was received that the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had refused to affiliate because the Federation had eliminated the section favoring a protective tariff. The convention instructed the Legislatice Committee to answer as follows: (p. 18) "You say, in substance, that if the Federation of Trades had not severely censured the doctrine of high tariff it is probable the A. A. of I. & S. W. would have been represented at our New York session. We certainly should have been highly gratified if our forces had been strengthened by so powerful an auxiliary, and we regret exceedingly the evident misinformation upon which your action was based. The proceedings of the Cleveland session of the Federation to which you refer contain no 'censures on tariff.' It was the unanimous desire of the delegates composing that convention that the federation should remain unpledged upon this vexed question, and protectionists as well as free-traders voted for the motion to place the congress upon a neutral footing in this matter. It was believed the tariff was a political issue and one upon which men equally honest in the labor movement might always differ. It was thought best, therefore, while so large a field for harmonious and united action remained open for trade unionists, that the tariff plank should not be forced upon those who could otherwise subscribe to our platform of principles. I send you a copy of the report of our last year's action, and you will find therein no evidence of the assumption you have made that the convention was a body of free-traders. On the contrary a large proportion of the delegates were believers in the efficiency of a high tariff. I do not hesitate to acknowledge that, as an individual, I believe in free-trade, but I should be among the first to oppose any project making our trades unions agents in furthering that creed. Are we not right in thinking that questions of this nature, upon which there is no possibility of uniting workingmen, should not be used as wedges in keeping them apart? You and myself and those we represent are practically agreed as to the necessity of the work our organizations are formed to accomplish. We think alike as to the ends to be arrived at, and to the value of our societies as agents in improving the social condition of our class. We realize also the magnitude of the labor required, the power of the common foe opposing us and the necessity for unity of thought and action among all those who espouse our cause. I submit to your own judgment, therefore, that we should studiously avoid all paths that lead to dissension. The Federation believes that the concentration of our forces is imperative if we are in full measure to accomplish the aimed-at industrial and social reforms. We, therefor, while recognizing the undoubted right of all organizations to choose their own course, urge upon our fellow-laborers the importance of amalgamation. We cordially invite the iron and steel workers to stand in line with us and can safely assure them that nothing in the platform of the Federation can be construed as interfering with their right to take such action as they please, as an individual association in the matter of the tariff."

(1887, p. 38) Tariff resolution ruled out as having been introduced too late.

(1892, p. 26) Refused to consider proposition favoring a special session of Congress to enact free trade. (1895, p. 59)

Refused to consider a protective tariff on clothing as it meant taking a stand on the tariff issue.

Tariff Troubles—(1907, p. 334) In the last convention two tariff resolutions were passed which caused as much commotion as anything else. A delegate unsuccessfully asked several times for a reconsideration so the convention would not go on record on the question. Reference of the resolution condemning the combination which had raised the price of paper to the Executive Council is to permit it to act so far as they can without giving a chance to open the floodgates in this convention to the tariff question.

Taylor System and Piecework—(1898, p. 76) Complaint presented that the government had made efforts for two years to introduce the piecework and two machine systems in the arsenals and navy yards, although the obnoxious system was not tolerated in private machine shops of the country, and its elimination was demanded.

(1905, p. 105) Leather workers voted assistance to do away with piecework in the Rock Island Arsenal.

(1909, p. 212) Report was submitted that ordnance officers were using every method to reduce wages and introduce the piecework system. Reductions ranged from 15 to 32 per cent and boys of 12 to 14 years of age were being employed.

(1913, p. 384) Painters complained piecework was being introduced in the navy yards. (p. 299) The convention said of the "hideous so-called Taylor system of scientific management": "A more diabolical scheme for the reduction of the human being to the condition of a mere machine was never conceived by human brain. No tyrant, nor slave driver in the ecstasy of his most delirous dream ever sought to place upon abject slaves a condition more repugnant to commonly accepted notions of freedom of action or liberty of person than is comprehended by this Taylor system."

(1914, p. 83) Labor group in Congress had abolished piecework in one branch of the Postoffice Department and bills have been presented to eliminate it from the navy yards and arsenals. (p. 326) Congratulated Executive Council on progress made.

(1915, p. 106) Mail clerks had been intimidated for signing petitions to stop the Taylor, stop-watch, premium and bonus system of shop management. March 2, 1915, Congress wiped out the system in navy yards and arsenals in an amendment to the naval appropriation bill.

(1916, p. 92) Executive Council reported law had been enacted to abolish the objectionable system. (p. 153) Payment of premiums and the use of the stop-watch or other time measuring device abolished in government establishments.

(1918, p. 121) Although naval appropriation bills for several years had carried a provision against the use of the so-called Taylor system and effort was made to strike it out in the House, it failed. Provision was struck out of Senate bill, ordered printed and referred to naval appropriations committee May 4, 1918.

Teachers, Public School—(1902, p. 219) Extended to the Chicago public school teachers its heartiest congratulations on their courageous stand in applying for a charter from the A. F. of L., thus invoking the wrath and open opposition of a board of education dominated by the book trust. Convention declared the time was ripe for organizing the teachers in all sections of the country, so that the public school systems in the country districts, on which rest the very foundations of the nation, may be saved from the ever-growing power of political influence and trust domination. Only in organization can they secure increased wages and elimination of political influence from the public school system.

(1910, p. 264) We declare in favor of a higher standard of wages and salaries to be paid to the school teachers of our country, and we now go on record as indorsing the efforts of the school teachers of Buffalo to improve their conditions of employment, and pledge our support to the members of that organization.

(1913, p. 352) The A. F. of L. demands in the name of the coming generation, that a sufficient number of school teachers be employed by our school authorities to give a reasonable degree of personal attention to each of our children entrusted to their care, and thereby enabling teachers to qualify as a real teaching force and as conservators of the greatest wealth of our nation—our children. We declare in favor of a salary for these teachers sufficient to secure services of the highest standard of educational value.

(1915, pp. 153-469) The schools of every country have an incalculable effect upon the mental life of the nation. The instruction given in the schools imbeds ideals and concepts in the minds of the boys and girls that in a large degree determine their viewpoints and constitute the materials according to which they will judge their experiences and determine their actions. Education means that training that shall enable people to take advantage of opportunity. It should inculcate self-reliance and independence that are essential for freedom. It is the public schools of the country that constitute the chief guardian of our free institutions, the spirit of independence and the love of freedom and justice that are in our people. This effect is cumulative. Instruction given to one generation enables that generation to live a broader life, to get a wider and deeper insight into the meaning of things, a keener appreciation of the value of life, the rights that should belong to each, and what constitutes justice. The standards that are raised by one generation are made the basis for advance by the next generation. Once give a people the power that comes through training acquired through the public schools and you have put into the lives of those people the force that will protect them against tyranny and unfreedom in whatever guise the attack may be made. The schools of our country are concerned with the raw, human stuff that constitutes our nation and can influence those human lives for good or for evil. No more insidious or more dangerous attack can be made on the freedom of the people than an attack upon institutions that control the fountains of information. The teachers, the human agents in instruction, have a power that is really terrific in its far-reaching consequences. They can make easy the access to truths or they can make that very difficult and indeed may turn the student astray by pointing out the wrong way and by in-

correct interpretations. It is for these reasons that a free people resent most emphatically and most bitterly any attack upon the educational institutions. They are greatly concerned whenever any undemocratic power or agent endeavors to get control over school management, over teachers or other instruction given in any of the educational institutions of the country. Perhaps the best planned, most dangerous efforts of this type are the great foundations that have been established by our captains of industry who have grown enormously wealthy and who subsidize foundations to be associated with the work of educational institutions. Since educational institutions are so closely associated with the lives of the people—in fact are a part of the lives of the people in every nation which has ideals of democracy, can we favor granting control over educational affairs to any agency that belongs or that is itself dependent upon the favor of a private individual or groups of individuals? No one can contend for a moment that the viewpoint of industrial exploiters are the ideals and the viewpoint of the majority of the citizens of the United States. No one can contend that the fortunes of these men can ever be dissociated from the conditions under which they were accumulated. The types of some of our multi-millionaires will always carry with them the taint and the curse of the economic tyranny which their agents have exercised over their employes. The great millionaires of our country have resisted all ideals of democracy in their relations with their employers. They have maintained an industrial regime of despotism and tyranny in every detail where they were not forced to establish other relations through the economic power of their employes. Every effort to suppress freedom of thought or freedom of discussion in a university or college means a lessening of the freedom of the people, not only of those directly concerned, but of all, upon whom their lives have effect through personal contact and otherwise. The professors and instructors in institutions of higher learning have felt and realized the importance of attempts to hamper their instruction and to deprive them of freedom to instruct and discuss. As an expression of this conviction on their part, more than a year ago they organized the American Association of University Professors. The organization has rallied to the defense of fellow-instructors who have been victimized by the universities. It is founded upon the same principle that underlies the trade union movement: namely, organization for personal self-defense and freedom. The same spirit of unfreedom has characterized the policy of many of the boards of education of our cities. These boards of education consist of individuals who are either elected by the people or usually in the larger cities appointed by the mayor. As a general thing they represent not the masses of the people but the employers and the corporate interests. Their direction over school affairs is a "business administration" and is responsible for many policies that are ont of harmony with democratic ideals. School management is generally upon a despotic basis, and regulations are arbitrarily fixed for teachers who are required to submit without question. This autocratic regime has been bolstered up by fostering the notion that teachers are employed in so high a calling that they must sacrifice all of their own interest, all of their own welfare, rather than interpose their best judgment or in any way interfere with what is termed "school discipline" and school regulation. Of course no one denies the necessity of proper school discipline or regulation, but we insist, as do the teachers, that an association of teachers conducted in the interests of the teachers, for their proper protection and welfare, does not and can not interfere with such school discipline and regulation as concern the education and the character development of the pupils. On the contrary, we insist that the reverse has been and must result. All of this has had the effect of introducing into school control the same concepts, the same system, the same policies, as factory employers and managers of commercial and industrial institutions have so unwisely established in factory systems, thereby reducing all business to a purely mechanical basis without heart, brain or spirit. This utter absence of individualism, absence of democratic relations and instiutions, this formalism, this mechanical spirit, have had a terrible effect not only upon teachers in the high, grammar and graded schools, but upon the boys and girls who attend these schools. There has been a tendency to standardize education and individuals, to make every one conform to a conventional pattern that has been detrimental to the initiative, power, resourcefulness that ought to be cultivated at the sacrifice of everything else. The notion is altogether too prevalent among some public officials that when a citizen becomes a public employe he thereby renounces all rights of citizenship, particularly the right of the exercise of the franchise, and the right of petition for the redress of wrongs and for the attainment of rights. Against such a notion we can not remain quiescent but must and do enter our solemn and emphatic protest. There is no way to aim more directly at the freedom of the wage-earners and the masses of the people than through suppression of the individuality, the thought and the activities of the teachers. The educational tendency is toward freedom and adaptability, independence, greater opportunity, not only for the teachers but for those who are taught. There are most splendid conceptions of the schools of the future, of an education that shall reach out and up to greater and broader things. That ideal can not be realized with a tyrannical system of school administration —suppressing and thwarting those who control and direct instruction. The school boards must be big enough and broad enough in mind and heart to comprehend the ideals back of the schools of the future and to exert their influence in school management for the realization of those ideals. If the members of the school board are out of harmony with progress and democracy, it is the business of the citizens to see to it that others are substituted. If this can not be accomplished directly, it must be accomplished by replacing the one who has the appointive power. As the school boards become more powerful, it is essential that control should be democratic and that those in authority should be responsible to the people. The vital relationship of the common life is industrial. Schools are more and more dealing with industrial problems and matters. Industrial instruction and vocational

training are becoming more general. The industrial aspects and relations of all instruction are now recognized and are given greater thought and understanding. This again makes it all the more essential that schools should be upon a democratic basis. As free people we can not tolerate despotism or autocracy or bureaucracy in politics, in social relations, in industry or education. The teachers of our country must not be left behind in the great forward progress toward democratic ideals, greater freedom and greater opportunity. If they are not lost behind they must join in the effort. We can and we will aid, but they must do this thing for themselves.

(1916, p. 270) The A. F. of L. condemns the unscrupulous act of the Chicago Board of Education in summarily dropping, without warning or hearing, in defiance of the superintendent's recommendation, thirty-eight admittedly efficient teachers, for reasons which evidently would not bear the light of day. This convention condemns the act as an offense to the American conception of justice, as a reversion from the merit system to spoils politics, as a breach of public trust subversive of the principles of democracy upon which our public schools were founded, and which the Board of Education is pledged to conserve. It was an act which brands the members of the guilty majority as hostile to American traditions and ideals, and unfit to share the privileges and duties of life in a democracy. (p. 359) The American Federation of Teachers consider themselves workers in a vitally important field and believe its members should stand shoulder to shoulder with the other workers of the country, to whom democracy is not a machinery for private gain, but a hope and means of completer living. And believing that all forward looking workers appreciate their vital state in our public schools, this convention, for the sake of our common democracy, records its approval, and urge upon its affiliated bodies the support of the following principles: "1. The right of teachers to organize and affiliate with labor must be recognized. 2. If our children, during their most impressionable years are to have the benefit of daily contact with examples of upstanding American manhood and womanhood, and not to be exposed to an atmosphere of servility in the schoolroom, teachers must be given warning and a hearing before being separated from the service. 3. The teacher must be guaranteed the opportunity to make his due influence felt in the community, working through the schools chiefly, but free to work through all the avenues of citizenship. 4. The control of the teaching staff should be removed from the lay Board of Education, and placed in the hands of the professional expert, the Superintendent of Schools. 5. If our democracy is not to be crippled at its source, democratic school administration must be secured by insuring to the teacher an effective voice in that administration. 6. The schools must be removed from politics by the application of the merit principle of civil service to the employment, advancement, and dismissal of teachers, thus securing tenure during efficiency. 7. The work of the teacher, now notoriously ill-paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial recognition more nearly commensurate with its importance to the community. 8. Vocational education should be encouraged, but only under a 'unit system.' 9. The people should directly control educational policies through the popular election of Boards of Education. 10. A system of free text-books is an essential of genuinely free and democratic public schools. 11. Enlightened public policy demands adequate pension provisions for public school teachers." Every affiliated union is urged to do everything possible to secure the early affiliation of every school teacher with the A. F. of L.

(1917, p. 264) Among the public employes who have felt the pressure of increased living expenses without a corresponding increase in wages are the school teachers. They are expected by the public to maintain certain standards of living and yet are denied by that same public, through its official agents, a remuneration sufficient to maintain that standard. When they have asked for even a small increase the teachers throughout the country are met by the assertion that there are no funds. The teachers are required under penalty of law to produce more money for taxes and living expenses. Surely a great nation should not ask its servants to meet a condition which the nation itself evades. The work of the teachers, now notoriously ill-paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial remuneration more nearly commensurate with its service to the community. (p. 347) Endorsed pension bill for teachers in the District of Columbia.

(1918, pp. 114-320) Teachers' pension bill presented in Congress providing for a contributory plan of administration, a certain sum of money being deducted from the teachers' salaries, each school month, the dedection not to exceed in any case 8 per cent of the annual basic salary, although no computations shall be made on a basic salary in excess of $1,500. On reaching the age of 62 any teacher may be retired by the Board of Education on its own motion, or retirement can take place by the application of the teacher, although provision is made whereby teachers may continue in the service up to 70 years or thereafter. In cases of accident or illness any teacher who has reached the age of 52 may be retired by the Board of Education. The annuity of the teacher retired under the provision last mentioned shall be not less than $420 per year, while others are to be retired on not less than $480.

Tenement House Labor—(1881, p. 21) Declared highly injurious to health of workers on sanitary, economic, moral and social grounds and its abolishment is demanded. (1882, p. 9) Sent representatives to New York assembly to urge abolishment of tenement house labor. (p. 17) Bill passed senate prohibiting manufacture of cigars but was stolen and its passage by the house prevented. (1883, p. 13) Law prohibiting making of cigars in tenement houses enacted. Declared unconstitutional twice and the supreme court was condemned (1884, p. 18) for its "blind subserviency to the wealth of that state." (1891, p. 33) American people urged to drive out tenement house and sweating system as products of these factories are simply "disease infested dens and a menace to the consumer." (1896, p. 49) Reaffirmed condemnation of tenement house and home work.

Text Books, Free—(1900, p. 1150) All state and city central bodies urged to work for free school books in states and cities.

(1901, p. 28) Agitation for free text books reported.

(1903, p. 209) Uniformity of text books demanded.

(1906, p. 238) A. F. of L. favors free text books for public school pupils and makes that demand one of the planks of its economic platform.

(1912, p. 263) To accomplish our educational purposes we must do battle with the agents of the school book trusts—the greediest corporations in existence, which not content with robbing the parents through excessive charges also rob the children through manipulation of courses of study and constant changes of school books. Uniform text books demanded.

(1913, p. 266) Executive Council instructed to draw up a model law for state uniformity of text books and education. (p. 94) Forty-six states had laws for statewide adoption of text books.

(1914, pp. 167-494) This model law was approved:

"Be it Enacted by the Senate and Assembly of the State of ————:

"Section 1. The system of education of the pupils in the public schools of this state and the political divisions thereof shall be uniform in character and methods, and the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state shall prescribe a system and methods to carry this section into effect.

"Section 2. The text books used in the public schools of this state and the political divisions thereof shall be uniform in character and contents with instructions for the uniform method of instruction to the pupils.

"Section 3. The text books used in the public schools of the state and in the political divisions thereof shall be printed by direction and under the authority of the Superintendent of Public Schools, and these text books shall be delivered to the boards of education of the political divisions of the state in sufficient numbers for the free distribution to each pupil of each public school.

"Section 4. The Superintendent of Schools of the state shall apportion to each political division of the state the sums which it shall pay to the Superintendent of Schools of the state for the use in the public schools, the same to be paid to the Superintendent of Public Schools within ninety days from the date of delivery of such text-books. The charge for the books and the delivery thereof shall be based upon the actual cost of their production with the additional cost of administration of the duties in this law prescribed and including cost of delivery. The Superintendent of Schools of the state shall not deliver more books than may be requisitioned from him by the boards of education of the public schools of the political divisions of the state.

"Section 5. An appropriation of $——, is hereby made to enable the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state to carry into effect the provisions of this law. The payments by boards of education of the public schools of the political divisions of the state for books delivered to them, shall be placed in the hands of the Comptroller of State and held by him subject to the order of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state for the continuity of the performance of the duties in this law provided.

"Section 6. The Superintendent of Public Schools of the state shall have copyrighted the text books provided for in this law. The copyright shall be in the name of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the state of ——.

"Section 7. All laws inconsistent with the provisions of this law are hereby repealed immediately upon this law becoming effective. This law shall go into effect September 1, 1916." The titles of the legislatures, the state authorities and local school boards must be changed in the bill to conform to the titles of these offices in the various states and municipalities.

(1918, pp. 95-321) Our organizations have also persistently and insistently advocated the free text-book system. In many states and independent school districts, success has been achieved. We hope that our activities will not be relaxed in any community where the interests of the children and the teachers in the public schools may be practically advanced.

Text-Books, Union—(1899, p. 140) Executive Council instructed to assist Allied Printing Trades Councils to have the union label placed on all books and other publications used in the public schools. (1900, p. 98) Reaffirmed. (1901, p. 28) Organizations in Illinois were directed to urge the legislature to repeal laws prohibiting union labels on school books.

Theatrical Syndicates—(1907, p. 181) Executive Council directed to investigate if they are trusts and should be placed under governmental supervision.

Third Degree—(1910, pp. 47-313) We call attention to a practice of the police that is not only unauthorized by law but in positive terms is forbidden, and has become a public scandal throughout the civilized world. It is known as the "third degree," or obtaining confessions from prisoners held for trial through terrorizing or brutally maltreating them. From the nature of this outrageous measure it is difficult to obtain legal evidence of its existence. However, that it does exist, and is regarded by the police as one of their functions tacitly accepted by the courts, we have the testimony of the press in general and even of that branch of periodicals which is devoted to recording and commenting on the proceedings of the courts. One of the latter journals recently said:

"It would be unjustly disparaging the dignified and learned gentlemen who preside at the trial of criminal cases in our courts to say that they do not at least suspect what every child in their community knows, to wit, that the alleged voluntary confession ordinarily relied on was not the spontaneous outpouring of a guilt-burdened conscience, quickened into action through grateful response to the touching kindness of captors and keepers. Things don't happen that way."

While it is the very first maxim in criminal law that every man is presumed innocent of crime until proven guilty, the police "sweat-box" proceedings are based on the idea that when a man has been arrested the presumption that he is guilty must amount almost to a certainty, and that if sufficiently frightened or put in pain he will tell the

truth. This idea men in general know is often without foundation, for a poor and innocent man may be accused and thrown in prison by powerful enemies through revenge or even by the police themselves in default of detecting the really guilty. Moreover, on several recent occasions psychologists of the foremost standing have testified to the fact that innocent prisoners who had made confessions of guilt had done so under mental conditions superinduced by their third-degree tormentors. It may with truth be said that a State or a country which will permit the police to act in any other capacity than detainers of persons charged with crime is in danger of a tyranny over men's persons that is without bounds, and it is from this aspect of the case that our duty arises to protest against any such powers being exercised by them. Public attention has not yet been fully aroused to this danger, which everywhere is beginning to menace the plain citizen. While the law itself positively prohibits police officers from exerting any other authority than securing the person of an accused or suspected man, bringing him before a magistrate for examination without unreasonable delay, keeping him meantime in security to answer the charge made against him, the power is assumed by detectives and policemen of the higher ranks to put prisoners in special lock-ups for convenience of "sweating," to cross-question, browbeat and maltreat them by physical force, and even to resort to means so terrible as to be compared with those of the inquisition, in order to extract a confession. This is the uttermost perversion of law. As a fact, a confession made as a result of either an inducement or a punishment is inadmissible as evidence if the law itself is to be obeyed. State and city federations of labor urged to agitate for legislation that would put an end to this barbarism.

(1911, pp. 41-292) The U. S. Senate committee through efforts of the A. F. of L. appointed a committee to inquire into the "third degree" practice by U. S. officers or employes for the purpose of extortion and to any other tending to prevent an impartial administration of the criminal law. The committee reported the evidence taken showed that while there were instances of brutality by police officers they were sporadic and not regular practices; that the employment of men by either the prosecution or defense to shadow jurymen during a trial does not seem to comport with the impartial administration of justice; that a person subject to extradition should not be removed from the state for a certain number of days, thus affording him an opportunity to test the validity of his arrest and extradition in habeas corpus proceedings or in some other manner if authority for any such exists.

Thurman, A. G.—(1895, p. 81) Allan G. Thurman during his long life proved by his every action and utterance that he was at all times a true friend of the masses; that he was an honest, upright and conscientious man and statesman of the highest order, basing his advocacy of opposition to legislative enactment on a sincere desire to accomplish that which would bring the greatest benefit to the whole people.

Tolstoi, Leo—(1910, p. 263) Resolutions were adopted deploring the passing of Tolstoi, the great Russian exile, educator and world-wide economist, literateur and humanitarian. Delegates remained standing one minute in silent meditation.

Traction Employes Killed—(1916, p. 338) Failure of the Census Bureau to collect statistics of the number of street railway employes killed in 1912 caused instructions to be given the Executive Council to insist all future reports of these vital statistics be published.

Trade Autonomy and Jurisdiction—(Section 2 of Article II of the constitution adopted in 1886 declared as one of the objects of the organization: "The establishlishment of national and international trade unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies." This went into effect March 1, 1887, after approval by affiliated unions.

(1887, p. 24) President ruled out of order a motion compelling local unions to join central bodies as it was an "interference with the guaranteed autonomy of the organizations."

(1888, p. 27) A. F. of L. deems it unwise for two locals, national or international organizations of any one trade to exist in the same jurisdiction and advise their amalgamation.

(1899, p. 111) It is the sense of the convention that all trades clearly define the branches contained in their respective crafts. (p. 127) The policy of the A. F. of L. conforms to the principle that affiliated unions should first be required to make earnest effort to adjust interunion differences by conferences before they will be given consideration by the conventions of the A. F. of L. (p. 136) The A. F. of L. is founded on the principle that all crafts and trades of which it is composed shall be guaranteed absolute self-government, being eternally opposed to the encroachment of one craft across the trade lines of another; that this guarantees to the weaker trades the same measure of protection the stronger bodies can maintain for themselves; that we reaffirm our adherence to the principle that each craft has complete jurisdiction over its members irrespective of where they may be employed. (p. 156) So many contentions are arising between national and international unions over the question of jurisdiction, thus causing strife and bitterness between themselves, untold hardship to sister unions and irreparable injury to the movement at large that henceforth any such organization seeking a charter shall clearly state its claims of jurisdiction. If they interfere with the trades already chartered such charter shall be denied until passed on by the A. F. of L. in convention assembled. Should a charter be granted by the A. F. of L. to a distinct branch of trade formerly a part of another body the parent body from that time forward shall be estopped from receiving into its ranks members of unions of the branch or trade thus chartered.

(1900, p. 112) Referring to the matter of trade jurisdiction, we note the difficulties that have arisen, and feel satisfied that, whatever may be the desire of separate parts of the movement in a direction of establishing hard and fast lines between the various crafts and callings, such action would be not only unwise, but impossible. In our constantly changing industrial system, where we find a different stage of development in

each industrial center, any definite lines laid down would either act as a straight-jacket, or would be disregarded. Much may be done, in the direction of ameliorating the difficulties and dangers, by the separate organizations, working in, and necessary to, the same establishment, refusing to enter into any agreement which will estop them from protecting the interests of their fellow-workers, or their own, as affected by any action which the employer may choose to take with regard to them; or, whenever this is impracticable, adopting a policy of making their agreements with their employers so that they will expire at the same time, and having the agreements afterward entered into made simultaneously. Agreements made by one organization will, and often do, materially affect the condition of other organizations working for the same employer, and we believe that the separate interests of all would be best served by consulting with other interested organizations before such agreements are finally concluded. We, therefore, look with favor upon the formation of what might be called trade groups, as being in the interest of, and adding strength to, the labor movement. Success depends upon the most complete federation of all the crafts and callings, both nationally and locally, and any feeling that any one group is sufficient to itself may be best compared to a brigade feeling itself stronger than the whole army. It courts destruction, and invariably reaches its goal. (pp. 146-158) These amendments to the constitution were adopted: "Sec. 2, Article III: No grievance shall be considered by the convention that does not appear in the program, and no grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention (except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council), nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves. Sec. 2, Article IX: No charter shall be granted by the A. F. of L. to any national or international union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such union."

President of the A. F. of L. was instructed to correspond with the executive officers of all affiliated national and international unions, requesting them to submit a written declaration defining their claims of trade jurisdiction. The information so received to become a permanent record of the American Federation of Labor, and a guide as to the issuance of charters.

(1901, p. 145) Convention refused to adopt resolutions requiring affiliated unions to file with the secretary of the A. F. of L. within six months the present status of jurisdiction over which they claim to be working because of the controversies that would arise over the rapid changes in industrial affairs. (p. 198) Refused to amend laws making mandatory for national and international unions to compel their locals to affiliate with central bodies. Declared A. F. of L. did not have mandatory power to legislate for national and international unions. (p. 240) This declaration of principles on trade autonomy was adopted: "We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves. We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement can count for aught we urge upon our fellow-workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows: 1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous Conventions on questions of jurisdiction. 2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation and to the organization of district and national trade councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines. 3. The A. F. of L. being a voluntary association, can not direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the A. F. of L. pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitrament." (See 1902, p. 143.)

(1902, pp. 16-144) This warning by the president was endorsed: "Beyond doubt the greatest problem; the danger, which above all others most threatens not only the success, but the very existence of the A. F. of L., is the question of jurisdiction. I may truly record the fact that never for one moment since the formation of our Federation have I entertained a doubt or misgiving as to the growth, success and permanency of the A. F. of L. and I would not now be apprehensive of its future were it not forced upon my deliberate judgment, which has developed into a firm conviction, that unless

our affiliated national and international unions radically and soon change their course we shall at no distant day be in the midst of an internecine contest unparalled in any era of the industrial world, aye, not even when workmen of different trades were arrayed against each other behind barricades in the streets over the question of trade against trade. They mutually regarded each with hatred and treated each other as mortal enemies. Is the great cause of labor to drift into such a dreadful and miserable strife? Are all the sacrifices made, to be ruthlessly thrust into the gutter, as the germ to fructify and destroy the vigor, the very life of our cause? Is organized labor, the only check to rapacious greed and tyranny, the only hope of labor for protection now or liberty for the future, to be engulfed in a tidal wave of expansion madness? No combination of labor's enemies need cause us the apprehension which this fratricidal strife does in the claims made by unions for the extension of their trade jurisdiction. There is scarcely an affiliated organization which is not engaged in a dispute with another organization (and in some cases with several organizations) upon the question of jurisdiction. It is not an uncommon occurrence for an organization, and several have done so quite recently, to so change their laws and claims to jurisdiction as to cover trades never contemplated by the organization's officers or members; never comprehended by their title; trades of which there is already in existence a national union And this without a word of advice, counsel, or warning. Of course it is evident that in some instances there are two or more organizations which should and could, with advantage, be consolidated or amalgamated into one, and efforts by such organizations should certainly be made, assisted or initiated by the A. F. of L., but I submit that it is untenable and intolerable for an organization to attempt to ride rough shod over and trample under foot the rights and jurisdiction of a trade the jurisdiction of which is already covered by an existing organization. This contention for jurisdiction has grown into such proportions and if fought with such intensity as to arouse the most bitter feuds and trade wars. In many instances employers fairly inclined toward organized labor have been made innocently to suffer from causes entirely beyond their control, and other employers again, have taken advantage of the first inception of the fancy or notion for 'expansion' of trade jurisdiction, fanned it into a flame and taking advantage of the excitement and hatred of and war against each other, refused to recognize either organization, pretending to claim it a war among labor organizations with which they do not wish to interfere. On the surface the employers' claim appears tenable, but in their hearts they enjoy the situation by which their pockets are enriched. Nevertheless the employers' contention in regard to this question can not be disputed. But of the organizations the same can not be said. The interests of the wage-earners of the craft, to promote and protect which the organizations were primarily formed, have no moral or lawful right, from a trade union point of view, to be jeopardized by pursuing a policy in an attempt at trade invasion made without the knowledge or consent of the crafts invaded."

(1903, pp. 18-173) President again reported: "It becomes my painful duty to again call attention to the very grave danger which confronts our movement by reason of the internecine strife due to the conflicting claims to jurisdiction. Owing to the acuteness of this question last year, the New Orleans convention made most strenuous efforts to bring about a solution of the various conflicting claims then made. Had all the organizations affected yielded in good faith to the suggestions made and conclusions reached, that convention would have fully merited the tribute ascribed to it and which it deserved in being designated the 'peace convention' of the labor movement. In not many instances, however, have the organizations departed from their original claims, while several others by their violation of their pledges to that convention to cease hostilities and to abide by the awards of impartial arbitration or of decisions reached by the convention itself, have rendered conditions, if possible, still worse. In fact, in some trades, where no conflicts existed, the organizations have deliberately changed their claims to jurisdiction with no better reason than that 'other organizations have extended their claims,' they therefore saw no reason why their own claims to jurisdiction should not also be extended, thus demomstrating that when a wrong policy is once inaugurated its evil influences are extended until the gravest consequences and dangers confront the entire labor movement. The trade unions are the natural movement of the wage-earners to protect and advance their interests. The workers of the craft or calling associate the better to protect and promote these interests."

(1904, p. 158) Rejected a plan to permit members of unions engaged in a trade dispute "to be required and permitted to individually choose the organization to which they prefer to acknowledge allegiance"

(1905, p. 213) The A. F. of L. discountenances the consideration of disputes between organizations unless the organizations at interest have first made an effort to adjust them, and that if arbitration be desirable, both organizations in advance agree in writing to abide by the decision rendered. We firmly believe that under any and all circumstances the Executive Council should endeavor to prevent any action by one which may be calculated to injure another organization, and to act as mediators, to restore harmony and co-operation.

(1906, p. 176) Urged the various international trade organizations to make an "immediate settlement of jurisdiction questions by mutual conferences." (pp. 73-209) When a jurisdiction dispute between two organizations reaches such an acute stage, that it not only involves the membership but also employers who are decidedly inclined to be fair toward labor and particularly toward organized labor, it reaches a stage which makes us halt and think whether such a course does not vitiate much of the good resulting from our organized effort. Surely, the interests of our fellow workers are not advanced by such a procedure. We are at a loss as to the course to pursue other than to impress upon all the necessity of making heroic efforts for the purpose of adjusting inter-union differences whether of jurisdiction or otherwise. In any event,

fairly inclined employers should not be placed in a position of becoming innocent sufferers from our internal contentions.

(1911, p. 333) This recommendation was adopted: "Whatever argument or excuse there might have been in the past for the existence of two organizations of the one craft, we now believe that such argument or excuse is absent. It is the unanimous opinion of the Committee on Adjustment, many of whose members have had to deal with disputes caused by the existence of two organizations of one craft for many years, that the time has arrived for the A. F. of L. to openly and emphatically declare itself to the effect that, large as this country is, it is not large enough to hold two organizations of the one craft. Therefore your Committee recommends that this Thirty-first Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. goes squarely on record in favor of the above declaration, and your Committee further recommends that this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to carry into effect the principles and purposes involved in this declaration—one craft, one organization. All of which is respectfully submitted." In explanation of this principle the chairman of the committee recommending it said: "If two unions agree among themselves to be one organization this declaration anticipates such a thing, but if you do not decide to do it this declaration will not force you to do it."

(1912, pp. 115-264-265-309) Resolution declaring for organization by industries instead of crafts, or "industrial unionism," was rejected and the declarations of principles of the 1901 convention reaffirmed with this explanation: "In connection with this declaration it is necessary to call attention to a frequent misconception of the term 'autonomy' as it is used by the A. F. of L. Some have mistakenly interpreted it to mean that a trade union can not expand its jurisdiction, or amalgamate with another organization of the same or of a kindred trade in the same industry. The term 'autonomy,' as applied, has been used as an obstacle to such extension, growth, and amalgamation. No such construction or interpretation can be justly given the term. Broadly and specifically speaking, the term 'autonomy' means self government, as automaton and automatic, self-acting; autobiography, self-writing the history of one's own life; automobile, self-propelling; deriving its general application from the root word auto, self. We are prompted to this explanation by several instances in which the term 'industrial unionism' is applied, as against trade unionism, with its autonomous self-government, as well as by a circular which was recently issued, in which the affiliated organizations and the delegates to this convention are urged to favor an amendment to the constitution of the A. F. of L. so that—

" 'National and international trade unions shall have the right to amalgamation; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting upon such amendment in each organization, shall be necessary to make the amendment legal and binding.'

"Such a proposition is based upon the misconception that the A. F. of L. prevents, or has the power to prevent or place obstacles in the way of amalgamation of national or international trade unions when they so desire to amalgmate, when as a matter of fact every effort has been made by the A. F. of L., the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions, and where that has been impossible for the time being, to endeavor to have them co-operate and federate for their mutual advantage. Attention is also called to the provision of this suggested amendment to the constitution of the A. F. of L. that if it were adopted it would require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting to bring about amalgagation, when as a matter of fact, amalgamation of several organizations has been effected by conference and agreement ratified by a majority of the membership, or a majority of the convention, voting upon the question. Thus it will retard and not facilitate. The American trade union movement is one of constant growth development and expansion. Since its inception the A. F. of L. has been the most practical and beneficial general organization of the wage-workers of the continent; has taken cognizance of the constant change and transition in industry and by every means within its power has sought not only to effect the organization of unorganized workers, but to bring about unity, solidarity and fraternity among organized workers, and has stimulated by every means within its power the necessity for closer co-operation, federation and amalgamation of existing trade unions to the end that each may be helpful to all. The A. F. of L. realizes that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; that the grand army of organized labor can not advance much further than its most backward column; that the labor organizations are made up of human beings who are not cast in plastic molds; can not be placed in rigid forms, and therefore, it must concede that the authority vested in the affiliated unions and their members must be the largest consistent with the general progress and the welfare of the entire wage-working masses. The A. F. of L. has organized central bodies in hundreds of cities, and state federations in nearly all the states in America; has instituted a large number of international unions and numberless local unions, and has developed the system of industrial departments which federate the organized workers of the different crafts, trade and callings and which co-operate for the common protection and advancement of the interest of all. The A. F. of L. realizes that there is still much to do, but repudiates the insinuation which is implied by the term 'Industrial Unionism' as it is employed by the so-called 'Industrial Workers of the World' in antagonism to 'Trade Unionism' for in that implication the false impression is conveyed that the trade unions are rigid, unyielding, or do not adjust themselves to meet new conditions and do not advance, develop or expand, whereas the whole history of the trade union movement in the past thirty years demonstrates beyond successful contradiction, that there is not a day which passes, but which witnesses in the trade union movement in America the highest and loftiest spirit of sacrifice in order to co-operate with our fellow-workers for their interest and common uplift. In line with the historic, intelligent and comprehensive attitude which the A. F. of L. has pursued

since its inception, we urge still greater effort and energy in the work of more thoroughly organizing the unorganized workers, pursued to its fullest extent; to urge upon the organized workers a more thorough cooperation, to advocate amalgamation of organizations of kindred trades and callings, and a more thorough federation of all organized labor, to the end that economic, political, moral and social justice shall come to the toilers, the wealth producers of America."

(1914, p. 419) A plan to establish a mediation and conciliation department to comprise three members of different affiliated unions who shall give their entire time to the service of the A. F. of L. was referred to the Executive Council for investigation. All jurisdictional disputes not adjusted when conventions adjourn may be referred to this department, whose duty will be to endeavor by mediation and conciliation to settle the controversies.

(1915, p. 163) Executive Council reported the plan was impracticable and not in harmony with the spirit that has characterized all of the work of the A. F. of L. and assured its success and continued usefulness. That spirit upon which so much depends is the absolute absence of any element of compulsion. The plans, policies and decisions that are adopted and followed, are voluntarily endorsed by those whom they affect. There is a spontaneity and a flexibility about the trade union movement that enables it to adapt itself to every changing condition, every new development, and to serve the best interests of the wage-earners. It is so flexible and adjustable that it is part of their lives and changes as their daily needs change. The plan proposed by the committee on adjustments provides for a permanent board whose functions shall be mediation and conciliation. The plan is modeled after various suggestions looking toward compulsory conciliation and mediation and government organizations for that purpose. There seems to be no reason to think that any permanent and more or less mechanical agency would be more effective in the work of conciliation and mediation between the various organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. than is the method that has enabled us to build up our present degree of power and success and to adjust difficulties as they develop between organizations. (p. 368) Convention approved the decision of the Executive Council.

(1916, p. 296) Reaffirmed action of 1912 convention against organization by industries instead of crafts.

Trades, Basic—(1881, p. 12) A plan of organization was presented which had been approved by the Representative Assembly of Trade and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast. It recommended that unions of kindred occupation in addition to maintaining their separate organizations, amalgamate under heads as follows: Iron, building, printing, leather and clothing trades and purveyors. Each amalgamated association to choose delegates to a nationl council of federated trades whose duties should be simply executive. The plan was not endorsed.

Trade Union Discrimination—(1906, p. 174) Condemned action of local unions affilliated through their national and internationals with the A. F. of L. in striking to assist an independent union against a regular organization of the same trade. Executive Council requested to use every effort when such complaints were made to stop such destructive methods.

Trade Unionism, Ethics of—(1904, p. 167) The following were endorsed in 1903: "1. Organize, unite and federate. 2. Have faith and confidence in themselves and each other. 3. Stand shoulder to shoulder in stress and strife; to help bear each other's burdens and perfect the bonds of brotherhood. 4. Endeavor to maintain industrial peace by trade agreements with employers. 5. Voluntarily and faithfully abide by and fulfill the terms of agreements and the awards of arbitrators thereunder. 6. Prevent industrial conflicts wherever possible, and particularly to resist all attempts to reduce wages." We now report as results of such policy the following: "1. Wage reductions have been checked. 2. The industrial situation has not become acute, as was the uniform course formerly. 3. Much idleness, poverty, suffering and misery have been prevented. 4. The era of industrial stagnation, as compared with former like conditions, has been shortened. 5. The prospect for a revival in industry and commerce in the future is brighter, as compared with any similar previous period. 6. There is less acute feeling of unrest among workmen and employers generally, business men and all our people. 7. There are more workmen and employers in agreement and understanding. 8. There is a more general effort to bring about more rightful relations between workmen and employers. 9. There is a better conception of the rights and duties of man to man, a more general satisfaction among our people with the present, and a more gratifying and hopeful outlook for the future."

Trade Union, Mission of—(1904 ,pp. 14-167) The trade union movement stands for the abolition of the yet prevailing opinion that the laborer, because he is a laborer, is something less than a citizen and has not the full right as such. It endeavors to establish on the industrial field such equality and such opportunity as has been granted on the political field, not only theoretically but, in fact, as lived and experienced in everyday life. From the dark days of slavery and serfdom to the era of wage-labor was in itself a great progress; the entrance of the wage earners into the realm of the larger, broader, and brighter vision of associated effort, has been frought with achievements commanding the admiration and the wonder of students and observers. Dispute it as some may, we are conscious, and history will accord us the credit, of being the natural and rational crystallized effort of the masses to abolish wrong and injustice; to attain justice and right by the most peaceful, evolutionary and humane method. The immediate future is pregnant with good or ill for the people of our country. It devolves upon the organized labor movement to determine by its course the form which it shall assume. The constant improvement in machinery, the division, subdivision, and specialization of labor, the wonderful development in industry, and the concentration of wealth, give to the wealth possessors such extraordinary power, which, when coupled with the cunning and greed for gain, unless intelligently and comprehensively met by a well organized labor movement,

will tend to the deterioration of our race, the destruction of all our achievements, and the dissipation of all our hopes. On the other hand, if we are faithful to the history and traditions of the struggling masses in the past, if we shall prove true to the interests and the welfare of the hosts of labor of our day, the power calculated to injure will be diverted to the common weal, and thus open up vistas of larger opportunities and a broader conception of human rights and ennobling aspirations.

Trade Union Policy Best—(1896, p. 48) John Mallinson, fraternal delegate from Great Britain, in addressing the convention said: "The constitution of the A. F. of L. is excellent. Its cornerstone is the anti-political section. We are engaged in fighting for it in England and hope eventually to secure it."

Trade Unions, Benefits Due to—(1896, p. 48) The trade unions secured labor bureaus, free text books, fire escapes and other improvements, not the men of education, but despite them.

Trade Unions Expand with Industry—(1907, pp. 20-202) Experience has shown that the various trades may be fully trusted to change the forms of their respective organizations in such manner as shall be most effective for the protection of their interests. Organisms have, no matter how produced, a life and an individuality peculiarly their own. Any sudden change in environments or any great divergence from the natural law of its growth means injury, deformity or death because of the inherent impossibility of sudden changes in its own structure. In accordance with this law organizations of labor will develop in obedience to the fundamental ideal underlying and nourishing its very life, but like other organisms slight variations in outward form will necessarily be produced by environments.

Trade Union Schools—(1905, pp. 27-188) Education is regarded by all as the essential to progress and success, and this fact is equally applicable to the trade union movement. Much as has been said and done regarding the trade unions and the trade union movement, it is, nevertheless, true that there is not as wide or general a knowledge and understanding of the history, the struggles, the methods, and the work of our movement as should be. The misinformation upon trade union life, activity, and purposes is still too general and profound. And to this is largely due the unfair criticism and opposition of opponents, as well as the inability of a number of our trade unionists often to defend themselves, the organizations with which they are connected, and the faith that is within them. Their confidence in and their judgment of trade union work and objects is, therefore, sometimes weakened or perverted, and they become easy victims to antagonists or sophists. We recommend that our central bodies establish in their respective localities trade union schools where at least the elementary principles of the trade union movement may be taught; where a correct understanding of trade union history, struggles, and achievements may be demonstrated and impressed upon students; where the conditions of the workers of the past may be made known, and what marvelous changes and improvements have been gradually yet effectively wrought in the life of labor, and where may be instilled the knowledge that only by associated efforts, the honorable performance of duty, and by constant application and persistency can labor work out its salvation day by day in the natural development and evolution toward a better life; that progress is made, not by leaps and jumps, but by the natural, the rational process of associated effort. Coupled with such schools and as a part of their instruction, the young boys and girls of our fellow-workmen would have the opportunity of coming to an understanding of the ennobling work and aspirations to which their elders are devoting their energies. With the establishment of trade union schools, leaflets, cards, tracts, elementary in their character, and books for advanced classes, could be prepared and issued from the office of the A. F. of L. and furnished at cost.

Trade Unions Outgrowth of Conditions—(1907, pp. 24-203) It is now generally recognized that the labor movement is the necessary and inevitable outgrowth of industrial conditions; that it was quite as much the impelling force of circumstances as desire which brought the labor movement into existence. The toilers have recognized that the advantages they now enjoy over previous periods were not brought to them upon a silver platter or philanthropically conceded to them. Even our worst antagonists concede that the organizations of labor have done much to improve the conditions of the workers. If this be true, and it is true, then to the unions of labor belongs at least that much credit. The question naturally arises, if the work of union labor in the past has been of a beneficent character, in what regard is the labor movement of today more at fault than that very movement which has brought this betterment which even our most bitter antagonists concede? Surely, none can truthfully assert that the labor movement of today is less intelligent, less humane, less lawful, than formerly. In truth, the observer must concede the reverse. The sum total of labor's offending today lies in the fact that by our larger membership and increased intelligence our movement has become more effective in gaining for our fellow-workers the rights to which they are justly entitled, the elimination of the wrongs which they have too long borne and the bright prospect for the fulfillment of their high hopes and aspirations in the interests of humanity. There is nothing for which our movement may declare, there is no action which it may take of an effective character to protect and promote the interests of labor, which will meet with the approval of labor's opponents. Only after success has attended our efforts and some of our demands are established and in full operation, whether this be by law or by agreement with employers, and the beneficence of these measures generally recognized, will the clamor of ignorance, greed and bigotry be silenced. This has been demonstrated in the past; the future will justify labor's present contention. It has been truly said that the demands of labor are usually made ten or twenty years in advance of their general acquiescence and approval. If labor but goes on in the even tenor of its way, organizing our fellow-workers, securing for them more time and leisure and opportunity for their education and the cultivation of the best that is in them, pressing home upon

modern society the rightful claims which are ours, we shall not only improve public opinion, and more largely ourselves constitute that public opinion, but we shall achieve for ourselves and for all posterity that real freedom, justice, progress and humanity of which poets have sung, philosophers have dreamed, and for which labor in all time has struggled, and which it is the mission of labor now and in the near future to establish.

Trade Unions, Their Philosophy—(1898, pp. 14-85) In the early days of our movement we had a declaration in our organization that defense of trade unions was unnecessary. In this declaration we were supported by the historic development of the labor movement, justified by all laws of natural growth, by industrial, economic and social conditions. Though there is no alteration requiring a modification of our attitude, in so far as the unquestionable basis of the trade unions is concerned, certain elements have arisen, and taken our failure to defend the trade unions as a confession of the untenableness of trade unions and trade union action. It is true that the work, the onward march, the progress, the success attending our movement, are in themselves a defense; yet our silence has been interpreted as a confession of weakness. The trade unions are the legitimate outgrowth of modern socitary and industrial conditions. They are not the creation of any man's brains. They are organizations of necessity. They were born of the necessity of the workers to protect and defend themselves from encroachment, injustice and wrong. They are the organizations of the working class, for the working class, by the working class; grappling with economic and social problems as they arise, dealing with them in a practical manner to the end that a solution commensurate with the interests of all may be attained. From hand labor in the home to machine and factory labor witnessed the transition from the trade guilds to the trade unions; with the concentration of wealth and the development of industry, the growth from the local to the national and the international unions; and the closer affiliation of all in a broad and comprehensive federation. There are some who, dissatisfied with what they term the slow progress of the labor movement would have us hasten it by what they lead themselves to believe is a shorter route. No intelligent workman who has passed years of his life in the study of the labor problem, expects to wake up any fine morning to find the hopes of these years realized over night, and the world on the flood-tide of the millennium. With the knowledge that the past tells us of the slow progress of the ages of trial and travail, mistakes and doubts yet unsolved; with the history of the working class bedewed with the tears of a thousand generations and tinged with the life-blood of the numberless martyrs, the trade unionist is not likely to stake his future hopes on the fond chance of the many millions turning philosophers in the twinkling of an eye. Much of our misery as enforced wage-workers springs, not so much from any power exerted by the "upper" or ruling class, as it is the result of the ignorance of so many in our own class who accept conditions by their own volition. The more intelligent, realizing their inability to create a millennium, will not descend to trickery or juggling with terms. They seek to benefit themselves and their fellow-men through trade unions and trade union action, and by bearing the brunt, be in the vanguard in the cause, and hasten on the process of education that will fit humanity even to recognize the millennium when it arrives. Each ism has stood but as an evanescent and irridescent dream of poor humanity groping blindly in the dark for its ideal; and it has caused many a heart-wrench to regulate some idealism to movements which do not move, to the dead ashes of blasted hopes and promises. Throughout all these dreams and hopes and fears and attacks, vituperation and misrepresentation, the trade unionists have plodded along their weary way since the miner of Laurium, 3,000 years ago, laid down his pick: and, though phantasmagorias and dreams have lived and died, the wage-earners, with pick and shovel, with hammer and saw and plane, with hands on the lever of the highest developed machines, kept, and keeps, organizing and plodding along toward better conditions of life. The trade unions not only discuss economics and social problems, but deal with them in a practical fashion calculated to bring about better conditions of life today, and thus fit the workers for the greater struggles for amelioration and emancipation yet to come. No one having any conception of the labor problems—the struggles of life—would for a moment entertain the notion, must less advise the workers, to abstain from the exercise of their political rights and their political power. On the contrary, trade union action upon the surface is economic action, yet there is no action which the trade unions can take but which in its effect is political. But, in the exercise of the political power of the workers, that is, the casting of the ballot, we are sometimes urged to throw to the winds the experience and the tangible results of ages, and to hazard the interests of labor in a new era of political partisanship. We want legislation in the interest of labor; we want legislation executed by labor men; we want trade unionists in Congress and more trade unionists in the state legislatures, in our municipal councils and in our executive offices; we want trade unionists on the magisterial benches, and those convinced of the justice of our cause, with the courage of their convictions, in the highest offices of our land. We shall secure them, too, by acting as trade unionists rather than turning our trade unions into partisan ward clubs. Our movement is of the wage-earning class, recognizing that class interests, that class advancement, that class progress is best made by working class trade union action. That we shall receive the co-operation of others, goes without saying; but it is only as the trade unions grow in numbers, in power and in intelligence, shall we disenthrall the minds and freedom of action of sympathizers with our cause, who gladly await the hour to place the best sheaves of their laurels of learning at the feet of the advancing hosts of organized labor. Spencer has said that it has always been the remnant in society which has saved it from reaction of barbarism. Today modern society is beginning to realize that trades unions are the only hope of our civilization and to regard them as the only power whose mission is to evolve order out of our social chaos to save us from reaction, brutality and perhaps barbarism. Our progress may be

slow, yet it is the fastest, the safest and best evolved from the human mind; and even in its present form, is the germ of a future state which all will hail with glad acclaim. Then to nuture it, to concentrate our energies in order that its progress may be sure that its advancement may be unimpeded, that its development may be unrestricted and its success unimpaired, is the duty of every intelligent worker, every lover of the human race. The toilers of our country look to you to devise the ways and means by which a more thorough organization of the wage earners may be accomplished, and to save our children in their infancy from being forced into the maelstrom of wage slavery. Let us see to it that they are not dwarfed in body and mind, or brought to a premature death by early drudgery, to give them the sunshine of the school room and play ground instead of the factory and the workshop. To protect the workers in their inalienable rights to a higher and better life; to protect them, not only as equals before the law, but also in their rights to the product of their labor; to protect their lives, their limbs, their health, their homes, their firesides, their liberties as men, as workers, and as citizens; to overcome and conquer prejudice and antagonism; to secure to them the right to life, and the opportunity to maintain that life; the right to be full shares in the abundance which is the result of their brain and brawn, and the civilization of which they are the founders and the mainstay; to this the workers are entitled beyond the cavil of a doubt. With nothing less ought they, or will they, be satisfied. The attainment of these is the glorious mission of the trades unions. No higher or nobler mission ever fell to the lot of a people than that committed to the working class—a class of which we have the honor to be members.

Trade Unions the Only Hope—(1900, p. 16) We meet within a few days of the closing of the nineteenth, and the ushering in of the twentieth century; and, though contrary to the commonly accepted idea that something mystical and extraordinary accompanies the transition from one century to another, we can but feel impressed with the marvelous porgress which has been made within the past hundred years and imbued with some conception of that which is anticipated in the century to come. Through the pages of written history runs the thread of the organized struggle of the workers for the attainment of justice. Those who studiously search may learn that in the effort of the workers to remedy wrongs and establish rights, the trade union has been the factor by which concessions have been forced from existing society. With the beginning of the nineteenth century, and almost with the initiative of our own government as an independent nation, an immense impetus was given to the movement of labor; but from the fact that ours was entirely an agricultural country, the trade unions were sparse and fragmentary. Industry was incapable of full development, so long as chattel slavery existed; hence, the formation of national unions could not be effectually achieved. The abolition of chattel slavery paved the way for larger industrial development, and conjointly with it the greater growth and expansion of trade unionism upon a national basis. Now, as industries are frequently merged and concentrated, we present to the world the best federation of organized labor which has been recorded by history. Previous attempts at concentration of the organized workers' efforts were made, all of which, through failure to recognize the true functions of such a movement, proved the fatal rock upon which they foundered, went to pieces, and strewed the debris of distrust and discouragement until it not only injured and destroyed the unions, but weakened the faith and the confidence which the workers had in organized effort to abolish injustice, and to attain redress. Nor is it out of place to call attention to the fact that, though our Federation was formed in 1881, the records demonstrate that a large preponderance of those who were in attendance were not its friends; for, though there were a large number of delegates, who were authorized to attend by the peculiar term of the call, yet at the Convention immediately succeeding there were but nineteen delegates in attendance. But though few in numbers, the men of that and subsequent conventions, realizing that the time would come when the necessity for a broad and comprehensive federation would be generally recognized, hewed strictly and closely to the line. The movement for the establishment of the eight-hour day in 1886, though hampered by a most unfortunate event, still had wakened the toilers to a realization of their duty to such an extent, and had accomplished so much, that that year brought a greater recognition of the true worth of our Federation, and the adoption of the present title. The history of the struggle made by the few men (upon whom were imposed the duties and sacrifices, without compensation of any kind and with scarcely a dollar to prosecute the work of organization and education) during the five years of 1881-86 to maintain the Federation, has not been, and perhaps never will be, written. The beginning of this new era of our Federation gave the toilers new hope and new courage; for they saw that our movement was founded upon correct principles, and that its affairs were placed in the hands of men who desired above all things the promotion of the interests of the toilers and the achievement of their rights. We affirm without fear of successful contradiction, and in spite of the insinuations and slanderous charges of the enemies of our cause, that our movement has been freer from dishonest and faithless men than any institution, organization, or movement in our own, and perhaps in any other country. The A. F. of L. has not indulged in any exhaustive or elaborate platform of abstract principles. It recognizes that the best organization for the working people is an organization of the working people, by the working people, and that is the trade union; to assure and insure the right of the trade unions to self-government, and yet to insist that the toilers in each union shall appreciate the interdependence or organizations, and by the federation of all to present a solid phalanx of the workers of America. Our economic and social life presents to us new and complex problems. The century now opening before us requires the keenest appreciation on the part of all, that upon ourselves and upon our unity in sentiment, conviction and action lies the safety of the future manhood, womanhood and childhood of our country. There

have been no rights accorded unless they have been conquered through the unity, the wisdom and the willingness, of those who have acquired them, to bear burdens and make sacrifices. What is true of the past is true in the present, and will be equally true in the future. To organize the yet unorganized workers; to build up national and international unions, to make our organizations daily more effective to defend the toilers; to protect and promote their interests in every way; to assure beyond all preadventure the vantage ground already gained; to progress continually in abolishing that which the workers, their wives and their children have too long borne, and the achievement of that justice to which we are entitled. The success of these, as typified by our great cause, now and for all time to come, rests entirely upon the working class itself. It may be true that others, by their sympathetic action, may aid us in our movement; but we resent the claims or the promises of any and all that the amelioration in the condition of the wage-workers, or their disenthrallment from every form of injustice, depends upon any other power than that of the working people themselves, by and through their trade union effort. (p. 111) At the close of the last century, the working people were either chattel slaves or serfs, tied to the soil, or members of craft guilds, the government of which was in the hands of the masters, and, in any case, deprived of the right of combination, mobility and migration. By reason of the desire of the then middle class to share in the power and privileges of the upper class, it became necessary for them to insist upon equal freedom for all. By and through this they were able to take the function of government from the then rulers and to break into their circle, but they were compelled to give to the working people—in theory, at least—equal rights with themselves, under the law. Through these influences, chattel slavery and serfdom were abolished, mobility and the right of migration conceded; and, the working class, feeling its fetters dropping, insisted upon, and re-acquired, the right of combination, through which we enjoy that measure of freedom that we now have, and which makes this international gathering possible. We desire to remind the working people that the progress made, even though assisted by the antagonisms above referred to, was only possible through the unceasing struggle and the willingness to stand for human freedom, regardless of what the consequences were. It is our purpose to warn the workers that the antagonisms and struggle for power, of the upper classes, are now practically at an end, and that the desire will, in the coming years, be to take from us the rights now acquired, or, at least, to stay the progress toward that condition of society in which no "classes" will exist. We realize that the contest will be bitter, relentless, and varied, and that its outcome may be disastrous, unless we shall prove capable of a greater solidarity, mutual forbearance, and readiness for sacrifice, than up to the present we have been able to show.

Trade Union Triumphs—(1916, p. 312) Reviewing and reflecting upon the history of the American trade union movement, its struggles, achievements and accomplishments, no impartial observer or unbiased student can doubt for one moment the efficacy of our movement and the high and lofty character of its aims and purposes, hopes and aspirations. The history of the organized labor struggle reveals that in its inception the trade union movement was looked upon as too insignificant for attention and omitted entirely from serious consideration. As the movement gained in strength, power and influence, when the workers' movement of our country compelled public recognition, it was treated with contempt and uncompromising hostility, regarded as a social enemy and an obstacle to our economic and industrial progress. All this has changed. Trade unions are today acknowledged essential to the interests of the men and women of labor and justified as an invaluable institution to human progress and for the advancement of a higher and a greater civilization. The efficacy of trade unionism is conclusively proven by the rapidity with which its principles are spreading among the workers and the eagerness with which its good will and support is sought by those inspired by the high motives of improving the lot of mankind and advancing the doctrines of true brotherhood. New adherents and additional supporters are being attracted to the trade union movement each succeeding day and with each recurring year. Today the A. F. of L. embraces within its membership approximately 2,250,000 members. What greater inspiration could be asked for? What greater source of hope and encouragement can we find for continued and persistent efforts in the cause of labor? The prospects of the future of the workers of America are higher than ever. Few realize that no previous time was more eventful in the life of our economic and industrial society than the age in which we are living. Great economic and social forces are sweeping over our country and of which we are but half conscious. Such is the era in which we are living; such is the influence and power of our great American labor movement.

Training Camps, Rates to—(1917, p. 365) Low telephone and telegraph rates to training camps would keep us in closer touch with loved ones. The President, Congress and the National Council of Defense are requested to call a conference of representatives of the various companies affected to secure the reduction.

Traveling Cards, Must Accept—(1905, p. 261) President of A. F. of L. always has decided that a bona fide member of a union going into a city where there is a union of his craft affiliated with the A. F. of L. must have his card accepted.

Truck System—(1881, p. 3) "Orders" or "truck" system of payment of wages instead of lawful currency is not only gross imposition but a downright swindle and calls for entire abolition. Laws should be enacted to fine and imprison all employers practicing the system.

Trusts—(1899, p. 15) We are all conscious of the giant strides with which industry during the past decade has combined and concentrated into the modern trust. There is considerable difference of opinion, however, as to what is regarded by many as an intolerable evil. Organized labor is deeply concerned regarding the "swift and intense concentration of the industries," and it realizes that unless successfully con-

fronted by an equal or superior power, there is economic danger and political subjugation in store for all. But organized labor looks with apprehension at the many panaceas and remedies offered by theorists to curb the growth and development, or to destroy the combinations of industry. We have seen those who knew little of statecraft, and less of economics, urge the adoption of laws to "regulate" interstate commerce, and laws to "prevent" combinations and trusts; and we have also seen that these measures, when enacted, have been the very instruments to deprive labor of the benefit of organized effort, while at the same time they have simply proved incentives to more subtly and surely lubricate the wheels of capital's combination. We are convinced that the state is not capable of preventing the development, or the natural concentration of industry. All the propositions to do so which have come under our observation, would, beyond doubt, react with greater force and injury upon the working people of our country than upon the trusts. The great wrongs attributable to the trusts are their corrupting influence on the politics of the country, but as the state has always been the representative of the wealth possessors, we shall be compelled to endure this evil until the toilers are organized and educated to the degree that they shall know that the state is by right theirs, and finally and justly come to their own, while never relaxing in their efforts to secure the very best possible economic, social and material improvement in their condition. There is no tenderer or more vulnerable spot in the anatomy of trusts than their dividend paying function; there is no power on earth other than the trade unions which wields so potent a weapon to penetrate, disrupt, and, if necessary, crumble the whole fabric. This, however, will not be necessary, nor will it occur; for the trade unions will go on organizing, agitating and educating, in order that material improvement may keep pace with industrial development, until the time when the workers, who will then form nearly the whole people, develop their ability to administer the functions of government in the interest of all. There will be no cataclysm, but a transition so gentle that most men will wonder how it all happened. In the early days of our modern capitalist system, when the individual employer was the rule under which industry was conducted, the individual workmen deemed themselves sufficiently capable to cope for their rights; when industry developed and employers formed companies, the workingmen formed unions; when industry concentrated into great combinations, the workingmen formed their national and international unions; as employments became trustified, the toilers organized federations of all unions, local, national and international, such as the A. F. of L. We shall continue to organize and federate the grand army of labor, and with our mottoes, fewer hours of labor, higher wages, and an elevated standard of life, we shall establish equal and exact justice for all. (p. 148) The trust is an industrial disease which can only be alleviated and finally cured by remedies taken from the industrial garden, organizations of labor, free from all anti-combination laws, given full freedom to use its own natural weapons, and the thoughtful and earnest support of all lovers of industrial freedom, will meet this evil and overcome it in the natural evolutionary way. We, therefore, ask from the legislator, not anti-combination laws, but the sweeping away of those now extant, to the end that the trust may not have at its command the judicial executive and military machinery of the political state. And, furthermore, that this Convention calls upon the trade unionists of the United States, and workingmen generally, to carefully study the development of trusts and monopolies, with a view to nationalizing the same.

(1900, p. 131) The movement of capital to concentrate and cooperate has not lessened, but, on the contrary, nearly all productive industry, outside of agriculture, is now controlled by trusts and monopolies, which have the power largely to lower wages on the one hand, or raise prices on the other, thus enforcing great hardships upon the working people. The A. F. of L. reaffirms its position upon this question by warning the unorganized working people to organize into the respective unions of their trades or crafts as the best means of resisting the encroachments of said trusts and monopolies, and we also renew the recommendation that trade workingmen study the developments of the trusts and monopolies.

(1901, pp. 23-187) In pursuance of a popular demand for the limitation or regulation of trusts, both a constitutional amendment and a bill were introduced in the Federal Congress; but in the provisions of all was contained language easily distortable to apply to labor organizations, and to outlaw them; that for that reason we opposed the passage of the constitutional amendment, which was defeated, and secured the incorporation of an amendment to the bill, in the House of Representatives, providing "that nothing in this act shall be so construed as to apply to trade unions or other labor organizations, instituted for the purpose of regulating wages, hours of labor, or other conditions under which labor is to be performed." The bill was referred to the Senate Committee, which reported it, with the following substitute amendment for the one we proposed: "That nothing in said act shall be so construed as to apply to any action or combination otherwise lawful, of trade unions or other labor organizations, so far as such action or combination shall be for the purpose of regulating wages, hours of labor, or other conditions under which labor is performed, without violence or interfering with the lawful rights of any person." We would have accepted the substitute amendment offered by the committee had it not contained the last proviso, "or interfering with the lawful rights of any person." As a matter of fact, these words vitiate whatever advantage the exclusion of labor organizations from the operations of the anti-trust law was intended to give, both by the amendments of the A. F. of L. and the Senate committee. Organized labor asks no immunity for any overt or unlawful act of which any of its members might at any time be guilty. But we insist that a strike —that is, withholding our labor power to secure better conditions of employment—or the boycott, that is, the transfer of our patronage from an employer or merchant who is hostile or unfair toward us, to an employer or merchant more favorably inclined, is the exercise of our lawful and moral

rights; and yet the exercise of either or both, a strike or boycott, may interfere "with the lawful rights of any person." The anti-trust bill, in the amended form recommended by the committee, was defeated in the Senate by a vote of yeas, 24; nays, 36, thus again emphasizing the fact that when by the alertness of the representatives of the A. F. of L. the points at issue were clearly brought out, the Federal Congress refused to sanction by direct words the curtailment of labor's rights.

(1903, p. 27) Attention has been called to the fact that under the guise of so-called anti-trust laws lay the hidden purpose to attack the organizations of labor. We are all familiar with the so-called Sherman anti-trust law, and we are also aware of the fact that under its provisions the only persons ever indicted were a number of workmen who sought to protect their interests against an opponent, and that under the pretense of its provisions and the so-called interstate commerce law the Federal courts have issued the many injunctions enjoining workmen from doing those things for which there is absolutely no prohibition in the laws, and the doing of which is in no wise at variance or in conflict with the Constitution or any of the laws of our country. It is because we have detected in the various proposed bills, ostensibly to restrict or govern the trusts and other corporations of capital, the insidious purpose to attack the trade unions, which, by the way, have no semblance to the trusts, that we have urged in all measures of this character the following clause: "Nothing herein shall be so construed as to apply to the organizations of wage-earners having for their object the regulation of wages, hours, and conditions of employment." With one exception this proposed clause has always disclosed the real purpose which the proposers had in introducing their so-called anti-trust bills both in the Federal Congress and State legislatures; for whenever this exempting clause was submitted the proposers were unmasked and abandoned their bills. The exception to which reference is made is the State of Texas, where, in the last session of its legislature, a so-called anti-trust bill was introduced. The amendment exempting the unions from the operations of the bill was proposed, but not adopted. The assurance was given by the advocates of the bill, and the opinion was rendered by the attorney-general of the State, that under no circumstances could the provisions of that bill be interpreted to apply to organized labor; and yet, within a few weeks after its enactment, the first who were dragged into court under its provisions were the members of organized labor in the State. Some of our fellow-workers will not learn by the experience, or they fail to heed the advice which those of experince may give. In those cases they will have but themselves to blame for the situation which will surely confront them. It is worse than folly to join in the hue and cry raised by our opponents and the faddists for legislative demands ostensibly aimed at combinations of capital, but really directed against the organizations of labor.

(1906, p. 163) Approved amendment to except labor in Sherman anti-trust law.

(1907, pp. 42-210) For many years industrial combination among employers—that is, in the form of corporations and trusts—has been the subject of discussion among all our people. That there is much misinformation upon the subject is beyond question. As an organization, the labor movement has viewed the trusts as employers of labor, and our attitude toward them has been gauged by their course toward workmen as employes. Each of our vast membership exercises his judgment and action toward corporations and trusts as his individual opinion may determine, uninfluenced by any concrete expression from our general labor movement. One grave error into which some people fall, particularly the opponents to our movement, is to designate the organizations of labor as "trusts." The trade union is not, and from its very nature cannot be, a trust. Trusts consist of organizations for the control of the products of labor. Workmen possess their labor power; that is, the power to produce. Workmen have not any products for sale. There certainly cannot be a trust in anything which has not been produced. It is therefore economically unsound, as well as untrue, to designate labor organizations as "trusts." The trust is an association of the owners and controllers of the product of labor for the benefit of a few. The trade union is an association of many for the benefit of all. (see November, 1907, American Federationist). A conference was recently held at Chicago, where the question of trusts, combinations and labor organizations was discussed. A number of active workers in the labor movement participated. Among the resolutions adopted was one urging upon Congress the appointment of a commission composed of representatives of labor and capital and of the general public, to investigate the whole subject and to inquire to what extent interpretations of the courts have gone, denying to the organizations of labor the right to enter into trade agreements relating to wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Interstate Commerce Law, intended to cover those corporations and trusts dealing with the control and transportation of products, have, by the interpretation of the courts, been made to apply to the organizations of workingmen. When Congress a few years ago, in the House of Representatives, undertook to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, those in charge of the bill refused to accept labor's amendment, which made the distinction between trusts and corporations on the one hand and organizations of labor on the other. We finally secured the adoption of our amendment while the bill was under discussion in the House, but after that amendment was adopted, no further interest in the passage of the bill was manifested. (p. 334) Executive Council directed to consider appealing to the President of the U. S. for a readjustment of the laws so that a combination that produces an artificial scarcity of paper and unduly stimulates the price will be made impossible. Considered a tariff question.

(1909, pp. 22-311) Congress has thus far failed to pass any amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, relieving the labor organizations from the operations of that law as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States in the suit of Loewe & Co., hat manufacturers of Danbury, Conn., against the United Hatters of North America for threefold damages claimed by Loewe—

that is, $240,000. Though it is true that since this decision has been rendered but few suits have been instituted against organized labor under the provisions of the new interpretation placed upon the law, yet it is also true that every labor organization and every individual member of the organization are menaced by the present status. Now any action taken by our voluntary organizations of labor for the protection and the furtherance of the interests of the workers makes them amenable to the law with its penalties of imprisonment and threefold damages which anyone may allege he has suffered by reason of a strike by men withholding their labor from employers or their patronage from business men. There are different contentions as to what Congress had in mind when the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was enacted. From the assurances given the representatives of labor and the declarations made upon the floor of Congress at the time when the bill, now a law, was under consideration, the workers were justified in believing that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was the result of an aroused indignation among the people against the combinations of great corporations which prey upon the public. And that, as the very title of the bill conveys it is a law contemplated to reach, regulate, and deal with the trusts whose operations are not with labor, but with the products of labor; that as the organizations of the working people concerned themselves, not with the labor products, but with human beings, the law ought not and could not properly have application to them. But the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the law applies to the workers' organizations instituted for their own physical and moral protection and advancement, and from that decision there is but one appeal—to the people of our country. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law is not what it is now superficially supposed to be, but is, indeed, a re-establishment of the oldest laws proclaimed by tyrants more than a thousand years ago, laws which had for their effect the prohibition of associations and organizations of the people of whatsoever kind. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law, as it now exists, may more appropriately be styled an anti-coalition law. Under the anti-coalition laws of the dim, distant past every association or organization of the people was disrupted and disbanded; their liberties were destroyed, and ignorance, darkness, misery, and demoralization enveloped the people for a thousand years; a period when the arts, the sciences, industry, and progress were strangled and inanimate, when but one in every five hundred of the people could either read or write. Take away the right and opportunity of the workers, the masses of the people, to associate themselves for their common protection against oppression, whether by king or industrial potentate; curb the power of the workers, the people, for effective protest, and a new era of blighted life will have been inaugurated. Against the possibility of such a condition of affairs America's workers must not only protest, but they must make that protest effective and complete. There is no factor in all our public life so potent to maintain and perpetuate the liberties of the people as a well-organized movement of the workers. In all times and under all forms of government wherever slavery existed, the workers were the slave class. Other portions of society may have been deprived of rights and liberties, but only in degree and in proportion as the workers were driven into the forms of slavery. And particularly under modern industrial conditions with wealth concentration, if from the workers is filched by government the right to associate peacefully and voluntarily and in their association and organization to exercise the natural, normal functions of such organizations to protect their rights and interests against greed, avarice, and overbearing tyranny, then the first elements of slavery have been injected into our lives and future. The rights and the liberties of the people have never been, and will never be, taken from them with one fell swoop. Oppressors are more adroit. The invasion of rights is gradual, and by specious assurances the people are often lulled into a fancied security only to find themselves enmeshed, circumscribed and almost crushed, requiring ages of struggle and travail for their awakening and rehabilitation. Today our wage-workers' organizations existence legally considered is by the sufferance of the powers that be. Such a condition of affairs is intolerable. It has been, and is, the aim of the American labor movement to be in fullest accord with the American concept of gradual, rational progress and development, and by natural evolutionary process peacefully to work out labor's emancipation. The labor organizations of America will live, be maintained, grow, toil, and struggle for the amelioration of the conditions of the workers, the improvement of their standard of life and citizenship, and to work out their salvation for a higher and better manhood, womanhood, and childhood, all the bitter antagonistic elements to them to the contrary notwithstanding. Rapacity, greed, tyranny, and ignorance can not and will not subjugate or enslave America's workers.

(1910, pp. 27-309) In discussing an administration bill providing legal authority for issuing injunctions the President of the United States said: "The great difficulty in respect to the matter is that if the bill is reported from the committee and put upon its passage in the House there will be a movement to introduce amendments in accord with the recommendations of the Federation of Labor, by which a jury trial shall be required in contempt cases and boycotts shall be made legitimate. It is feared that if such amendments were proposed they might pass and thus make the bill an obnoxious one. Whether a parliamentary condition can be created which will prevent the submission of such amendments or not is a question that I can not anticipate." In other words, the President was apprehensive that if that bill which he favors came before the House of Representatives amendments would be offered securing to the workers the rights to which Labor is entitled equal with all other citizens, and that these amendments would be adopted by the House. Further, he hoped that a parliamentary condition might be created to prevent Labor's amendments being brought to the consideration of the House. (p. 31) In New Orleans 75 workmen were indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, their offense being they had cooperated to obtain better prices for their product.

(1911, p. 291) Under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, any action taken by the working people in defense or in advancement of their interests by which an employer or business man may suffer financial or business loss, though the action of the workmen may consist in their exercise of the right of free men to withhold their labor power from employers or their patronage from business men, is now illegal. They may be mulcted in threefold damages alleged to have been suffered by an employer or business man, they may be prosecuted under the penal provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, fined the sum of $5,000 and imprisoned for one year. The organization of workers, whether established for many years or temporarily formed to meet an economic emergency may be dissolved. That such a condition of affairs is unjust and intolerable all fair-minded, liberty-loving men admit. It is prejudicial to an orderly, natural, rational and peaceful solution of the industrial problem in the relations of wage earners and employers. This convention authorizes and directs the Executive Council to urge the President of the United States to recommend in his forthcoming message to Congress the amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

(1912, p. 380) Congress asked to investigate to what extent complaint of violations of anti-monopoly laws have been ignored by state and federal officers and at the same time were guilty of vigorously pressing prosecutions against members of labor unions. (pp. 131-349) The so-called Sherman Anti-Trust Law was apparently designed, and certainly was by the people accepted, as a law to prevent monopoly. The real fact is, and it is now becoming understood, that it is a law to prevent association. In Section 1, it makes any agreement or combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, illegal, if such combination in any way interferes with the freedom of interstate or foreign commerce. It is not a monopoly that it is prohibiting, it is a combination or an agreement by and through which those who combine or agree to endeavor to hold those things about which the agreement or combination is perfected at prices to be determined by themselves and to be disposed of in a manner and on conditions determined by themselves. Thus, if the several corporations refining and selling oil associate themselves together to determine the price of oil and the manner of its sale, it is forbidden by this law. So also the several corporations making and selling tobacco; making and selling steel, or any other product from their factories or establishments. Corporations are persons created by law, and when by an application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law their association is dissolved, the component parts thereof, that is, the corporations, the artificial persons, remain and continue in business. Labor power—the ability to labor with hand, or brain, or both—has by the courts been decided to be property, and by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law that definition is accepted, and thus man, his labor power, and the product of man's labor power are placed upon an equality. Labor power being considered as property and so treated under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, any number of men or women associating themselves together for the purpose of jointly determining the wage for which they will labor, and the condition under which they will labor, must, if the product of their labor goes into interstate trade or commerce, be upon the same plane and dealt with in the same way as the products of the factories belonging to the different corporations. If the combination of corporations, artificial persons, can be prevented from combining, or when they have combined can be dissolved into their original component parts, so any association of workingmen for the purpose of controlling and using their labor under a joint arrangement or agreement, can be dissolved into its component parts through the abolition or prohibition of their combination. Thus, this law, under which one corporation may own and control either all the oil, or all the steel, or all the wheat, or all the cloth in the country, or all of them put together, prohibits us, as working people, from associating ourselves together in self-defense against this very corporation. It permits the necessaries of life to be within the absolute control of one artificial person and prohibits the natural, living, breathing persons from making use of the means which nature has granted to the fishes in the sea, the birds in the air, and the cattle on the plain—association for common defense and protection. In substance, it is a copy of Caesar's anti-combination decree, it is used to the same end, and must, if permitted to continue, have the same result. Two remedies are possible, one is to repeal the law entirely, and thus go back to the principles of common law. The other is to have the law make a distinct dividing line, over which no judge may pass, between the labor power of man, which is an attribute of life and life itself, and the product of labor, which is property, subject to being disposed of or treated in any manner that its owner or society may determine. There should be no difficulty in drawing up a statute or a series of statutes which will prevent monopoly in the products of labor, in mineral products, or in products of the soil, and yet leave man with his labor power free to associate himself with his fellow for any purpose, or in any action not forbidden to the individual. This last would be in entire harmony with the fundamental principles upon which the government of the United States is organized, and in perfect accord with the best principles of Saxon jurisprudence and with the ideas and ethics of Christian religion. The Bacon-Bartlett bill, "to make lawful certain agreements between employes and laborers, and persons engaged in agriculture or horticulture, and to limit the issuing of injunctions in certain cases, and for other purposes," would in the main accomplish this purpose. The Executive Council and the Legislative Committee are instructed to do everything within their power to cause the enactment of this bill into law, and that the international and national organizations and their officers and members communicate with the Senators and Congressmen to this end. We also request the state organizations and the city central bodies to urge the adoption of similar statutes in the several states.

Tuberculosis—(1904, p. 159) The ravages of tuberculosis had made frightful progress in the U. S. and it was declared necessary to take steps to check and if possible to eradicate the disease.

(1905, pp. 35-79) Immediate efforts were

made to secure every possible information on the subject. More than a cordial co-operation and a desire for still further assistance were manifested by all with whom correspondence and conferences were held. Experiments are being made in various parts of the country to test at once whether tuberculosis (consumption) can be successfully fought by open-air treatment, whether it can be done with comparatively small outlay, and whether this aid can be administered without subjecting the recipient to the humiliation of feeling that he is a pauper. The humane, economical and ethical reasons for attempting to solve these questions are surely potent enough to call forth the greatest efforts. In the first place, the white plague, enervating as it does so large a number, and dooming the hundreds of thousands to an early grave, must arouse us and our fellows to action to combat its spread, and to endeavor to prevent its infection. This subject to us is of the utmost importance: this terrible disease though colossal in its proportions, which has destroyed and is destroying the lives of thousands upon thousands of our fellow-workmen, comes like the thief in the night, steals away our health and vitality, rendering us an easy and early prey to its poison touch. Particularly is this true of our wage-earners who, under modern industrial conditions, often work long hours in unsanitary workshops and live in unsanitary homes, and because of their meager earnings can not secure for themselves and those dependent upon them the requisite nourishing foods so necessary as a barrier against this awful disease. No wonder that overworked men and women, their children and themselves underfed, fall an easy prey to this terrible plague. The most expert specialists who have considered this subject have declared that the main causes for the propagation of consumption and the difficulty of its cure lie in the "over-crowding of the working classes"; that action of all associated effort, including legislation, should make for the enforcement of a larger minimum per capita air space in workshops, living rooms, schools and halls, and that these would lay the ground-work for better sanitation, ventilation, and sunlight for the prevention of tuberculosis. (p. 115) A special committee was appointed to consider the subject and made this report (p. 257), which was adopted: "Tuberculosis is a widespread disease which is every year killing about 150,000 persons in the United States. It is known that tuberculosis is both a preventable and a curable disease, and for this reason alone the American Federation of Labor is justified in taking steps that would put a stop to such horrible waste of life. It is also a fact that this disease seeks its victims especially among men and women in the prime of life, so much so that one-third of all who die between the ages of 15 and 44 years die of tuberculosis, and that this preventable disease works its greatest havoc among the wage-earners whose labor and skill make possible the industrial supremacy of this country. In certain trades the death rate from tuberculosis is five or six times as great as it is in occupations free from the accompaniment of unsanitary conditions. For these reasons we believe that this subject of tuberculosis is one of more than general humanitarian interest to the A. F. of L. and its constituent bodies. It is a matter of very direct and personal concern to every member of the laboring class, and its effect on the sick and death benefits is such that it has an important bearing on the financial welfare of many unions. It is undisputed that there is a direct relation between improvement in factory and shop conditions, proper hours of labor and adequate scales of wages. It is acknowledged that the death rate from this disease among union men is less than it is among non-union men. It is a fact also that the problem of tuberculosis as such is a problem of prevention rather than one of cure. To stamp out this scourge, to make it impossible that men shall be permitted to work under conditions so menacing to life that they invite tuberculosis, and at wages so low that a standard of life cannot be sustained sufficient to resist tuberculosis, this is the great work that is worth while for the American Federation of Labor rather than the cure of a few individual cases. Hospitals and sanatoriums for the cure of tuberculosis are praiseworthy institutions, but we should leave the operation and maintenance of them to others. Our work is to cut off the supply of patients and to make hospitals and sanatoriums unnecessary. To do this requires the education of union men and women throughout the country, and steps shall at once be taken to spread among the members of the bodies affiliated with this Federation a correct knowledge of the few facts essential to the prevention of tuberculosis.

HOW TO PREVENT CONSUMPTION—The spit and the small particles coughed up and sneezed out by consumptives, and by many who do not know that they have consumption, are full of living germs too small to be seen. These germs are the cause of consumption.

Don't spit on sidewalks—it spreads disease, and it is against the law.

Don't spit on the floors of your rooms and hallways.

Don't spit on the floor of your shop.

When you spit, spit in the gutters or into a spittoon. Have your own spittoons half full of water, and clean them out at least once a day with hot water.

Don't cough without holding a handkerchief or your hand over your mouth.

Don't live or work in rooms where there is no fresh air.

Don't sleep in rooms where there is no fresh air.

Keep at least one window open in your bedroom day and night.

Fresh air helps to kill the consumption germ.

Fresh air helps to keep you strong and healthy.

Don't eat with soiled hands—wash them first.

Don't neglect a cold or cough.

HOW TO CURE CONSUMPTION—Don't waste your money on patent medicines or advertised cures for consumption, but go to a doctor or a dispensary. If you go in time you can be cured; if you wait until you are so sick that you cannot work any longer, or until you are very weak, it may be too late; at any rate it will in the end mean more time out of work and more wages lost than if you had taken care of yourself at the start.

Don't drink whisky, beer or other intoxicating drinks; they will do you no good, but will make it harder for you to get well.

Don't sleep in the same bed with anyone else, and, if possible, not in the same room.

Good food, fresh air, and rest are the best cures. Keep in the sunshine as much as possible, and keep your windows open winter and summer, night and day—fresh air, night and day, is good for you.

Go to a hospital while you can, and before it is too late. There you can get the best treatment, all the rest, all the fresh air, and all the food which you need.

The careful and clean consumptive is not dangerous to those with whom he lives and works.

In order to aid in reducing the horrors of tuberculosis to a minimum this Convention strongly recommends discussion and furtherance of the following subjects:

Continued agitation for a shorter work day to a maximum of eight hours.

Increased demand for a higher minimum of pay for labor performed.

Encouragement of out-door exercise.

Formation of fresh air clubs.

Recommendation of temperate habits, including a diminution of the use of intoxicants.

Release from work at least one full day in seven.

Playgrounds for children adjacent to all public schools.

Large, open "breathing spaces" interspersed in all cities.

Total elimination of the sweat shop system.

Rigid inspection of mines, mills, factories and work shops.

A Saturday half-holiday, at least during the summer months.

Incorporation in trade agreements or in collective bargains governing working conditions of provisions for suitable ventilation and sanitation.

That wherever possible the suburban residence idea be strongly favored, coupled with a demand for one-half rates on steam and trolley lines during the usual hours of going to and returning from work.

Further agitation for better rooms and fresh air ventilation in all living apartments.

A positive demand for the passage of rigid anti-child labor laws in States where they do not now exist.

(1906, pp. 36-178) All who have given this subject of tuberculosis their deepest and best thought agree that sufficient and nutritious food, lessening of the hours of burdensome toil, pure air and better sanitation, are the most important considerations and effective elements for the prevention or the cure of tuberculosis. To obtain these conditions for the workers, not even our opponents have disputed that the trade union movement is the most potential. We recommend that our effort in all directions to relieve humanity from this great scourge be continued unabated.

(1908, pp. 97-260) We recommend in the strongest possible terms that, as means to the desired end, all trades and occupations not now working eight hours per day make additional effort to reduce their work day to not over eight hours; that where indoor employment is necessary open air exercise be instituted; that improved conditions of life in the home be encouraged; that temperate habits be practiced; that Central Bodies should agitate in their respective localities for careful supervision by building inspectors of plans for buildings for human abode so that proper sanitary conditions in the home and plentiful supply of fresh air can be amply and suitably provided; that State Federations be strongly advised to initiate legislation favoring the erection of public hospitals for the cure and care of consumptives in the States where such hospitals do not now exist. Your committee consider it a blot on our boasted civilization that so little care by the State is provided for men and women, old or young, who are suffering from the ravages of tuberculosis in any of its stages.

(1909, p. 106) Circulars containing information as to the prevention and cure of tuberculosis were continually being distributed. (p. 251) Indorsed educational work in the tuberculosis crusade carried on by the International Typographical Union. (p. 276) Advised all unions to help tuberculosis exhibits.

(1910, p. 254) Encouraged donations to the Red Cross to be used in war against tuberculosis. (p. 261) Indorsed move for a tuberculosis sanitarium in Illinois.

(1913, p. 316) We deprecate and condemn the practice of vending drugs or nostrums of any kind under the false promise that they will cure tuberculosis, and warn all who are exposed to or may suffer from this disease that no drug or medicine of any kind is yet known to medical science that will cure tuberculosis, and that we adjure victims of the disease to be guided at all times by the advice of competent and reputable physicians rather than by cunningly worded newspaper or magazine advertisements in their search for relief. The unanimous verdict of medical authorities is that the only known remedy for tuberculosis is sunlight, fresh air, pure, nourishing food and rest.

(1914, p. 348) Indorsed the publicity and educational activities of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. (p. 356) We urge all affiliated bodies to bring before their respective legislatures or other law-making bodies the necessity of better provisions for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis; that more rigid inspection of housing conditions be insisted upon, with more adequate provision for the sanitary conditions of places in which men and women are called upon to toil for their livelihood, and that more extensive and more suitable provision be made for the proper care and treatment of those who have fallen victims to tuberculosis, to the end that the ravages of this disease may be checked, and that it may be ultimately extinguished from among the list of plagues from which humanity suffers.

(1916, p. 347) Indorsed proposed federal investigation of dairies because so many children die of bovine tuberculosis.

Two-Platoon System—(1906, p. 156) The two-platoon system for fire departments reduces the hours of employment, increases wages, and emancipates the firemen from a condition of employment that is unjust to him and unsafe for the municipality. Pledged moral support to firemen for a universal demand for the system. (1913, p. 321) General organizers were instructed to bend every effort to organizing city firemen and secure for them a shorter workday. (1917, p. 347) Reindorsed two-platoon system. (1918, p. 212) Pledged support for two-platoon laws in all state legislatures and District of Columbia.

Tyranny Must Be Resisted—(1909, pp. 16-311) Tyranny, exercised by no matter whom or from what source, must be resisted at all hazards. The labor movement which is the defender, protector, and promoter of the rights and interests of the people must be carried forward, its rapacious, ignorant opponents to the contrary notwithstanding. We should not, and we must not, surrender the rights which we have achieved for the toilers; we dare not permit the workers to become the victims of the tender mercies of their exploiters. The higher manhood, womanhood, and childhood, a better standard of life which we have achieved for America's toilers, the better concept of human rights and liberties which have been secured at such great sacrifices are too precious heritages even to permit them to become debatable topics. They are the result of conquests in the struggle; they are ours to maintain and perpetuate for unborn generations.

Unaffiliated Organizations—(1912, p. 106) Members of unaffiliated internationals work with the members of affiliated internationals, enjoying advantages and receiving protection from comradeship and co-operation. We hold that such advantages and benefits carry with them duties and responsibilities. The members of unaffiliated unions enjoy much of the prestige of our movement or they share in every advantage secured on the economic field, as well as by laws enacted through the efforts of the A. F. of L. They should share in the performance of the work and in the duties and the responsibilities. The question of moral rights and moral obligations in the labor movement is also involved, for it logically follows that the deprivation of the right to hold aloof and remain apart from the A. F. of L. involves the very same principle as for a local union to hold aloof from the international union of its craft, and further involves the moral right of a workingman to remain and hold aloof from the union of his trade. In no other civilized country on the face of the globe does any bona fide national trade union hold itself aloof from affiliation with the general labor movement, and the general labor movement of America regards it as an unappreciative and unjustified position when any bona fide eligible international trade union of America remains unaffiliated to the A. F. of L. Urged unaffiliated internationals to join the A. F. of L. Many conventions made same request.

Unemployed—(1889, p. 16) Declared it of vast importance to ascertain in the census the number of unemployed and the duration of such lack of employment,and instructed the Executive Council to urge Congress to remedy the omission.

(1893, p. 10) The convention was held in the City Hall while men slept in the stone paved corridors, some with newspapers for quilts. The President made this answer to the address of welcome: "The path of progress of organized labor has been strewn with the unmarked graves of heroes and heroines. Through the dark ages of man's development to the present day organized labor stands for hope, humanity and progress. To it credit is due that we today see clearer the wrongs and injustices which prevail. It voices the hopes of the future and calls to account those responsible for the present. Last night I walked through the corridors of the City Hall and saw hundreds of men lying on the stone flooring, on the iron steps and some asleep standing up—all men in enforced idleness. Those responsible for these conditions should take warning. They are sleeping in false security. The men responsible for these things, who send out their protests, in which we join, against the bomb in Barcelona, against the bomb in Paris, and against the assassin's bullet in Chicago, must understand they must concede to the solution of the problem organized labor presents or they will be confronted with the guerrilla warfare to which I have alluded. Organized labor presents a solution of these problems. I appeal to those responsible men because the responsibility is resting on their shoulders. If they oppose organized labor in its solution of the questions, the people, without assembling, unbridled, unanswerable and irresponsible, may—but who can foretell what dangers may confront the human family? If on the other hand those responsible for these conditions will take the advice of the friends of humanity before it is too late, conditions may be reversed and a prosperous, just and human condition reinstated." (p. 37) While we applaud the humane efforts of private individuals to relieve the terrible distress of the unemployed we most respectfully but emphatically insist it is the duty of the city, state and national governments to give immediate and adequate relief; that a system of society which denies to the willing man the opportunity to work, then treats him as an outcast, arrests him as a vagrant and punishes him as a felon, is hereby condemned as inhuman and destructive of the liberties of the human race; that the right to work is the right of life; that to deny the one is to destroy the other; that when the private employer can not or will not give work the municipality, state or nation must. (p. 47) Endorsed bill in Congress providing work for the idle, $500,000,000 in treasury notes to be issued to build good roads.

(1894, p. 31) Owing to the large numbers made idle by the introduction of labor-saving machinery to prevent them becoming public charges we deem it wise to appropriate money to build good roads.

(1913, p. 89) The unemployed men and women of our country are aways a matter of concern to the organized labor movement. So long as there is a man or woman willing to work for whom there is no employment, society as a whole is failing to do justice. The changing seasons of the year decrease or increase the number of unemployed, and while the organized labor movement is battling for a greater degree of economic justice for those who are directly affiliated, its attention must be directed to that portion of our population who are idle through no fault of their own. The tremendous responsibility resting upon our organized movement, first, to educate the nonunion workers so that they may comprehend the rights to which they are entitled, and then to organize them into labor unions, does not constitute our full duty. Every question which has to do with the general welfare of the people comes within the scope of the organized labor movement. It is the only organized force that operates with directness and method. So long as there are unemployed who are willing to work it should be the aim of our movement to extend to them whatever assistance may be possible

and to endeavor to implant in their hearts and minds the fact that the organized men and women of Labor are anxious to be of service to those who are less fortunately situated. The labor movement should be ever mindful of the fact that the future will demand that some specific plan be devised for meeting this duty to those without a chance to earn a living. There are many ways in which organized labor and the general public could mitigate the evils of unemployment without devising any elaborate program of social justice or economic reform. This labor might be utilized in the construction of public works—in road building—which new methods of travel are making of increasing importance—and by shortening the hours of those already employed so that no one shall work more than eight hours per day. Not only should there be the humanitarian impulse to share with our less fortunate fellow-workers, the unemployed, but there must be an appreciation of the real menace which a body of unemployed workers constitutes to the standards of wages, working conditions, and living of those who are employed. Those who are unemployed, those who are perforce almost compelled to underbid fair rates, those who undermine standards of living constitute an almost insurmountable obstacle to greater material progress and advancement. It is a problem that demands constructive treatment. Every method by which unemployment can be eliminated should be most carefully utilized by the organized labor movement.

Unemployed, Aid for—(1915, p. 313) Congress and state legislature should enact laws providing for the erection of buildings in which unemployed may find lodging and nourishing meals during the winter months while out of work.

Unemployed Army, Permanent—(1908, pp. 9-215) In our country there must not be permitted to grow up or to be maintained a permanent army of unemployed. In the midst of such adverse circumstances, that our trade unions have maintained their existence, speaks well of them and of the sound economic and fundamental principles upon which they are based. That they have not succumbed to the fearful antagonism arrayed against them, to the lack of employment and to other insidious influences, is the best evidence that the movement of labor has found the citadel of its protection, its noblest inspiration, in the hearts and minds of the workers.

Unemployed, Census of—(1909, p. 316) Notice given that enumeration of the unemployed and the causes and periods of their unemployment would be encorporated in the United States census reports.

Uniformity in Legislation—(1912, p. 251) Executive Council requested to communicate with officers of state federations with the view of securing greater uniformity in legislative efforts in the several states. (p. 254) Labor legislation should be uniform in those groups of states interested in the same production and distribution.

Union Cards, International Exchange of—(1905, p. 181) In the interest of the solidarity of the labor movement of the world the Executive Council was instructed to correspond with the national and international unions of this country and Europe as to the advisability of the interchange of union cards without an extra initiation fee. Answers were generally favorable. (1906, pp. 38-69) Through the labor movement more than to any other human effort is due the breaking down of national hatred and prejudice born of ignorance, also the establishment of the principle of human brotherhood.

Union Cards, Transfer of—(1904, p. 164) Proposition providing that whenever a member of one union secures work which comes under the jurisdiction of another he be accepted on a transfer card was rejected. (1910, p. 266) Reaffirmed rejection.

Unionism—(1906, p. 178) A well-filled treasury is a much surer guarantee of genuine unionism than a lofty declaration of principles based on a bargain counter system of dues. A unionism that is not worth 25 cents a week had best be sent to the junk pile.

Unionism, Primary Essential of—(1911, pp. 21-274) Our Federation, resting on a solid foundation, is erecting a structure adapted at all times to its purposes and of a lasting character. Our movement has no schism within. All opposition to its policies, its procedures, its form of organization, and its tactics, comes from without. All who would divert it from its established principles are enemies, working for the promotion of institutions foreign to its character. Those who would change it aim at its disintegration. This is true whether the antagonist in view is the college president who believes in the right of the nonunionist to work below the union scale alongside of the unionist; or the philanthropist who believes unions should be mere benevolent societies; or the editor who believes that the unionist should be always in his party and a supporter of his interests, or the politician who demands that the unionist must always vote his ticket. But, it can safely be said, our trade unionism is to witness no integral change in structure or principle; for these are all adaptable to circumstances as they arise—to conditions as they develop. There exist within the scope of the trade unionism of America, as it was long ago conceived and for many years has been maintained in its integrity, the possibilities for continuous reform, both in economics and politics, to whatever extent at any time is possible. The strength, the firmness, the consistency, and the reasonableness of our trade unionism have convinced the great body of the citizens of this continent, wage-workers and others, that change, and even radical change, in the laws which govern society being inevitable in accordance with justice, the A. F. of L., as the dominant body of wage-workers, is the fitting and effective organization to lead the masses in carrying on to the end the great work of transformation. The ground-work principle of America's labor movement has been to recognize that first things must come first, The primary essential in our mission has been the protection of the wage-worker, now; to increase his wages; to cut hours off the long workday, which was killing him; to improve the safety and the sanitary conditions of the workshop; to free him from the tyrannies, petty or otherwise, which served to make his existence a slavery. These, in the nature of things, were and are the primary objects of trade unionism. Our great Federation has uniformly refused to

surrender this conviction and to rush to the support of any one of the numerous society-saving or society-destroying schemes which decade by decade have been sprung upon this country. A score of such schemes having a national scope, and being for the passing day subject to popular discussion, have gone down behind the horizon and are now but ancient history. But while our Federation has thus been conservative, it has ever had its face turned toward whatever reforms, in politics or economics, could be of direct and obvious benefit to the working classes. It has never given up its birthright for a mess of pottage. It has pursued its avowed policy with the conviction that if the lesser and immediate demands of labor could not be obtained now from society as it is, it would be mere dreaming to preach and pursue that will-o'-the-wisp, a new society constructed from rainbow materials—a system of society on which even the dreamers themselves have never agreed. It is untrue that this Federation is conservative in the sense of dissenting from propositions intended to affect far-reaching changes in our political institutions. We would conserve that which has been proved to be conducive to the welfare of the country as a whole, which means first of all the masses, but we would change as speedily as possible whatever has been injurious to the country, and especially to the masses. We would abolish all privilege, would establish a pure democracy, and would turn the tide of all volume of the products of labor into the hands of labor. We would end every form of aristocracy and bring to their end all institutions which refuse to recognize the people as the origin of legislation, of justice, and of domination. No other scheme of procedure for the advancement of the interests and well-being of the working classes measures up with the policy of our Federation in the slightest degree.

Unionism, Triumph of—(1903, p. 14) The first convention of the Federation (1881) was attended by a number who were not favorably disposed toward either its formation or its success. It was a difficult task to protect the Federation from its enemies within as well without. Nineteen delegates appeared at the convention in 1882, only six international unions being represented. The years of struggle and sacrifices of these early days of our Federation may perhaps never be told or written, for with the confidence of the workers almost destroyed in organizations and men, they were either opposed or indifferent, and withheld their support. Looking back to those days of wavering friends, of secret and subtle opposition, with the hosts of labor disheartened and discouraged, and now viewing the splendid vantage to which we have gained, with the respect and confidence of our fellows who daily gather within the fold of unionism, it must instil deeply in the hearts and minds of all who are sincerely engaged in the movement for the uplifting of the masses, renewed courage, renewed energy, and renewed hope and confidnce in that great cause with which we have the honor to be associated; and which, if I read the signs of the times correctly, with the earnestness, devotion, and increasing intelligence of our fellow-workers, is ultimately bound to triumph.

Union Label, A. F. of L.—(1900, p. 99) Federal labor unions should use only the label of the A. F. of L., and the A. F. of L. recommends that all national and international unions of kindred trades use an allied label on the finished product, whenever possible.

Union Made—(1899, p. 161) Any product represented to be "union made" shall not be so considered unless it bears the label of the craft producing such commodity.

Union Men Only on Guard—(1890, p. 10) "We understand, or believe we do, the difficulties which surround us in this great struggle of ours. We understand that there are obstructions to overcome. We know that deep seated ignorance and prejudices must be fought. And we also know that it is only through our own acts and our own expressions that we can overcome these constructions and live down these prejudices; that through our own unity only can we achieve victory. There have, in all great movements in the history of the world, been rallying words and watchwords which tended to raise the downhearted and cheer the weary toilers. Upon a memorable occasion in the dark hours of the revolution for Independence one of these was: 'This is the time that tries men's souls.' Another at a critical period was: 'Put none but Americans on guard.' Later, during the great struggle to free the black man and to sunder the shackles from his wrists, a crisis arose when a command was given which touched the hearts of the people and restored confidence along the line, for 'Michigan's on guard tonight.' So say I to you in this, the greatest contest of the human family for justice and right, 'Put none but union men on guard.' We have a hard row to hoe, a hard struggle to meet. We have also a grand end in view. To the attainment of that end the best impulses of our beings go forth, and its accomplishments calls for the best efforts of which the human race is capable. We know what we want and we know how to go about to get it. We are practical in our plans and deserve the support of all mankind. What we propose to do is to go our own way and to do the best we can to attain the greatest good to the greatest number, keeping in view that permanent amelioration and the final 'emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the workers themselves.' "

Union Pacific Dept—(1893, p. 61) Opposed any change of terms of contract or extension of time for Central and Union Pacific Railroad Companies to pay their debts to United States; called for immediate legal proceedings to force payment or take possession of lines. (1894, p. 48) Ordered communication sent to Congress protesting against conferring upon these companies or any other corporation the credit of the government to enable them to borrow money at the rate of 2 or 3 per cent per annum as proposed.

Union Souvenirs—(1894, p. 49) Unions when issuing souvenirs, journals, directories or other publications shall not advertise any firm antagonistic to union men or that employs nonunion men.

Union Transfer Cards—(1911, p. 202) Recommends continuance of policy advocated by A. F. of L. of urging trade unions ac-

cepting paid-up cards of affiliated unions, as it has no authority to direct the internal affairs of the affiliated national and international unions.

Unions Misrepresented—(1906, pp. 11-176) Despite the necessary beneficent results which follow and have their being from the result of our movement, it is attacked and vilified as is no other institution on earth. Its achievements are belittled, its motives aspersed, its mistakes magnified, its driftwood held up as the highest type of the manhood it develops. While we can expect nothing better than antagonism, vicious and malicious misrepresentation at the hands of those who represent neither conscience nor humanity, but rather greed and avarice, and whose only object is the almighty dollar, yet we have the right to insist upon fair treatment in the discussion of the labor movement we have the honor to represent. We may not perhaps reasonably object to those who oppose our movement, making their opposition manifest, but we have the right to protest, and do most emphatically, against the wilful and malicious misrepresentation of our movement and the philosophy upon which it is based. Nothing has been brought to Labor upon a silver platter. The progress and achievements, the material advantages secured, have been those which Labor conquered by organization, by self-sacrifice, by consequent growing intelligence and determination of the wage-workers themselves. That this has proven true in the past is clearly manifest, and it follows that by a close adherence to that course in the future will the toiling masses daily draw nearer the full noonday of their disenthrallment. Conscious of the duty devolving upon us, thoroughly imbued with high aims and noble purposes, and satisfied beyond all peradventure of final triumph, let us all nerve ourselves to the high resolve to approach our labor, to dare and do that which will bring light, hope, and encouragement into the lives and the homes of our people.

Unions Should Decide Own Policy—(1911, p. 320) Question of whether two unions should resort to joint action for any purpose must be decided by them, not by the A. F. of L.

Unions, Statewide—(1904, p. 150) When request was made by the Milkers' Union to extend its jurisdiction to include the state of California the Executive Council decided, and so notified the union, that there was no reason why they should not take members into the organization from any part of the state; but under the laws of the A. F. of L. if the milkers of any other city, ten, fifteen or thirty miles from San Francisco, desired to form a union they would receive a charter. If there are a sufficient number of local unions of milkers to form an international union the A. F. of L. will issue a charter to such an organization.

Unions' Struggle for Right—(1907, pp. 17-201) When the true historian shall present to the world the great struggles of the past and of the present; when the tinsel and false coloring shall have been removed from the real figures and events, there will be revealed to mankind's astonished gaze the continuous struggle of labor against tyranny, brutality and injustice; the struggle for the right, for humanity, for progress and for civilization. The trade unions and the Federation of our time are in their very essence the continuity of the historically developed progress of labor through the ages. We who are engaged in the battle of labor to secure its rights and to achieve justice for all our people are in the very nature of things too much engrossed in the performance of constantly pressing duty to be enabled to write its story. We meet here on this historic ground, where three hundred years ago the first permanent settlement of the English speaking people was made. It was an event portentious in its world-wide influence upon progress and civilization. It has a magnificent lesson for the men of labor. The trials and tribulations of the early colonists and the difficulties with which they had to contend put their endurance and forbearance to the severest tests. That they established a new order of society maintaining the largest amount of individual sovereignty consistent with interdependence and mutuality, should prove an inspiration to us to struggle on tenaciously to achieve the high and ennobling aspirations of labor. From these colonists have come the men who with immortal inspiration gave to the world the doctrines and principles not only of a new and independent nation, but of the inherent and inalienable rights of man. We meet on this historic ground representing the best general federated labor movement in the world, a movement founded upon the highest principles of justice, right and humanity; a movement which has for its mission not only the uplifting of the submerged, but the attainment of a higher and better life for all; a movement which aims to make the principles of the Golden Rule and of the Declaration of Independence the rule of conduct of our every-day lives.

United States Steel Corporation—(1909, p. 385) Condemned war being waged by United States Steel Corporation against organized labor in its mills and transportation lines and recommended conference of all international officials interested be held to consider ways and means of making pending strikes effective. (1910, p. 20) Complaint was made to President of U. S. and Attorney General. Senate at request of A. F. of L. ordered investigation of strike of unorganized employes at Bethlehem. Investigation began March 17, 1910, and from day to day made public in the press. March 21 the steel trust, bending to public opinion, directed through its president a limitation of Sunday work and later granted an increase of 6 per cent in wages and a system of accident compensation. While these did not reach the level of union demands or standards they were manifestly due to the militant activities of organized labor. (p. 307) Convention declared: "We look upon the United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiary companies as being one of the greatest combinations in restraint of trade existing anywhere in the U. S.; that it affects all classes of our people, from the owner of the tin dinner pail to the controller of the locomotive. Its ramifications extend in every direction and affect every walk in life. It collects tribute from the consumer by controlling the price and from the worker by controlling wages. In our judgment it is of much more importance to the people that the United States Steel Corporation should be

compelled to conform to the anti-trust laws than that a special representative of the Department of Justice should waste its time in prosecuting a few Burley tobacco growers in Kentucky, who have committed no crime except that of seeking to protect themselves, if that be a crime, against the oppressive business methods of the tobacco trust.''

(1912, pp. 28-384) Endorsed report of Executive Council in organizing steel workers in which it said: ''Today the United States Steel Corporation is prctically free from any 'inconvenience' from the organized labor movement. It has 'peace' in its plant. It is the sort of peace the czar of Russia proclaimed when he said, 'Peace reigns in Warsaw.' ''

(1917, p. 365) Convention declared United States Steel Corporation should recognize the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, thereby giving its members the same consideration accorded by other employers to organized workers engaged in war work. Authorized Executive Council to take up matter with the Secretaries of War and Navy and National Council of Defense.

(1918, p. 207) Instructed Executive Council to call conference of all unions and central bodies interested for the purpose of uniting them in ''one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America.''

University Extension—(1912, p. 262) The adopted by every state-owned institution. It creates a desire in all the people for education and its graduates realize their obligation to the state. State-supported universities should create in all people a realization of their educational needs and provide facilities for gratifying them. Affiliated unions urged to secure the necessary legislation. (1913, p. 93) Many unions reported they had endeavored to secure such legislation. This action on the part of organized labor is in line with the theories and practices of many of the foremost educators. Education, as such men say, is life—the development and training of the individual in life. Since it is life it should deal with the concrete problems of practical experience as well as the abstractions and educational institutions should be in touch with the affairs of the world and able to meet the vital needs of all society. The older education was designed to serve the needs of the schoolmen and the professional classes, a comparatively small proportion of society. This is one of the reasons why those who expected to earn their living in the fields of industry, exchange, commerce, etc., whether as employers or employes, felt that the higher educational institutions and often the secondary schools had nothing to give them. However, the demands of the people have been effective in securing many changes that have brought all of the schools in touch with more of the phases of life. Colleges and universities have added business and commercial departments, technical and scientific schools, home economics, manual training, and vocational instruction have been introduced in many of the grade and secondary schools.

Unlawful Associations—(1918, p. 121) A bill which was said had no reference to legitimate trades unions was passed by the senate. It provides: ''That any association, organization, society, or corporation, one of whose purposes or professed purposes is to bring about any governmental,, social, industrial, or economic change within the United States by use, without authority of law, of physical force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or by threats of such injury, or which teaches, advocates, advises, or defends the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property or threats of such injury, to accomplish such change or for any other purpose, and which, during any war in which the U. S. is engaged, shall by any means prosecute or pursue such purpose or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, advise, or defend, is hereby declared to be an unlawful association.'' It further provides that while the U. S. is engaged in war who shall act or profess to act as an officer of any such unlawful association, or who shall speak, write, or publish, as the representative or professed representative of any such unlawful association, or become or continue to be a member thereof, or who shall contribute anything as dues or otherwise to it or to anyone for it, shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than ten years or by a fine of not more than $5,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment. It further provides that while the U. S. is engaged in war, any person who knowingly prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, or offers for sale or distributes any book, pamphlet, picture, paper, circular, card, letter, writing, print, publication, or document of any kind in which is taught, advocated, advised, or defended, or who shall in any manner teach, advocate, advise, or defend the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, as a means of accomplishing any governmental, social, industrial, or economic change, or otherwise, shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than ten years or by a fine of not more than $5,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment; and also that any owner, agent, or superintendent of any building, room, premises, or place who knowingly permits therein any meeting of any such unlawful association, or of any subsidiary or branch thereof, or, during any war in which the U. S. may be engaged, any assemblage of persons who teach, advocate, advise, or defend the use, without authority of law, of force, violence, or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, shall be punished by imprisonment of not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than $500, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Unorganized Are Voiceless—(1900, p. 16) In our time we are not, and for the future will not be, called upon to deal with individual employers. Industry has become so developed and wealth so concentrated, that we are confronted with the associated interests of the employers. The situation, however, need cause us no alarm, provided we possess the wisdom to unite the forces of labor, and have the fortitude and the courage to meet associated capital by organized labor. Workmen as individuals in our day are as much at the mercy of the employing class as is a rudderless ship at the mercy of the waves. Struggling for the weak and defenseless, conscious of our rights, with the courage and manhood to do battle for their attainment, we confront the new con-

ditions and situations as they rise. We therefore find ourselves face to face with important and momentous questions but with which we have no hesitation in believing we shall deal rationally and intelligently and thus again place another milestone behind us in the path of the struggle for human freedom.

Unrest on Pacific Coast—(1917, p. 88) The extent and the nature of industrial unrest that has been manifested in the western part of this country has been the causes of deep concern to those responsible for the conduct of the nation's affairs. This unrest has a background of discontent growing out of industrial and social injustice. Wage-earners and the common people generally feel that their struggles for a square deal have met with tremendous opposition. In some of the western states and localities the machinery of government and justice had broken down and constitutional and legal rights disregarded. Inquiries and appeal for assistance were made to the office of the A. F. of L. by wake-earners who were unable to secure protection through state authorities From Washington, Montana, Idaho, Michigan, New Mexico, Arizona and other places came reports that wage-earners and representatives of the organized labor movement were illegally arrested, denied the rights of free citizens, and in some cases, driven out of the state or locality. The most audacious of these invasions of the rights of free citizens were the deportations of wage-earners and others from New Mexico and Arizona. Irresponsible bands of vigilantes, or so-called Loyalty Leagues, usurped powers denied to any governmental agency and in a most arbitrary manner dictated the movement of citizens in the locality. These irresponsible agencies forbade the use of public highways, prevented travel from city to city, and finally exercised the authority to determine what men should be allowed to live and work within the community. The rule of the vigilantes, or so-called Loyalty Leagues, of Arizona brought the situation to such a crisis in that state that the State Federation of Labor was convinced that unless some relief could be found the organized labor movement of Arizona would be completely exterminated. The "Loyalty League" of the state is composed of those who have for years waged relentless war against bona fide organized labor and by their efforts to prevent improved industrial conditions have frequently planned and fostered border warfare between this country and Mexico. In Arizona the deportation of over a thousand people from the state was part of the tactics to defeat a strike that was in progress. Over 10,000 Mexican copper miners were on strike for the right to organize and higher wages. So critical was the situation in Arizona that the State Federation of Labor sent a committee to place the situation before the President of the A. F. of L. When the documents and information had been carefully considered he secured a conference with the President of the U. S. and asked him to take some action to protect the rights of the peaceful, law-abiding workers dwelling within that state. In this same conference similar conditions in other states were also presented. President Wilson, fully appreciative of the seriousness of the conditions, asked the Council of National Defense to take the matter under advisement. That council requested the President to appoint a commission to deal with the western situation. President Wilson appointed a commission and sent the following memorandum of instructions to the chairman: "I am very much interested in the labor situation in the mountain region and on the Pacific Coast. I have listened with the closest attention to the charges of misconduct and injustice that have been made against each other by representatives of employers and employes. I am not so much concerned, however, with the manner in which they have treated each other in the past as I am desirous of seeing some kind of a working arrangement arrived at for the future, particularly during the period of the war, on a basis that will be fair to all parties concerned. To assist in the accomplishment of that purpose, I have decided to appoint a commission to visit the mountain and Pacific Coast states as my personal representatives. It will be the duty of the commission to visit in each instance the governor of the state, advising him that they are there as the personal representatives of the President with a view to lending sympathetic counsel and aid to the state government in the development of a better understanding, and also to deal with employers and employes in a conciliatory spirit, seek to compose differences and allay misunderstanding and to foster a feeling that the national government is actively interested in the situation. Wherever it is deemed advisable conferences of employers and employes should be called with the purpose of working out a mutual understanding between them which will insure the continued operation of the industry on conditions acceptable to both sides. The commission should also endeavor to learn the real causes for any discontent which may exist on either side, not by the formal process of public hearings but by getting into touch with workmen and employers by the more informal process of personal conversation. I would be pleased to have the commission report to me from time to time such information as may require immediate attention." The commission left Washington September 30. (See American October (1917) Federationist article, "Law Versus Vigilante.") (p. 351) Copper companies of Arizona refused to abide by the decision of the commission and the Executive Council was instructed to give such assistance as needed to correct the injustice.

Unskilled Labor—Organization of unskilled workers was a problem considered early in the history of the A. F. of L. In 1896 (p. 85) the convention instructed the Executive Council, consistent with the opportunities and means at its disposal, to thoroughly organize the unskilled labor of the country "to the end that the general standard of living be raised and the temptation to cut wages minimized."

(1897, p. 15) It has been the constant aim of the trade union movement to exercise its power and influence to organize our fellow-workers engaged in unskilled labor. With the invention of new machines, the application of new forces and the division and subdivision of labor many workers who have been employed at skilled trades, to which they have devoted long terms of years to acquire, find themselves with their occupation gone. Thus we see the artisan of yes-

terday the unskilled laborer of today. Federal labor unions had proved a "splendid haven of protection to the unskilled" as well as a recruiting ground for local and international unions.

(1911, p. 187) There had been a constant broadening of international unions, which were opening their doors for the admission of the less skilled in their respective trades. The gradual reduction in the number of federal labor and local unions attested to the further fact they had been transferred to the international unions. Through this policy all unskilled labor will be gradually organized, great strides having been made in the last few years. The greatest difficulties to organization in the past was the shifting of the unskilled from one occupation to another, but this was gradually changing.

Vagrancy Laws—(1913, p. 390) Executive Council was instructed to investigate existing vagrancy laws and prepare a uniform bill to present to the various state legislatures, its purpose being to safeguard the rights and welfare of the unemployed. (1914, pp. 88-327) Endorsed plan of Executive Council for a federal law making postoffices free employment agencies under the direction of the Department of Labor. (1915, pp. 112-333) Department of Labor had begun a campaign to bring together the "workless man and the manless job," and Congress had under consideration a federal employment bureau. (p. 377) Instructed Executive Council to secure data of the cause and far-reaching effect of unemployment, especially in reference to long workdays. A special committee was authorized. (1916, p. 109) Instructed Executive Council to collect and publish vagrancy laws of various states.

Virden Massacree—(1898, pp. 71-115) We learn with deep regret of the sad fate of a number of miners at Virden, Ill., who, while contending for their rights as American citizens and wage-earners, were shot down and cruelly maimed or murdered by the armed guards of monopoly.

Vote, Delegate Controls Own—(1901, p. 239) A. F. of L. can not deal with a delegate that votes as an individual although instructed to vote with other representatives of an organization as a unit. It is with the conscience of the delegates themselves as to the votes they cast.

Voting Privilege—(1901, p. 205) Rejected proposition to permit delegates of central bodies to cast the regular vote of local unions affiliated with it but not represented in the convention.

Wage, Adequate—(1902, p. 138) That bogy held up by employers of the different countries on the continent of Europe, preventing the improvement of conditions of the workers of each country, was equally applicable before our era of national trade unions, and as has been so aptly stated, is now raised into the wonderful proportions of an international bogy. With a full consciousness of whatever the statement may imply, we undertake to assert that low wages and long hours never yet made a country great, never made a great people. The countries in which the hours of labor are least, the countries in which wages are highest, is the country which will finally control the industrial development of the world, or be the greatest factor as an industrial country. We realize that, despite the claim made by some employers of labor, echoed, and then repeated by so-called economists and apologists for the wrong existing in modern society, the working people receiving the higher wages will make that country greatest; that we propose to do our best to improve the conditions, first, of our own fellow-workers in this struggle for improved conditions, and to say and maintain that it is a libel upon the human family to say that the production of any article of use to the people does not or can not afford the payment of an adequate wage.

Wage Reduction, Resist—(1903, pp. 14-172) This warning and advice of President approved by convention: There are indications that the era of industrial activity which we have enjoyed during the past few years has reached its floodtide, in that there is now somewhat of a reaction. Already we see some contraction of industry by which workmen have been rendered idle. It is true that the change is not pronounced, but it is sufficiently evident for notice and deserves our consideration. More especially should this receive our attention since quite recently, acting upon the cue given by our most pronounced antagonists, the capitalist press has endeavored to place upon our movement the responsibility for the industrial reaction. That the charge is untrue is fully capable of proof, and to which I shall refer later herein. But attention is called to the fact that when the reaction first made itself manifest one of the great newspapers of our country questioned the representative employers, business men, and financiers of America to make answer as to what in their judgment was its cause. Without attempting to enumerate the causes assigned by them for the indistrial reaction, it is worthy of note that under the first impulse of honest expression of opinion, before the minds of any of them were perverted by those who always desire to shirk upon the shoulders of others the wrongs or the errors of which they themselves are guilty, I repeat, with unprejudiced and unperverted mind, not one among the thousands who answered held organized labor in the least responsible. Of course, to the thinking, observing men the insinuation or charge will have no effect. We understand, as every student and intelligent trade unionist understands, that under our present economic system periods of industrial activity and stagnation are equally natural. That a reaction did not set in sooner, or that it has not become actute, is due more than any other cause to the organized labor movement. Our movement has increased wages, shortened the hours of labor, and otherwise improved the conditions of the toilers; in other words, has made the workers greater consumers of the things that have been produced; and to this factor, supplemented by some organized method among intelligent employers, is due entirely the credit rather than the censure or blame. The era of industrial activity has been maintained and prolonged for a longer period than any similar revival in the last forty years, while its reaction has thus far been attended with less severity and is in itself less intense than similar reactions heretofore. These industrial conditions are not due to any particular phenomenon. They have their cause and effect exactly as have the tides, attraction and repulsion, and the law of gravitation. In

countries where the economic conditions of the workers remain stationary or substantially so, the greatest degree of poverty and misery always obtains, while, at the same time, industry and commerce know no progress, and are carried on under primitive conditions. Of course this is not cited as an indication that more improved conditions than even ours can not obtain when a normal and better economic life shall have been inaugurated, but it rather demonstrates the fact that industrial and commercial reaction can not by any specious argument be traced to the movement that tends to increase the consuming power of the wage-earners. As a matter of fact, the greater the power of consumption of the great mass of workers, the larger their wants, the higher is their standard of life, the greater the degree of industrial and commercial prosperity. Indeed, the constant growth in the wants and demands of the masses gives to industry and commerce an impetus and progress they can receive in no other way. At this time it is difficult to forsee the extent to which the industrial reaction may reach, although it is quite evident that, for the reasons already stated, it is not likely to become so prolonged or so intense as previous industrial stagnations or crises. Yet it is well for us to view the situation as it is, and as it may become, and to consider calmly the course which we should pursue to meet it. To do this intelligently it will be helpful to consider the policy pursued by employers during similar periods in the past, a policy which here and there is now advocated; a policy which has proven not only injurious but perversive of the very purpose for which it was inaugurated. I refer to the policy of reducing wages as a means to tide over, or emerge from, industrial depression. In the past this has been resorted to, and, owing to the comparative lack of organization among the working people and also their comparative inability to resist, they were compelled to accept it, with the result that their consuming power was lessened, throwing still more workmen out of employment, rendering the situation still more acute, and thus still further prolonging the period of the crisis. It is the height of economic unwisdom to curtail the consuming power of the masses as a means to industrial revival or prosperity. No industry, no country, has ever become great, or ever can become great, founded upon the poverty of its workers. While we do not know to what extent our declarations and suggestions may influence employers generally in the effort to dissuade them from pursuing the unwise and uneconomic fallacy of wage reductions, yet a clear sense of duty must prompt us to make our position upon this question clear and comprehensive. If we shall fail to convince them as to the course which they should, or rather the course which they should not, pursue in regard to the effort to reduce wages, we will at least have the consciousness of having done our duty in the premises, and so to shape our own course as will meet the situation emphatically and unmistakably. The working people should resist any attempt to reduce their wages or to increase their hours of labor. We are better organized and better prepared to resist encroachments upon our conditions than ever before; and, if perchance some of our efforts may be lost, it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all; for to complacently accept a reduction in wages is simply to invite its repetition while it enfeebles our ability to resist further efforts in the same direction. In former periods of industrial stagnation employers often accompanied their wage reductions with discharges of some workmen, and then, as an inducement to those retained, suggested that they increase their hours of labor to, as they put it, "make up the loss." In other words, those discharged, being a menace both to the conditions of employment, as well as the employment itself, were utilized as a means to further reduce wages and impose more onerous conditions, while the increased hours of labor of those employed further accentuated and made acute the industrial situation. Surely, it is not rational to suggest, for the relief of an over-stocked or glutted market, that the workers shall curtail their power of consumption and then work longer hours to increase production. We submit that the policy of the labor movement is wiser and has in it the means to sooner restore industrial activity and bring about its revival. We urge as a way out that wages be maintained, even if necessary, to resist reductions; that as a substitute for discharges of workmen, the work to be performed be divided, thus not only helping to bear each others' burdens, but more quickly to restore activity in industry, trade, and commerce.

(1904, pp. 17-172) In former periods when an industrial reaction was manifest, employers generally viewed the situation from their own immediate standpoint only, without regard to their own broad interest or the general good. Their first recourse was to that which to them seemed the easiest course to continue the operation of their plants—to find markets. They reduced wages. Reduction of wages followed in quick order; the consuming power of the masses was curtailed and still more limited, entailing wholesale discharges of workmen who were formerly employed in producing the things the masses, the workers, formerly consumed, inducing and giving the further cause to still further curtailment of consumption and production and still more discharges of workmen, until millions were unemployed; the wheels of industry and commerce paralyzed; until men were walking the highways and byways of our country in idleness, while poverty, hunger, and misery stalked through our land. It is held now that there can be no real natural famine in the world because of the easy facilities with which the remotest corners of the earth can be reached. Surely if this be true, and no informed, sane, reasonable being disputes it, there is an utter absence of excuse for nonemployment, hunger, poverty, or misery in our land, a land so richly and bountifully blessed. When idleness and its consequent misery are permitted to come among our people it is due entirely to rapacious, sordid avarice, mismanagement, and incompetency on the one hand, or to ignorant indifference and culpable pliancy on the other. The employers generally typify the one and the workers formerly typified the other. If the employers followed their policy of wage reductions in previous years as a supposed way out of industrial stagnation, and thereby simply accentuated the situation and made it worse, is it not a logical inference that the same ruinous policy would be pursued in the present era? Are all the dire experiences and

sufferings of our people to go for naught? Should we permit ignorant indifference on our part to make us culpable for a repetition of the awful conditions which followed in the wake of the former mischievous and wrongful course of our employers, or shall we continue the course which we last year declared when we had the prescience to foresee the danger with which we were threatened? Organized labor then called a halt and declared the entire policy of wage reductions unwise, wrongful, and dangerous to the well being of labor and of all our people. We can challenge our critics and opponents to compare the past year, when we were confronted with an industrial reaction, with a year of a similar industrial situation, and it will demonstrate beyond cavil or doubt that: "1. Wage reductions have been checked. 2. The industrial situation has not become acute, as was the uniform course formerly. 3. Much idleness, poverty, suffering, and misery have been prevented. 4. The era of industrial stagnation, as compared with former like conditions, has been shortened. 5. The prospect for a revival in industry and commerce in the future is brighter, as compared with any similar previous period. 6. There is less acute feeling of unrest among workmen and employers generally, business men and all our people. 7. There are more workmen and employers in agreement and understanding. 8. There is a more general effort to bring about more rightful relations between workmen and employers. 9. There is a better conception of the rights and duties of man to man, a more general satisfaction among our people with the present, and a more gratifying and hopeful outlook for the future." The results of labor's policy are our best justification, and even though contemporary comment may not generally accord us the credit and commendation which are justly our due, we have the knowledge and satisfaction of the lasting service and benefit which we have rendered our fellow man. In considering this entire subject in its economic and social aspect we dare not fail to realize the difference between resistence to wage reductions and the movements for wage advances during periods of industrial reactions. It is a science becoming more generally understood by labor to know when to strike and when not to strike; to know for what to strike and for what not to strike. It is said that it is not wise to strike on a so-called "falling market." It can not, however, successfully be gainsaid that a strike or preparedness to strike in resisting an offer of wage reduction will prevent the market from falling still lower. It may not be, and undoubtedly is not, wise or prudent to strike for wage advancement on a downward industrial trend, yet it is better that even this economic error be committed than a complacent acceptance of wage reductions. It is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all. The resistance will at least demonstrate that labor is an equation and factor which must not be ignored in the material, economic, industrial, commercial, and social affairs and welfare of our people and our country.

(1905, pp. 17-187) Report of President: When we met in Boston two years ago the old-school political economists and thinkers foresaw a cloud threatening the industrial horizon. Basing their premise upon existing conditions and the pursuit of policies of the past, they foretold that an industrial reaction, stagnation, or crisis was then impending. They assumed that employers would be "compelled" to reduce wages, and advised labor to accept the situation and thus, as they urged, "help to tide over the unhappy period." They who reasoned thus reckoned without their hosts. They did not consider the advance position which labor would take, but ignored it as an equation in the determination of their wage-cutting policy. They could not see that it would act as a check to prevent the diminution of labor's consuming power. Labor's declaration and action have been demonstrated to be the wiser plan. It proved that it is better to resist the inauguration of a period of industrial stagnation and thereby prevent it, than to blindly accept it and then try to devise a means to emerge from it. By organized labor's attitude we have maintained a better parity between production and consumption. The unprecedented and firm stand taken by the representatives of the hosts of labor at the Boston convention in declaring that wage reductions would be resisted and the very general adoption of that policy of our fellow-workers saved the day, and beyond peradventure of a doubt, prevented an industrial crisis with all its attendant suffering, poverty, and misery. The service which the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. rendered, to the working people, to the employers, aye, to all the people of our country, is not yet fully appreciated, and to it has not yet been given the encomium of wisdom, foresight, courage, honor, and the benefit to man. Consistency and persistency on our part, coupled with time, will accord to our fellow-unionists the high distinction and credit to which they are so justly entitled. In my report to the San Francisco convention last year attention was called to the advantages resulting from our previous year's declaration of policy, and it was indicated that we were then not yet "out of the woods"; that the advice and watchword should go forth from that convention to the toilers of our country to resist by every honorable and lawful means at their command, any and every attempt to reduce wages. Firmly and boldly and wisely the San Francisco convention reiterated and emphasized the declaration of organized labor's policy and polity, and it affords me the keenest gratification to record the fact that at no time in the history of our country have the people been more generally employed at gainful occupations and in the production of wealth or have been larger consumers of their products than at this hour and this day. Recently, one of the great magnates of high finance in our country predicted that in a few years from now we shall witness a financial and industrial panic unparalleled in the history of the U. S. This forecast was unquestionably predicated upon the power which finance formerly wielded in industrial affairs, and based upon the policy of the former omnipotent power of financiers, and greedy, short-sighted, antagonistic employers, and entirely ignored the working men, the wealth-producers, in their organized capacity, as a new and potent factor. If the hosts of organized labor persistently pursue the policy of resistance to wage cutting; if we shall continue to press onward our movement to become continually larger sharers in the product of our labor; if we but prove true to ourselves and to each other, we shall con-

tinually gain the confidence, the respect, and co-operation of the fairer-minded and more intelligent employers, confound the old conceptions of political economy, establish a new philosophy of life, labor, industry, and humanity, put to rout the seers of calamity, and prove their predictions to be false prophecies. (p. 187) Convention declared: We deem it of great importance that the word which the President has said upon this subject should be accentuated, for here we get down to the very essence of the economic philosophy of trades unionism. For generations labor has been reckoned with as an inert commodity. Professors have formulated academic theories of the law of supply and demand; buyers of labor and of the products of labor have assumed that these laws were inexorable, not subject to modification by the seller of the labor commodity. But labor is not an inanimate commodity. It is a part of the life and the being of the laborer, and as such is under the control of the volition of the laborer. The resisting and defensive power of the laborer's will has germinated in the soil, and under the inspiration of all that makes for a higher civilization. It has been nurtured, shaped and developed by the trades union, until by its collective expression it disproves false political economy, bids the panic halt, becomes the governor on the industrial engine and opens up vistas of accomplishment for the public. What united labor wills it may achieve. Should not the experience of the past two years inspire us to so arouse the sluggish brain and timid hearts of the nonunion masses that they may join us in opposing a united will against all forces which would lower the standards of life?

(1906, p. 18) The "no reduction" policy proved wise and humane as evidenced by this report of the President: Today labor is very generally employed. From the authentic reports received at our office the state of unemployment would indicate that whereas for the year 1905 the unemployed was about 3 per cent, yet from the indications for the present year it will be about 2 3-4 per cent. Of course, so long as there is one wage-earner unemployed through no fault of his own, so long is there a great wrong from which he suffers, and just so long will it be the mission of the trade union movement to right it. In this world of ours, and especially in our own country, with the wonderful fertility and extent of our land, the magnificant ingenuity of our people, and particularly the tremendous energy and industry of our workers, there should not be any workers who are workless. Some have taken unction to their souls and loudly proclaimed that they are the cause for the better general conditions of employment of the working people of our country. Without discussing the hypothesis upon which they base these claims, we assert and emphatically re-affirm that whatever improvement in a material, moral, social, and political way has come to the toiling masses of America, is due to their own efforts in their more thorough organization, their higher intelligence and their positive determination to aid and stand by each other in the contention and struggles for the common uplift. It was but a few years ago when the working people of our country were confronted with a condition similar to that which was previously repeatedly presented to the toilers in similar situations. Had we acquiesced or consented to the policy presented to us by the representatives of the captains of industry, we would have experienced all the poverty, misery and suffering incident to lack of employment, and a constantly decreasing opportunity for employment resultant from reductions in wages, one following close upon the other. It is due to the firm and unequivocal declaration of America's organized workers, and their positive repetition since, that wage reductions will be resisted to the uttermost, that we have averted the usual industrial crisis and emerged from it with greater industrial and commercial activity than ever before. In several countries the people are confronted with the great problem of an immense number of unemployed workers. In some form or other they are endeavoring to ascertain the cause and to find a means to assuage it. Often in the history of our own country have our people been confronted with the same problem. If we adhere firmly to the policy, establish and maintain it as a fixed principle in the industrial affairs of America, that at any and all hazards we will resist any attempt at wage reductions, we shall establish not only a new economic principle, but a new philosophy by which industrial panics and crises will be obliterated, and we shall set an example for the whole world to follow. A reduction in wages compels retrenchment in the household economy of the workmen affected. In other words, it curtails their consuming power which necessarily results in the discharge from employment of those workers who were formerly employed in the production of the very articles theretofore used and consumed. Then follow reductions in wages, resulting as in the first instance; and this process of wage reductions, of retrenchment in household economies, of more discharges from employment, which bring in their wake poverty, misery and suffering, stagnation and an industrial panic, until the lowest ebb is reached and a turn in the industrial tide begins. There is neither economy nor wisdom, judgment nor humanity, in such misconduct and misconception of industrial affairs or duties. And if, perchance, our captains of industry fail to profit by the lessons and experiences of the past, then at least the wage-earners of America will teach the lesson from which the human family will reap untold blessings. It is not presumed that all of Labor's contentions and struggles can result in immediate victory; yet none can dispute that every justified battle undertaken by Labor has been fraught with advantage, and that particularly every defensive struggle of Labor's rights has had potent influence to check deterioration in the condition of the workers. Employers will hesitate long before inaugurating an industrial struggle when they are conscious of the fact that the toiling masses will defend any encroachment upon their standard of life against their being forced back from the position they now occupy in civilization. If labor shall resist all attempts at reductions in wages, some battles may be lost; but these would be reduced to a minimum in the same degree as it is clearly understood that it is our firm resolve that we will rather resist and lose than not to resist at all. At present we are confronted with no immediate danger or threat that the employers of labor contemplate reductions in wages. There is not now even an excuse for such a course.

It, therefore, all the more commends itself to our judgment that during this year of comparative industrial tranquillity and more general employment of our people, that we write on our banners, beside the watch words and slogans which have carried the toilers along the road of progress to victory, that which for ages has been the missing word in our social progress: "No reduction in wages for American labor; we will resist to the uttermost." (p. 177) Action of convention: We approve as wise, expedient and foresighted the declaration of a "no-wage reduction" policy. The commodity of labor is not inanimate, for it is part of a human life. The commercial world has too long reckoned with it as a thing. Trades unionism should declare in form, as it has in fact, that the labor seller is not an inert piece of merchandise, but the product of all civilization given to the world, with the power to think and to act. The higher thought has taught him to reach out for the things which make life worth living. He refuses to be longer juggled with by mercantile and speculative acrobats. He says, "Make your future profits out of something else than my flesh and blood. I am going at least to keep what I have got and to get as much more as I can. Reckon it, then, as a fixed factor in your business calculations that labor's share in the joint product shall never more be scaled downward."

(1907, pp. 20-203) Policy reiterated by the President and endorsed: In my reports to conventions, beginning at Boston, I felt it incumbent upon me to press home upon the attention of labor the economic unsoundness of the old school of political economists who advocated the assent of workmen to wage reductions as a means to what they were pleased to term the way out of an industrial reaction or crisis. Not alone in our conventions, but in the gatherings of labor generally, "No reductions in wages" has been made the slogan and watchword. That policy has had its beneficent influence, not only upon labor but upon all industry. It has been heard and heeded; at no time has it had greater justification and demonstration of its effectiveness than during recent months. Not in the history of all our country has there been what has been termed a shrinkage of values so great as within a few months past. The shrinkage occurred not upon actual, tangible values, but upon inflated or watered stocks which in the financial vernacular are termed "values." In former periods when shrinkage of inflated values transpired its general influence upon industry was almost immediately to affect the real values of production, which in turn were forced upon the toilers in the form of reductions of wages, bringing in their wake an industrial crisis and panic. It is due to the determined and clean-cut policy of labor of our country that our princes of finance, despite their machinations, could not influence employers of labor to hazard an attempt at wage reductions. If all labor will unfalteringly adhere to the determination to resist any and all reductions in wages, we shall not only avoid the misery, poverty and calamity of the past, but we shall teach financiers, employers and economists in general a new philosophy of life and industry, the magnificent and humane influences of which will live for all time. To achieve success we must more thoroughly organize, unite and federate our fellow-workers. We must establish more fully faith in ourselves and confidence in each other, stand shoulder to shoulder amidst stress or strike, make fraternity the principle of our every-day lives, and impress upon our fellow-workers the necessity of helping to bear each other's burdens. In our organized effort we should endeavor to maintain industrial peace by trade agreements with employers. These agreements, written or verbal, should be faithfully kept. We should use our best influences and judgment to avoid industrial conflicts wherever possible, and under any and all circumstances to resist to the uttermost every attempt to reduce wages. The American workmen in return for their services to society demand a living wage, a constantly growing minimum living wage. They demand a wage which shall be sufficient to maintain them and those dependent upon them in a manner consistent with their responsibilities as husbands, fathers, men and citizens. Labor demands such a living wage as shall make secure the opportunity for a more perfect physical and mental health and growth as required by rational, self-respecting human beings who aspire for themselves and for all humanity to a higher, a better and a nobler life. We, therefore, demand from modern society a constantly increasing and larger reward as the result of our labor and our services to our fellows. This effort must not be retarded by the machinations of financiers or the shortsightedness and greed of industrial captains. Labor demands in the interests of humanity that wages shall not be reduced or the American standard of life deteriorated.

(1908, pp. 10-216) Convention declared for a continuance of the "no-wage reduction" policy and endorsed this report of the President: "The international unions have done magnificent work in regard to membership, as well as in uplifting their respective crafts and callings. They have at least partially supported their unemployed. The declared policy of our Federation against wage reductions has found fruition, despite the industrial panic. Organized labor, even those unions unaffiliated, have taken up and accepted the advice given by our Federation, to resist wage reductions under any and all circumstances; aye, even the unorganized have taken some degree of courage and partially resisted. For the first time in the history of our own or any other country, an industrial crisis has come and will pass away, and a wholesale cutting in wages, or, for that matter, cutting in wages at all, has practically been averted. Time has demonstrated the wisdom of our Federation's declaration on this, as upon other economic and political questions. We have clearly proved the soundness of the philosophy, that wage reductions are not only injurious, but their resistance and prevention are the most rational and most rapid method of emergence from an industrial crisis or panic, whether brought on by the manipulations of 'Princes of Finance' or the blundering of the 'Captains of Industry.' I again strongly urge Labor's persistent resistance to any wage reductions."

Wages and Production—(1909, p. 210) Investigation of a reported analysis of census bulletin figures that the average annual production of wage-earners was $2,500

brought this reply from the Census Bureau (American Federationist, June, 1910): That the analysis was untrue, as it would be impossible to determine what part of the production should be credited to labor, adding: "Whoever is responsible for the statement undoubtedly divided the aggregate value of the products of labor by the number of wage-earners and then considered the quotient, which is $2,456, as the 'average production of the wage-earners.' This ovelooks the important fact that only a part of the total value of the manufactured products was produced by the wage-earners employed in the manufacturing establishments canvassed. The materials used were not produced by the wage-earners, yet their value enter into the final value of the product. What part may be properly considered as the product of labor is therefore as fallacious as to credit the tailor who makes a coat with the entire value of the garment, ignoring the labor that entered into the production of the cloth. What part should be considered as the product of labor could not be calculated."

Wage Scales, Graded—(1906, p. 155) Committee appointed to stop practice of authorities in Rock Island Arsenal forcing machanics when newly employed to work for less wages while testing their ability, although they already had passed an examination as to their competency.

Wages for Custom Inspectors—(1917, p. 417) Secretary of Treasury should increase the wages of inspectors of customs employed on the Canadian border from $3.50 per day to $6, the former amount being insufficient to properly support them.

Wages for Federal Custodians—(1918, p. 288) Congress asked to increase wages of federal employes in the custodian service; had received no increase in ten years, and were receiving $27.08 to $83 per month.

Wages, Garnishments of—(1905, p. 117) State legislation to prohibit wages of workmen being garnished by a citizen of another state while that in which he is living exempts wages of its own citizens being garnished, was recommended to state federations.

Wages, Government Should Set Example—(1909, p. 252) In this age of industrial progress the rich and powerful government of the U. S. should be the first to recognize the just claims of skilled workmen in its various departments instead of paying less than the prevailing rate of wages in many localities. (1918, pp. 120-288) If anything the government should be the leader rather than the follower in setting improved standards of work and compensation making for the health, comfort and contentment of the workers of our nation.

Wages in South, Low—(1902, p. 228) Ordered protest to President of U. S. against lower wages being paid mechanics and laborers in New Orleans by the War Department than in the northern, eastern and western states. Had tendency to lower wages of all industrial workers in the south.

Wages, Opposed Reduction of—(1915, p. 116) Postoffice officials resisted paying the increase in salary which had been granted by Congress the previous session to rural free delivery carriers, and in addition they recommended a nullification of the eight-hour law for postoffice clerks and letter carriers. In response to our united protests both the House and Senate committees refused to sustain the Postmaster General and his assistants in their efforts to install harsher working conditions, and to reduce salaries by the proposed change of biennial instead of annual promotions for the employes. Congress specifically ordered the payment of the increase in salary which they had previously allowed to the rural letter carriers and refused to permit a nullification of the eight-hour regulations. (p. 311) We declare emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employes of the government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries.

Wages, Prevailing Rate of—(1906, p. 162) Instructed Executive Council to seek enactment of laws providing that in all government contracts clauses should be inserted requiring all contractors shall pay prevailing rates of wages in the district where the contracts are carried out. (1913, p. 57) Steam shovelmen had asked Executive Council to present bill for payment of men in reclamation service working over eight hours at the prevailing rate for such overtime as applies in the respective districts. (1918, p. 278) We insist government officials who have charge of the housing program of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation shall require enforcement of the established rate of wages, hours and working conditions in Philadelphia and other cities where similar conditions prevail.

Wages, Shorter Workday, Sunshine—(1912, p. 12) The demand for higher wages represents our conviction that a constantly greater share of increased social wealth should go to those who create it. The progress of humanity results from the elimination of poverty. Poverty means degrading environment and influence that result in intellectual and moral degeneration. Permanent amelioration of the human lot must have as its basis material resources. The next step is to distribute these products so that the greatest number may fairly benefit thereby. As an element in the forces determining distribution, the trade union has been most potent. A comparison of conditions prevailing among unorganized with those that have employed collective bargaining, reveals unmistakable proofs of the beneficent results due to trade unionism. Higher wages mean better homes, better clothing, better food, better bodies and minds, recreation, a higher standard of life. The aim for a higher standard of life is the incentive for the demand for a shorter workday. The verdicts of modern scientists are confirming the fundamental importance of this demand which the trade union has so long been pressing. These scientists are warning us against the danger to the race from the continuous industrial strain and concentration of energy in modern industry. Commerce and industry can be allowed to exploit the leisure of the workers only at the expense of national well-being. The shorter workday means increased efficiency of the worker in the shop, better, longer, and happier living, and development of the higher emotions and feelings. It increases the productive period of the worker, lengthens his life, and enables him longer to provide for those dependent upon him, that the children may have an opportunity to

taste of the pleasures of child life before assuming the burdens of the human "struggle for existence." This more efficient, more human worker, demands better working conditions, the aim being to conserve human resources. Much has been done to let pure air and sunshine into working places, to exclude conditions breeding organisms injurious to life, but ever increasing knowledge and the widening of our conception forbid us to stop or stay in the crusade for human welfare. Among all the organizations on the American continent working upon the various phases of this great problem, the American Federation of Labor is the leader, and has often been the pioneer blazing the way. These three demands of organized labor are comprehended in this larger and ultimate ideal—to enrich, enlarge, and magnify humanity. The influence and the potency of the American Federation of Labor are so well appreciated by the thinkers and leaders in our nation's affairs, that almost every considerable movement for humanitarian, economic, or political reform has endeavored to enlist our approval and support. Men of labor, we play an honorable and important part in the affairs of this great nation. We are daily helping to determine its destiny.

Wages, Standardization of—(1918, pp. 117-238) Resolution presented in Congress providing for an inquiry into the advisability of standardizing wages of federal employes during the war. Executive Council instructed to carefully study the proposition and take such action as the matter warranted.

Wageworkers—(1897, pp. 16-87) Membership of trade unions should be clean cut. "Wageworkers" should be interpreted in the strictest trade union sense of the word and should not be made to apply to superintendents, foremen, proprietors or others occupying positions of authority.

War Fictitious Danger—(1907, p. 315) Resolutions were defeated declaring that although United States had not an enemy in the world it was spending as much annually for military purposes as on public education; that members of Congress should devote far less of the people's money to a fictitious danger and far more toward protecting the lives of Americans from constant and real dangers in industry; that appropriations should be made for an annual peace budget to promote a friendly feeling with foreign powers with which there may be danger of a misunderstanding.

Watered Stock—(1911, p. 261) One of the most effective means of exploiting the people is the over-capitalization of railroads by speculators and gamblers through watered stock, and we urge the legislative committees of state federations to agitate for laws prohibiting the evil. (1912, p. 347) It is our conviction one of the causes of the high cost of living is to be found in our system of capitalization and the so-called watering of stocks. Bonds and stocks are mortgages upon the labor of the present and the future, and must be paid by either a reduction of wages, lengthening the workday or in the price of products, or all of them. We protest against the existing system of capitalism based on income and urge that none be permitted except on actual investment.

Week, Five-Day—(1913, p. 285) We heartily commend the five-day work week to the thoughtful and favorable consideration of all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to the end that the shortening of the week will be conducive to the physical, material, intellectual and moral welfare of the toilers. Executive Council authorized to promote the principle.

Week, Six-Day—(1913, p. 285) Six continuous days is the maximum number any one should be employed in a week. Executive Council directed to promote the principle.

Weekly News Letter—Agitation for the publication of a weekly publication began in 1908 (p. 230). The plan proposed the sending of a copy to every member of affiliated unions free. But the convention refused to concur. The Executive Council, however, considered the subject on instructions of the 1910 (p. 252) convention. A weekly news letter was decided on and publication was begun April 8, 1911. It at once became an important feature of labor's publicity campaign. The number of columns republished of the first issue sent out was approximately 400 distributed among all the labor, reform and other publications receiving the service.

(1911, pp. 132-270) The use of this matter has been continually on the increase until the maximum amount published reached over 500 columns per wek. Computing on the basis of the number of publications received and checked at headquarters, this is an average of over four columns per labor paper for each issue. It must be understood that these figures cover only the weekly labor and reform press, not including the official journals of national organizations. The latter journals are using a large amount of matter in addition to that already noted. It must be remembered, however, that the national journals from their very character contain in the main official matter of the organization issuing same, but it is a noticeable fact that many of the national journals have, since the inauguration of this service, gradually increased their publication of such news. There have been launched this year, since the inauguration of the news letter, about twelve new weekly labor publications. As a result of the dissemination of this news much correspondence has ensued relative to the service, not alone coming from the labor and reform press, but from daily, weekly and other publications not devoted exclusively to labor. Many of these communications make application for the service, and, where it does not conflict with the labor press, the news has been furnished. It is notable that the weekly labor press as a whole has been beneficially affected by the furnishing of this news service, many of which publications have increased in size. Without question, if it be possible in the future to extend this service to the point where it will be possible to maintain at headquarters a general publicity bureau, there are many avenues through which trade union news can be disseminated. For your information it can be stated that there are a very large number of weekly papers distributed throughout the entire country that would, if possible, print a limited amount of trade union news. This is called to your attention from the fact that in a number of instances weekly

papers not connected in any manner with labor are publishing portions of the news letter. The Executive Council was instructed to increase the scope of the publication if it was deemed prudent.

(1914, p. 163) The American Federationist is an aid to the editorial departments of the labor press, the Weekly News Letter is an invaluable source of information to the news columns. Both services supplementing each other are necessary in securing the proper publicity for Labor's cause. Each publication enables us to reach various reading circles. As the usefulness of the weekly publication has been recognized and appreciated by the labor editors the publication has been made more serviceable to meet the growing demands made upon it. It has furnished regular dependable information of progress and growth in the economic fields. Not only has the Weekly News Letter been of service to the labor press, but it has been of very great assistance in performing the administrative work of the headquarters. It has enabled the officers to put information quickly and cheaply in the hands of the members of organized labor so that immediate and effective action could be taken by them. This has been an indispensable aid in keeping the rank and file of organized labor in touch with the changes in the parliamentary situation arising in connection with legislation in Congress.

(1915, p. 152) In addition to the service the Weekly News Letter has rendered to the labor press of the country, it also furnishes a speedy and economical means of communicating officially with the local labor organizations. Declarations of the Executive Council and of the President of the A. F. of L., published in the Weekly News Letter are given wide circulation and hence a still wider publication in the labor papers which are thus enabled to reprint them. This is of particular value in legislative matters in connection with which it is necessary to get information quickly before the members of the labor movement throughout the country in order to get action necessary to the securement of legislation. This is demonstrated by the issues of the Weekly News Letter containing information which came into the President's possession showing the influence at work to prevent the passage of the Immigration bill. Those two issues aroused the trade unionists throughout the country to present to their representatives in Congress in no unmistakable terms their desires for the passage of that bill. The Weekly News Letter has proved itself a valuable news agency, as well as a help in the educational work of the trade union movement. (p. 319) It is an undisputable fact that the American newspaper is becoming almost indispensable to our institutions. What is true of the general newspapers is equally true of the Weekly News Letter. It, too, is becoming rapidly indispensable to our movement. It is essential that we gather from all quarters of the country, materials for contemporary history, and furnish same to the labor press. Under the name of "News," we should communicate all passing events dealing with the workers' welfare. Controlled by able minds among our fellow workers, it serves to inform our membership of war and peace, of the dealings of government, of the movements of commerce, and of the progress made by the struggles of the workers. We note with keen interest the great good the Weekly News Letter has accomplished, the invaluable service it has rendered the labor press and its responsive extension to the ever-increasing need. We commend the Executive Council for its successful conduct of this department, and approve of all suggestions urged for its extension in its report. In connection with this subject we have also considered Resolution No. 18. This resolution is not without some merit. A careful review of the cost involved and the many difficulties to be overcome in successfully establishing a news service so extensive as herein proposed, impels our disapproval of same and in lieu thereof, we recommend the extension of the Weekly News Letter service to such proportion and in such direction as will best suit the needs and requirements of the labor press in keeping within the finances allowed for the conduct of this department.

Wheatless Sunday—(1917, p. 365) Resolution favoring the designation of Sundays as wheatless days referred to the Executive Council to take up the question with the food administration.

Whisky Barrels, Refilling—(1893, p. 61) Opposed refilling of whisky barrels or reusing barrels or packages for food, in the interest of health.

Wilkie, Alexander—(1899, p. 165) Alexander Wilkie, fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, in concluding his address said:

"Be workmen still to workmen true,
Amongst ourselves united;
For never but by workmen's hands
Can workmen's wrongs be righted."

Wilson, Edith Bolling—(1917, p. 161) P. R. R. Depot, Williamsport, Penn. Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, N. Y. May I not beg that you will express to the convention my very warm appreciation of the graceful courtesy paid me in the presentation of the beautiful flowers which I received today. I enjoyed the flowers, not only for their beauty, but also for the friendly feeling which they so appropriately expressed. Edith Bolling Wilson.

Wilson, Woodrow—(1916, p. 283) Address of President Wilson at the White House to the delegates of the Baltimore convention: "I need not say that, coming to me as you do on such an errand, I am very deeply gratified and very greatly cheered. It would be impossible for me off-hand to say just what thoughts are stirred in me by what Mr. Gompers has said to me as your spokesman, but perhaps the simplest thing I can say is, after all, the meat of the whole matter. What I have tried to do is to get rid of any class division in this country, not only, but of any class conscientiousness and feeling. The worst thing that could happen to America would be that she should be divided into groups and camps in which there were men and women who thought that they were at odds with one another, that the spirit of America was not expressed except in them, and that possibilities of antagonism were the only things that we had to look forward to. As Mr. Gompers said, achievement is a comparatively small matter, but the spirit in which things are done is of the essence of the whole thing, and what I am striving for, and what I hope you are striving for, is to blot out all the lines of division in America and create a unity of

spirit and of purpose founded upon this, the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort, and that if we do not understand each other, we are not true Americans. If we cannot enter into each other's thoughts, if we cannot comprehend each other's interests, if we cannot serve each other's essential welfare, then we have not yet qualified as representatives of the American spirit. Nothing alarms America so much as rifts, divisions, the drifting apart of elements among her people, and the thing we ought all to strive for is to close up every rift, and the only way to do it, as far as I can see, is to establish justice, not only, but justice with a heart in it, justice with a pulse in it, justice with sympathy in it. Justice can be cold and forbidding or it can be warm and welcome, and the latter is the only kind of justice that Americans ought to desire. I do not believe I am deceiving myself when I say that I think this spirit is growing in America. I pray God it may continue to grow, and all I have to say is to exhort every one whom my voice reaches here or elsewhere to come into this common movement of humanity."

President Gompers' address had been as follows: "Mr. President: The ladies and gentlemen who are here are delegates and friends of the American Federation of Labor now holding its thirty-sixth annual convention at Baltimore, Maryland. Four days ago, without any prearrangement of any kind, a delegate arose and offered a motion in very simple language that on Saturday the convention take a recess, proceed to Washington, call upon you, sir, and pay our individual and collective respects to you as a man and as President of the United States. It would be difficult for me to express the spirit that prompted the adoption of that motion to come here. The American Federation of Labor is an association of voluntarily organized workers of America. It is a wage-earners' movement. It is a movement for the purpose of trying to bring light into the lives of the workers, primarily, to endeavor to be helpful to them, conscious of the fact that any improvement in the material, moral and social conditions of the workers must itself tend toward the uplift of all the people of our country and make more stable our beloved republic. Our movement stands for the principles of righteousness, justice and freedom, and is striving to attain the highest ideals of humanity. We have come to recognize in you, sir, a man who stands for these fundamental principles. We have taken joy into our hearts to be helpful in upholding your hands in the splendid, masterful work which you have undertaken and have accomplished. Achievement is a great triumph to a man's work, but after all achievement is not the ultimate. It is that which a man would do and honestly tries to do which is the essence of it all, for there are many who try honestly and achieve but little. But every effort put forth is an indication of the man of courage and righteousness and the right spirit. Believe me, sir, these men and these women come to you in no partisan spirit. There are men and women of different political parties and beliefs in the American Federation of Labor, but there is a unanimity of purpose and spirit. They recognize that they are in communion with you in the great fight you have made for the right. We come to you not only in the great respect we hold for you, but also in the great confidence we have in you. The congratulations which we tender you we express by the hope that your administration for the coming four years, after the expiration of your present term, may be full with the meat of achievement in the interest of the great masses of our people. To you and your beloved wife and to all who concern you we wish health, success and a long, long life for future usefulness."

Women and Children, Reports on—(1911, p. 357) Only 19 volumes of the limited edition of 5,000 copies of the reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor on investigations of the work of women and children are to be printed. A request was made that a special edition of 100,000 copies be published of each volume.

Women and Girls, To Working—(1883, p. 119) This address was issued to working women and girls: The A. F. of L. makes to you the following appeal: We recognize the fact that the well-being of the working people depends in no small degree upon themselves. The law of competition in the industrial world bears with crushing effect upon the weaker elements in society. The benefits to be derived by organization among wage-earners can hardly be overestimated. United action is the lever that will move the huge weight of poverty from many deserving workers. Its value is appreciated by the employing class, and in all departments of commerce and exchange we find system reduced to a science. It is only the ignorant laborer who presumes to undertake great enterprises without proper discipline. The army of industrial organization is fast increasing. Recruits by the thousand are monthly falling in line. The lesson is rapidly being learned by the proletariat that the people must "work out their own salvation." If social evils bear hardly upon working-men, and they are taught by experience that the power of combination can do much to help them; if they find that their labor societies assist them in obtaining better wages, and consequently better homes and better general surroundings,—how much more may we expect from this remedial force when applied by working-women to their own case? There is today, in the most civilized country on the face of the globe, a vast multitude of girls and women condemned to struggle for very existence. They are doubly handicapped by poverty and by sex. Neither sentiment nor humanity counts in the race for gain. The weaker become the prey of the stronger when the labor market is glutted, and keen competition disposes of the products of labor at the lowest market price. The toil of our seamstresses, shop girls, and factory operatives is exploited by hard taskmasters and soulless corporations. Thousands of tragedies are daily enacted, where virtue falls a victim to want, and shame springs from social needs. It is the mission of the labor movement to shield and protect those who cannot defend themselves. It is the creed of the labor movement that labor should be fairly paid for, that the laborer should be more than a passive factor in the contract that disposes of his labor. It is further the creed of the labor movement that equal amounts of work should bring the same price, whether performed by man

or woman. In other words, that the value to the purchaser, not the necessity of the seller, should fix the standard of a day's wages. In the carrying out of this belief there is needed the hearty co-operation of all interested parties. The working-women of the land should array themselves under the banner of united labor. It is the hope of the Federation to assist in bringing about this much-needed result.

Women and the A. F. of L.—The 1882 convention (p. 19) extended to all women's labor organizations representation in future annual federation meetings on an equal footing with trades organizations of men.

(1885, p. 18) Called on working women of the country to organize. (pp. 13-16) Objected to discharge of a large number of soldiers' widows from government employment as towel washers and giving the work to contractors who paid starvation rates.

(1890, p. 40) State factory inspectors were urged to appoint women as deputies. (p. 41) Decided special efforts would be made to organize women. (p. 45) Demanded products of women and children at the World's Fair be classified but not placed in a separate exhibit.

(1891, p. 16) The cause of women's wrongs and their misery are due to lack of organization.

(1892, p. 45) Demanded legislation forbidding foot-power machinery where women are employed.

(1893, p. 50) Illinois eight-hour law for females declared unconstitutional. (p. 48) Demanded legislation forbidding employment of females in any capacity in connection with saloons and other places selling liquor.

(1894, p. 45) Work of females should be limited to an eight-hour day.

(1898, p. 77) Refused to indorse the displacing of women in government employ with men. (pp. 72-116) Urged the general formation of women's trade unions to the end that they may scientifically and permanently abolish the terrible evils accompanying their weakened, unorganized state, and we demand they receive equal compensation for equal service performed.

(1901, p. 17) Realizing the continued increase of woman's labor in industry, commerce and in office work, we have always given every encouragement and made strenuous efforts to secure for them considerate treatment, and its correlative—equal pay for equal work with men. We appreciate the fact, however, that without the organization of the female wage-earners no hope for their protection or advancement is possible. While there is much to be hoped for and much to be obtained in organizing our sisters in toil, yet there is no country on the face of the earth where women work in which there are so many organized as in America. Our American trade unions have not only declared for the principle of fair treatment and equal pay, but many of them have borne burdens and made sacrifices to accomplish it. Wherever they have formed or joined a union and maintained it they have been joint beneficiaries with us. (p. 209) Recommended central bodies admit delegates of the Women's International Union Label League. Also that it send two fraternal delegates to the A. F. of L. convention.

(1904, pp. 28-63) Convention voted it would approve a change of name of the Women's International Union Label League to "Women's Auxiliary International Union of America" and remodel its purposes to those suggested by the title. Special efforts to organize women ordered.

(1905, p. 26) During the past year there was formed an international league for the organization of women into trade unions, and its work has been attended with considerable success. True, many of its officers are not wage-earners, but are women and men who, anxious to help their sisters of labor, realize that that assistance can best be rendered by organization where they may be in the better position to help themselves. Though known to us, it is not generally understood, that in our movement we accord fair and equal treatment to all wage-earners in any trade, craft or calling, and that membership is accorded in our unions to women upon an exact, equal and impartial footing with men. Some of our unions, as an inducement for women to join them, make both the initiation and dues less than those required of men. This is cited, not as an evidence of wisdom, for of this there is some doubt; for in unions we assert and stand for the principle of absolute equality of the sexes before trade union law and in trade union work, effectiveness and achievements. It is cited, however, to show the trade union position upon this question; nor is it amiss to call attention to the fact that large numbers of women workers are already organized, both in mixed unions of the sexes, and otherwise, and that in these unions the principle of equal pay for equal work is contended for and generally largely established. (p. 62) As the Women's International Union Label League is a federation of trade unions and is an auxiliary rather than a trade union, it could not be granted a charter. (pp. 168-171) Reaffirmed stand on organization of women. (p. 148) We indorse the movement for a federal investigation of "The social and economic condition of women employed in manufacturing and commercial pursuits."

(1906, p. 83) To this children were added and a bill presented in Congress.

(1907, pp. 28-205) There is none of our fellow-workers who is entitled to greater consideration at our hands than the woman and girl wage-earner. Our fellow-unionists the continent over should regard it as their duty and of paramount importance to help to the fullest in the better and more thorough organization of these deserving toilers along true trade union lines.

(1908, p. 97) Oregon ten-hour law declared constitutional.

(1909, p. 212) Urged appointment of a woman head of new department to investigate into the conditions of women and children in the industries of our country.

(1910, p. 23) The New York shirtwaist strike showed the extent to which women are taking up with industrial life. The number engaged was 20,000. Previous to their going out they had little or no organization. Their employers at first regarded their unexpected cessation from work as nothing more than an affair of a few days, at the end of which they must return to their places in the workshops, defeated, sobered, and ready to accept once more their accustomed routine and disheartening conditions. The employers were mistaken. The girls were willing to go hungry, and many of them did so; they braved the ruffianly

police while peacefully picketing, went to imprisonment as a part of their duty to their comrades when sentenced by unsympathetic magistrates, skilfully and energetically aroused a sentiment in their favor in the community, and finally convinced their employers that they had learned the merits of combination for their plainly just purposes. It required twenty-three weeks to work their revolution in the shirtwaist industry, but it was accomplished. The bulk of the 450 shops of the trade in New York signed agreements with the union, and those which held out against formally signing generally accepted the terms for which the union had contended. (p. 124) Establishment of a permanent bureau to investigate the conditions of woman and child labor was brought to the attention of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and the Commissioner of Labor and the chances were favorable.

(1913, p. 393) An assessment of 1 cent per capita was levied to be expended in whatever way was deemed best for the wage-earning women of the country.

(1914, p. 74, American Federationist, March, 1914) Women's eight-hour law for the District of Columbia enacted in February, 1914. Whatever is done in Washington has greater significance and will be a model for other states and communities. The law provides that no female shall be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, hotel, or restaurant, or telegraph or telephone establishment or office, or by any express or transportation company in the District of Columbia more than eight hours in any one day or more than forty-eight in any one week. That no female under 18 years shall be employed or permitted to work in or in connection with any establishments or occupations named in section 1 of this act before the hours of 7 o'clock in the morning or after 6 o'clock in the evening of any one day. That no female shall be employed or permitted to work for more than six hours continuously at one time in any establishment or occupation in which 3 or more such females are employed without an interval of at least three-quarters of an hour; except that such female may be so employed for not more than six and one-half hours continuously at one time if such employment ends not later than half past 1 o'clock in the afternoon and if she is then dismissed for the ramainder of the day. Employers must post notice giving the number of hours females are employed, the time for starting and ending the day's work and the time for beginning and ending a recess. Three inspectors are appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to see the act is obeyed. Law declared constitutional March 13, 1915. (pp. 58-331) Training and customs of centuries have made most women more highly individualistic than men in their ideals and practices. Women remained in their homes long after factory production had displaced home production. They have been later and slower in learning the lessons that teach the necessity for united action for the protection of the workers. Since women have gone into the mills, the factories, and the shops, many have not yet learned to look upon their work as a permanent trade. Their work is casual labor while they wait for what they have been taught to regard the end in life—marriage. For this reason women workers as a rule accept conditions as they find them and make little effort to bring about improvements. They have failed to realize that they are responsible members of the industrial organization and that their influence will either aid or retard progress. They have failed to realize that they can not escape the consequences of their decision even in marriage, for the economic welfare of their husbands and their children is involved. In other words, women have not been taught that they can not shift the responsibility of their own lives, and have not been taught by experience or otherwise the value of organization. The spirit and the habit of organization must become ingrained in all workers. Not all men have learned this yet. Some women have learned and have proved themselves staunch trade unionists. More women will learn it in time, but their failure to understand now constitutes one of the greatest difficulties to the campaign of bettering their condition in employment. In connection with this campaign should be noted another movement which demonstrates that wage-earning women feel the need of organization—we refer to the union movement among the teachers, notably of Cleveland, Ohio. More and more it is realized that women do not live apart from the political, social, and economic organization of society, but that they are responsible members and should share in its burdens and contribute to its progress. What has been done in organization this year is a mere beginning whose results are not yet appreciable. The work should be continued with unremitting vigor. Women wage-earners must be organized or they will retard the progress of all organization.

(1915, pp. 62-468) Women are now gainfully employed, whereas formerly their work was merely a part of the productions of the collective efforts of the family for which they received no compensation in the form of wages. The head of a family received and handled all of the wages in return for the work. Under modern industrial conditions women are recognized as distinctive workers, and their labors are compensated individually. This new condition has contributed to developing a spirit of independence, self-assertion, and resourcefulness on their part. There are often many criticisms advanced that women do not understand the spirit, and the methods of collective action of organization in trade unions, and that therefore they can not protect themselves through economic organizations. Again and again this assertion has been proved false. Women can be organized, they can and do understand the principles of trade unionism, and they are able and willing to fight for the cause. Of course, there have been elements associated with the lives of women that make for dependence both personal and economic. But these conditions are being modified, and in many places replaced, by economic independence of women and by granting them full equality with men—industrial, political and otherwise. The organized labor movement has long been on record as endorsing the right of the ballot for all intelligent members of society, regardless of sex. Wherever this idea and this regulation have been establishd by law, there is swept away one of the great distinctions between the problems of men and women.

In those localities there can no longer be an industrial policy based upon the theory that women are wards of the state. No policy affecting their industrial welfare can be justly established which does not equally apply to men. The trade union movement has opposed the regulation of working conditions, hours of work, and wages for men in private industry by law or by political agents. Where equality between men and women is established, the endorsement of this principle for women becomes also a very serious menace to the liberty of the men wage-earners. Any legislation that bestows upon political agents the right to control industrial relations in private industries becomes a serious menace and infringement upon the rights of free workers. There are only two theories advanced for securing industrial betterment. One is by securing for the wage-earners the right of organization and maintaining for those organizations the full right to such activities as are necessary in order to secure their ligitimate objects. The other is to bestow upon the state the right to control and regulate industrial relations. It is plain that this latter policy would establish a sort of political paternalism that might secure sole advantages for the wage earners, but would deprive them of their real freedom. The first policy is the one that is in accord with trade union history and philosophy, and in line with the theory of our Republic. There can be no question but that the policy tending towards paternalism is subversive to free ideals and democratic government. It could result only in bureaucracy with all the evils that are inseparable from that institution, and all of the weaknesses that it fosters and develops in those that it is supposed to benefit. Since men and women now work on equality in industry, it is becoming daily more apparent that the paternalistic policy can not be adopted in the case of women without danger to men. The trade union movement, which has ever been foremost in the age-long struggle for freedom, was among the first to point out the danger of regulating industrial relations for women by law, and to formulate the policy that women workers, aided by men, must organize and work out their own salvation, develop their own ideas, and be responsible for their realization. Women must become equally resourceful and independent as men, or else progress is retarded. It is because they recognize the importance of these truths that American trade unionists have endorsed equal organization of wage-earning women and have levied special assessments to maintain a campaign for that purpose.

(1916, p. 351) Indorsed bill establishing under the Department of Labor a woman's division with a woman chief. (p. 373) Indorsed campaign of the Woman's Trade Union League to secure eight-hour legislation for women from the different state legislatures and Congress.

(1917, pp. 89-282) With the vast changes going on in economic organization, in addition to the demands made upon it because of the participation of millions of men engaged on the battlefields of Europe and with the entrance of the United States into the world war thus drawing other hundreds of thousands from industrial pursuits, there are presented questions of labor supply and adjustment that we will undoubtedly be called upon to meet in the near future. While it is not clear yet that with a proper distribution of present labor there is an actual shortage, yet if the present conditions and tendencies continue, it may come about that the demands made upon the population of this country for man power in both the military service and necessary industries, a more general advent of women as workers in industry will come about. The A. F. of L. reiterates its well-defined position and insists that equal pay should be given for equal work without regard to sex. We urge that wherever the introduction of women in industry becomes necessary because of shortage of man power, every effort be put forth, not only by the Federation, but by every national union, state federation, and local union to the end that equal pay for equal work shall be accorded to the women who are in industry and who shall come into it. To pay women workers less than men is to tear down the American standard of life, not only during the war but for a long time after. (pp. 261-279) During the world war for democracy the American labor movement is facing grave problems; with the men going to war large groups of unorganized women are filling their places and in the name of patriotism are asked to work for less than men received. The A. F. of L. will do all in its power to organize the women.

(1918, p. 130) The A. F. of L. has nine women trade unionists as women organizers. We should and will make every effort to give whole-hearted support in the endeavor to organize the women workers of America to bring them the full fruition of organized effort that they may be accorded as a right, equal pay for equal work with men. (p. 206) National and international unions should take into membership women who are working at the various trades. (p. 233) Director general of railroads requested to appoint a committee, some members to be women, to investigate the necessity of using women for track work, light repairs in yards, check, receiving and delivery clerks in freight houses and on team tracks, which are unfit places for women to work. (p. 80) Women employed in the Bureau of Engraving granted the eight-hour day, with time and a half for overtime, by the Secretary of the Treasury. (pp. 117-224) Bills presented in Congress prohibiting interstate and foreign commerce in any article or commodity produced in any plant in which females 16 years of age or over are permitted to work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week. (p. 218) Refused to amend constitution to require election of two women to the Executive Council, the objection being explained as follows: "We hold such action would be class legislation and would be detrimental to the best interests of this Federation. If you say that two women have a right to membership on the Executive Council you have the same right to say ten women should be members. The women delegates have the same rights and privileges as the men, as they have the same right to aspire to any office in the A. F. of L.

Workmen's Compensation—(1881, p. 4) One of the first acts of the A. F. of L. was to adopt a plank in its platform declaring "stricter laws should be enacted making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence or incompetency to

employes." (1882, p. 15) Legislative committee instructed to concentrate efforts on enactment of an "employers' liability act by various legislatures which will give employes the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have and make common employment no longer a legal defense for action for personal injuries."

(1889, p. 23) Approved Massachusetts law, as "every employer ought to be liable for injuries of employes while obeying orders of superintendent or foreman." (1902, p. 225) Urged enactment of laws to protect disabled workmen and to provide a system of national insurance for their assistance during enforced idleness. (1905, p. 118) Urged Congress to enact law to relieve employes in navy yards and stations and gun factories who are debarred from recourse to the civil courts for damages in case of injury. (p. 176) Declared increase in accidents, because of the progress made in machinery construction and the careless methods of employers, made it necessary to secure compensation laws in the various states.

(1906, p 30) Representatives of the A. F. of L. aided in securing a federal limited liability law for railroad employes exclusively.

(1907, p. 192) Approved bill providing compensation to government civilian employes when injured while at work.

(1908, p. 25) Law enacted to compensate employes injured while at work in government service. Failed to secure application of employers' liability principle in a law.

(1909, p. 106) While we recognize that ultimately workmen's compensation laws must become the settled policy of the government, yet in the meantime we must give our assistance to legislation that will remove or substantially modify the unjust bars to recovery founded on the doctrine of "assumption of risk, contributory negligence, fellow servant and waiver of rights."

(1910, p. 26) Employers' Liability Law amended and commission created to inquire into extending employers' liability and the extension of compensation. (p. 39) Agitation for compensation laws ordered continued. The modern use of steam power, electricity, compressed air and explosives, often under control of men who fail to understand their nature and whose routine duties make them so accustomed to danger that they fail to realize it, has made it utterly impossible to protect society against the weakest of all human agencies, viz., the failure or forgetfulness of the human factor. Then also must be considered the dangers to life and limb in the operation of fast driven machinery as well as the accidents due to the massing together of great numbers of workmen in modern industry. Turkey and the U. S. are the only two countries left that still cling to the old common law doctrine of liability with respect to industrial accidents.

(1911, p. 133) It is to be regretted the great work of establishing a national system for the prevention of industrial accidents is as yet in the preliminary stage. Thirty-eight states have such laws but some of them are made nil by decisions of judges. (p. 268) Favored federal law fixing a minimum of five years' wages in case of death by accident, and at least 50 per cent for permanent injury or seven years' wages for full settlement. Every state federation and central body was urged to maintain a permanent legislative committee to keep the A. F. of L. officers supplied with the latest happenings in their localities. Amendments to state constitutions were believed necessary to protect compensation laws.

(1912, p. 49) United States Supreme Court, January 15, 1912, gave its unanimous approval of the employers' liability law enacted in 1908. The court rejected all the defenses pleaded by the defense, virtually reversing its former decision of February, 1908, on the relation of master and servant. It declared Congress has the power to regulate the duties of common carriers both in respect to the safety of their employes and the liability of the carrier as an employer for injuries sustained by employes while on duty. (p. 346) In dealing with workmen's compensation we must not overlook that there is a question of its constitutionality in due time to be considered by the Supreme Court. In making compensation the only remedy, and thereby repealing the employer' liability, the injured workman may be placed in a position of having no remedy at all, and for this reason the employer's liability should not be repealed; the workman should have a choice, but even if this were not so the choice should still be left with the injured workmen to accept compensation under a compensation law or to sue under a proper employer's liability law. This is the law in Great Britain and we have been unable to find any injustice done either to the workman or to the employer under its operation.

(1913, p. 50) Twenty-one states have compensation laws. Some states provide for an entirely inadequate compensation and in others the payment is not guaranteed in such a manner as to justify the workman in having confidence in the law. Reported efforts had been made to have federal employes' compensation laws extended to post office clerks. (p. 51) We have no hesitancy in saying that injured workmen and their dependent families are immeasurably better protected and provided for under compensation laws than they were under the antiquated, cruel and unjust common law as it related to employers' liability. (p. 295) Fullest support was pledged government employes for compensation laws more in keeping with the best of the state acts. (p. 277) We urge compensation for every day of injury, more adequate death benefit instead of one years' pay as at present, payments to continue for a greater period than one year if injuries are serious and partial and total disability results.

(1914, p. 322) Declared compensation rates should be based on not less than 66⅔ per cent of the wages received by the injured. Determined efforts should be made to lengthen the time payments should be made for accidents resulting in amputations. Also: That widows whose husbands had been killed in the industries should receive compensation during widowhood; that additional rates should be paid on the basis of the number of children under eighteen years of age; that the administration of compensation laws should be under the supervision of State commissions, appointed for this purpose; that as the profits of liability in-

surance companies are derived entirely from funds collected for the payment of compensation to injured workmen, every effort be made to secure workmen's compensation laws which will entirely eliminate employers' liability insurance companies; that inasmuch as serious evils have crept in as a result of the provisions made by most workmen's compensation laws allowing employers to be self-insured, persistent efforts be made in the several States and Provinces of Canada to eliminate this provision and bring all employers under a law providing for contributions to State funds to be administered by a commission. (pp. 101-495) The declaration of the 1913 convention that "the right of action to recover damages for personal injuries shall never be abrogated and the amount recovered shall not be subjected to any statutory limitation" was rescinded. This declaration was made: "In view of the fact that the growing tendency is to substitute in place of or supplement Workmen's Compensation laws for existing Employers' Liability laws, and for the reason that by this new method of compensating injured employes or surviving relatives or dependents, a great advance is experienced over the old system of reimbursing employes for injuries or death caused during their employment, we are of the opinion that if the constitutional proposal entitled 'Personal Injuries,' be enacted, that such provision may be interpreted so as to interfere with the enactment of Workmen's Compensation laws, and therefore, upon further investigation we recommend the above course in preference to the one recommended last year." The 1913 declaration on the "abrogation of so-called common law defenses" was also rescinded and this adopted in its place: "The common law doctrines of fellow servant, contributory negligence, and assumption of risks, so far as they affect the liability of a master for injuries to his servant, or the liability of an employer to his employes, resulting from the acts or omissions of any servant or servants, employe or employes, of the common master or common employer, are forever abrogated. Any provision of a contract for employment expressed or implied, made by any person by which any of the benefits of this constitution is sought to be waived, shall be null and void."

(1915, pp. 96-292) Reaffirmed principles for workmen's compensation adopted in 1914 with this addition: "Compensation to be paid for death or illness of occupational diseases." Seventeen states were reported to be without compensation or employers' liability laws. (p. 306) Executive Council instructed to lend its aid to secure a model compensation law for government employes.

(1916, p. 95) Comprehensive compensation law for federal employes finally enacted. (p. 312) Urged Congress to enact compensation law for longshoremen injured or killed while at work. Also to extend bill providing compensation for accidents to employes in shipbuilding to the vessel after it reaches the water as well as on the ways.

(1917, p. 116) May 21, 1917, the United States Supreme Court decided that persons employed as stevedores in loading and unloading vessels are engaged in work of maritime nature; that injuries received in the course of such work are maritime, and that the rights and liabilities of the parties in connection therewith are matters within admiralty jurisdiction; that since exclusive jurisdiction of all civil cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction is vested in the Federal district courts, a state could not apply its workmen's compensation law to employes engaged in this character of work. The result of the decision was to deny to the states a power which they have been exercising and excluded workmen of the character mentioned from all of the compensation laws administered by the states, the existing Federal Compensation act applying only to government employes. The Executive Council secured an amendment to the Judicial Code and the state compensation laws can now be made to operate to protect workmen engaged in loading vessels and other work of a similar character, thus eliminating the possibility of workmen and those dependent upon them being made to suffer because of judicial interpretation as to lines of legal demarcation in injury cases surrounded by similar circumstances.

(1918, p. 107) A serious complication arose over the amendment to the Judicial Code, which was believed to place men engaged in loading of vessels under state compensation acts. But the Supreme Court of the State of Washington held that the state industrial insurance department cannot enforce against employers the payment of premiums upon payrolls in maritime employment for the reason that the commission in accepting premiums from this class of employers cannot protect them against suits that may be brought for damages under the admiralty administration of the federal court. Same court also decided that notwithstanding an employer had paid contributions to the Washington Industrial Insurance Department a workman injured in admiralty may pursue his right of action against his employer, and in that case $3,000 was recovered. In the definition of a "seaman" "longshoremen" are not included. (p. 114) Compensation to orphans in excess of institutional requirements recommended in 1917 was urged on all state federations, requesting that the question be included in their legislative programs. (pp. 104-330) Approved of efforts to secure a just and adequate law so that victims of industrial accidents may be given an opportunity for rehabilitation, re-education and reintroduction into industry. Amendments to state workmen's compensation laws will be necessary. A bill has been drafted covering federal employes who are unable to follow their usual avocations because of injuries.

(1918, p. 283) We believe trade and occupational diseases should be considered in law as well as in fact an obligation on industry and that those who contract for the employment of the workers should be required to provide compenstion to those suffering by health impairment due to their employment.

Workmen's Compensation, Maritime—(1918, pp. 106-331) Bill to compensate maritime workers indorsed. It contained these provisions: (1) Where at the time of the injury the employe is performing service growing out of and incidental to his employment and is acting within the course of his employment as such. (2) Where the injury is proximately caused by the employment, either with or without negligence or assumption of risk, and is not so caused

by the intoxication or the willful misconduct of the injured employe. (3) Where such conditions of compensation exist, the right to recover in addition to such rights as are now provided by the maritime law such compensation pursuant to the provisions of this act, shall be the exclusive remedy against the employer for the injury or death, except that when the injury was caused by the employers' gross negligence or willful misconduct, or the gross negligence or willful misconduct of any person having control and the right to issue orders to such injured employe, and such act or failure to act was the personal act or failure to act on the part of the employer himself, or the person having the right to issue orders; then the injured employe may at his option either claim compensation under the act or maintain an action at law or in an admiralty court for damges. (4) In all other cases where the conditions of compensation do not concur the liability of the employer shall be the same as if this act had not been passed, and nothing contained in the act shall affect the provisions of the general maritime law in respect to the right of a seaman to care, cure, or wages when falling sick or when injured in the service of a vessel or of the privilege of admission into a United States marine hospital, but the provisions of this act shall be supplementary and additional thereto. The rates of compensation include 65 per cent of the average weekly earnings for temporary total disability not to exceed 240 weeks, while in the case of permanent disability 65 per cent of earnings for a period of 240 weeks and 40 per cent thereafter during the remainder of the injured employe's life. All vessels, their owners, charterers, and insurance carriers are liable for compensation under the act.

Wright, Daniel Thew—(1914, pp. 95-365) The workers of America through their organizations have been ever alert to efforts to secure justice in the administration of the law. They perhaps better than any others of our citizens have realized that law must change with the changes of life if justice is to prevail. They realize that justice must be a living force for righteousness in the problems of human life. They realize that justice must determine law and that law in itself does not necessarily determine justice. This is the thought which President Wilson advanced before the American Bar Association at its recent meeting in Washington: "There was a time when the thoughtful eye of the judge rested upon the changes of social circumstances and almost palpably saw the law arise out of human life." Because this is our ideal of the administration of justice, we have been very jealous of the character and the integrity of those who occupy the high office of judge. The administration of justice pure and undefiled, real justice in the lives of the people, demands that judges be above reproach in their private and official lives. It is therefore to protect the freedom and the rights of all that unworthy administrators of justice are removed from the offices of such responsibility. During the past year two federal judges have been charged with most serious offenses against the citizens of the country. Early in the year Mr. Wade Cooper, president of one of the Washington, D. C., banks, submitted to the President of the United States charges of alleged illegal and other improper transactions against Judge Daniel Thew Wright. These charges were published in the newspapers, and later, that is, on April 10, 1914, Hon. Frank Park, of the Second District of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, offered the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be directed to inquire and report whether the action of this House is necessary concerning the alleged official misconduct of Daniel Thew Wright, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; whether he has corruptly accepted favors from lawyers appearing before him; whether he has corruptly permitted counsel for a street railway company to indorse his notes while said counsel was retained in business and causes before his court; whether he has performed the services of lawyer and accepted a fee during his tenure of judicial office, in violation of the statute of the United States; whether he has collected and wrongfully appropriated other people's money; whether he has purposely and corruptly changed the record in order to prevent reversal of causes wherein he presided; whether he has borne deadly weapons in violation of law; whether he has arbitrarily revoked, without legal right, an order of a judge of concurrent jurisdiction appointing three receivers so as to favor his friend by appointing him sole receiver; and whether said judge has been guilty of any misbehavior for which he should be impeached." The resolution was referred to the House Judiciary Committee which in turn referred it to a subcommittee which investigated the charges. On October 6 Judge Wright sent his resignation to the President, ending his career as a judge.

..Yager, Arthur, Governor of Porto Rico—(1918, p. 98) Since Arthur Yager was appointed governor of Porto Rico, it has been necessary for the President of the A. F. of L. to present to the administration many situations of injustice to workers which resulted at least in part from the failure of the governor to understand the lives and problems of the workers of Porto Rico as well as his failure as an administrative officer to accord to them legal protection and their rights as free citizens to activities necessary for their industrial and social betterment. The situation in Porto Rico became acute as the result of a strike of thousands of agricultural workers. Early in December the strikers formulated their demands and presented them to their employers on the sugar plantations. The sugar growers paid no attention to the petitions of the laborers. The workers kept on pressing their demands. They could do nothing else for they were receiving less than a living wage and the cost of living in Porto Rico is practically the same as that in the U. S. This situation means that Porto Rican workers for years have been underfed and have lived in miserable huts and houses. As the situation in Porto Rico became increasingly actute, the Department of Labor sent a representative to the island. The President of the A. F. of L. sent cablegrams to the governor of the island and to the president of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico suggesting and urging that a conference be brought about between the sugar employers and their employes that a strike might not occur in the harvest time. We realize that sugar is an essential food and has become

a war industry. Despite all efforts on the part of organized labor and the Department of Labor, the strike took place in March. There followed a period when the usual practices were employed to compel the workers to give up their strike and their demands for better conditions. The workerss were not given necessary and rightful protection by the governmental agents of the island. The situation in Porto Rico was such as to induce and lead the working people to the verge of a revolution. Accounts of what was taking place in Porto Rico and the denial of justice to the Spanish speaking workers, who were under the jurisdiction of the U. S., were carried into other Spanish speaking countries of the American continent, and even to Europe. The conditions existing there were so completely at variance with the ideals and institutions of our free republic and for the avowed purposes for which our country was at war, that the situation was deemed injurious to our country and to our cause and that of our allies. When it seemed that there was no other recourse and no hope of bringing about a fair adjustment under existing conditions, President Gompers brought the whole matter to the attention of the President of the U. S. in the form of specific charges against Governor Yager with the request that an official investigation be made. The charges against Governor Yager refer not only to his unsympathetic, unwise attitude and policy toward industrial affairs, but also to his dilatory tactics and failure to support necessary war activities, particularly his failure to give timely and necessary assistance to the Red Cross Society and in the organization of a local Council of National Defense. The governor's failure to take decisive constructive action in connection with the strike of the sugar workers assumes a still more serious character when it is known that several of the sugar plantations were owned by German capital. During the course of the strike Governor Yager denied the workers the right of free assemblage and discussion and permitted the insular police to be used in furtherance of strike-breaking plans of the sugar growers and thus followed an unwise trouble provoking policy that resulted in a very serious situation in Porto Rico. With the view of investigating the charges against Governor Yager, the President of the U. S. has taken them up with the Secretary of War. The A. F. of L. and the workers of Porto Rico only ask that a fair investigation be made in order to establish facts that are necessary for remedial action. Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson has referred the strike of the agricultural workers of Porto Rico to the National War Labor Board to investigate labor conditions on the island. (p. 283) The unrest in Porto Rico demands a thorough investigation into the conditions of living and employment of these workers and the War Labor Board is requested to make such inquiry and do everything in its power to right the wrongs being perpetrated on them. The A. F. of L. is in thorough accord with the request made to President Wilson by President Gompers to investigate the conduct of Governor Yager, not only as it has to do with the suppression of the workers' rights, but also to his dilatory and seemingly evasive tactics toward all measures essential to the successful prosecution of the war.

Year Book—(1916, p. 355) Convention instructed the Executive Council to "have prepared a Year Book, which shall contain a record of all matters affecting the trade union movement which have occurred during the preceding twelve months, and that the necessary steps be taken to secure the annual publication of such a volume in the future."

(1917, p. 415) It is the opinion of the convention that the importance of the Year Book is such that the most thorough-going research of the records of the A. F. of L. is necessary. The Executive Council is directed to authorize the President of the A. F. of L. to supervise and secure such assistance as is necessary to complete preparation and publish an A. F. of L. Year Book during the coming year, 1918.

Our National Flag.

The official flag of the United States bears forty-eight white stars in a blue field, arranged in six rows of eight stars each. Two stars were added in 1912 by the admission of Arizona and New Mexico to the Union. The garrison flag of the Army is made of bunting, thirty-six feet fly and twenty feet hoist; thirteen stripes, and in the upper quarter, next the staff, is the field or "union" of stars, equal to the number of States, on blue field, over one-third length of the flag, extending to the lower edge of the fourth red stripe from the top. The storm flag is twenty feet by ten feet, and the recruiting flag nine feet nine inches by four feet four inches. The "American Jack" is the "union" or blue field of the flag. The Revenue Marine Service flag, authorized by act of Congress, March 2, 1799, was originally prescribed to "consist of sixteen perpendicular stripes, alternate red and white, the union of the ensign bearing the arms of the United States in dark blue on a white field." The sixteen stripes represented the number of States which had been admitted to the Union at that time, and no change has been made since. June 14, the anniversary of the adoption of the flag, is celebrated as Flag Day in a large part of the Union.

In order to show proper respect for the flag the following ceremony should be observed:

It should not be hoisted before sunrise nor allowed to remain up after sunset.

At "retreat," sunset, civilian spectators should stand at "attention" and uncover during the playing of "The Star Spangled Banner." Militaryy spectators are required by regulation to stand at "attention" and give the military salute.

When the national colors are passing on parade, or in review, the spectator should, if walking, halt, and if sitting, arise and stand at attention and uncover.

When the flag is flown at half staff, as a sign of mourning it should be hoisted to full staff at the conclusion of the funeral.

In placing the flag at half staff, it should first be hoisted to the top of the staff and then lowered to position, and preliminary to lowering from half staff, it should be first raised to the top.

On Memorial Day, May 30, the flag should fly at half staff from sunrise to noon and full staff from noon to sunset.—Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York.

LABOR IN EUROPE

HANDICAPPED by the socialists, syndicalists and other enemies, the trade union movements of Europe have had a bitter struggle for existence. Free speech and assemblage has been denied them to a great extent. The American Federation of Labor delegate to the Budapest Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1911 made a thorough study of labor conditions in Hungary. The delegate to the Zurich Congress in 1913 visited many countries. The reports, which follow, melt away much of the glamour propagandists have sought to throw around those nations and give in all their hideous nakedness the deplorable, slavelike state of the working people. While written in 1911 *and* 1913, *much of the comment has proved prophetic and also demonstrates the advanced position of the American Labor Movement over every other country on earth. The delegate to Zurich reported:*

The trade union movement of Great Britain is practically divided into two camps. The British Trade Union Congress and its affiliated unions are paying more and more attention to political action, and I heard a great deal of talk about the Labor Party, in fact more than I did concerning the trade union movement. Since the unions have been actively engaged in politics some of its former prominent and often brilliant leaders have accepted political jobs, and their services lost to the trade union movement. In London, England, the largest city of the world, there is considerable evidence of extreme poverty. People live in crowded districts, in narrow, terribly congested streets, and a great many people may be seen with hollow cheeks and pinched features. England, with its proverbial conservatism, tenaciously holds to the old machines and old methods of production, while Germany and other countries grasp the new and modern means of production; as a result of this Great Britain, in its desperate efforts to maintain commercial, industrial and financial supremacy, has paid the awful price of sacrificing the higher development of the human family, its manhood and womanhood on the altar of Mammon, and short-sighted conservatism. Were it not for the trade unions the conditions of the masses in Great Britain would be simply appalling.

In France, where many of the leaders openly declare for direct action, sabotage and syndicalism, and where the movement is controlled by localism rather than the centralized movement such as our own and such as exists in Germany, and where, too, they declare for the confiscation of private property without compensation, the overthrow of the Government by direct action, sabotage and syndicalism, the trade union movement not only has to battle against the unscrupulous employer, but against all employes, the government and ruling class. The trade union movement has increased from 320,000 in 1904, to about 600,000 in 1913. This does not include the nonaffiliated unions, which bring the total up to about 1,050,000 at present. The population of France in 1911 was about 39,600,000. France is considerably an agricultural country. France is a low dues paying country; they believe in sharp, short strikes, which they are unable to properly finance, and the inevitable result is portrayed by the following signed statement of the secretary: "In 1911 the number of strikes amounted to 1,443, of which 267 succeeded, 613 failed, and 563 were compromised." In one of the strikes which was a failure the secretary apparently took satisfaction in saying that it was "a brilliant proof of the spirit of revolt which existed among the workers." In France, the cigar and tobacco industries, the match industry, and the railroads are owned and controlled by the government. In the cigar and tobacco industry the great majority are organized. Two-thirds of the people employed in this industry are women. The men receive from 6 fr. ($1.14) to 7 fr. ($1.86) per day, for nine hours' work, while the women receive 5 fr. (95 cents) per day for nine hours' work. In the match industry, where nearly all are organized, two-thirds are women. The men receive about $1.33 for nine hours, and the women from 95 cents to $1.14 for nine hours' work. The leaders are opposed to benefits and depend largely upon the revolutionary spirit, and they are opposed to politics of all kinds. In Paris the hours of labor are from nine to twelve per day and in the country usually twelve or more per day. Paris has its wonderful boulevards, its music, its flowers, and its wonderfully old buildings and traditional past, its narrow streets, and thickly populated, congested districts, and its ever present poverty of the masses. In France they are lulled into sleep and inactivity on the industrial field by the glamor and cry of a grand revolution, while the real present-day necessities and the needs of the workers are being sadly neglected; despite the fact that the leaders there say that a revolution seldom accomplishes lasting results as regards the well-being of the workers, they still cry for the "grand revolution." The employers are opposed to the centralized form of organization, and strange as

it may seem, so is the leadership in one faction of the trade union movement. The leaders of the syndicalist unions in France and of the central movement affiliated with the Secretariat are opposed to political action as a means for redress; also to benefits and depend wholly upon the quick strike and the revolutionary spirit, direct action and syndicalism.

In Holland the membership of the trade union movement affiliated with the National Center has increased from 10,000 in 1904 to 61,500 in 1913. Including those not affiliated the membership in 1911 was 153,689.

In Belgium the membership of the trade union movement affiliated with the National Center in 1904 was 20,000, and in 1913, 116,000. In 1911 there were about 15,500 not affiliated to the National Center. The activities in the labor movement in Belgium are divided into three activities—co-operation, socialism, and trade unionism. I should judge that formerly they paid more attention to co-operation and socialism than they did to trade unionism. There is no question but what co-operation has made wonderful strides in Belgium. In Brussels the co operative societies and the socialists and the trade unionists own magnificent labor temples, in which are located the offices, halls, cafes, reading rooms, restaurants, libraries, etc. There are also many co-operative groceries, bakeries, and other stores in Brussels and in other places in Belgium. Here as elsewhere in Continental Europe I find the trade union movement slowly but steadily forging to the front. Brussels, Belgium, has its traditions, its art, its music, and its flowers, all of which are marvelous, but it also has its poverty its hovels, and its congested and crowded districts, in which the great mass of the people live. All of its productive capacity, including the land, machinery and man, is forced to the limit. Long hours and low wages are the rule. In a great many trades, especially hand trades, people work nine and ten hours per day in factories and in addition in their homes at night.

In Denmark the membership of the trade union movement affiliated with the National Center in 1904 was 68,000, and in 1913, 105,000. In 1911 it had, including the non-affiliated unions, a membership of 128,224. The movement here as well as in nearly all other places also has dual organizations and syndicalists. The population of Denmark in 1910 was 7,516,000. It is largely an agricultural country.

In Sweden the membership of the trade union movement affiliated with the National Center, in 1904, was 81,000, and in 1913, 105,000. In 1911, including the non-affiliated unions and dual organizations, the entire membership of the trade union movement was 116,500. The population was 5,521,000 in 1910. The secretary of the National Center of Sweden says: "The employers resort to victimization and persecution of a great number of our best trade unionists for the purpose of destroying and discouraging the trade union movement; that a group of men are everywhere employed to force members to leave their organizations, and that the syndicalists are using all of their powers for the purpose of disorganizing the regular trade unionists affiliated with the National Centers." He claims that the syndicalists at present have about 1,000 members, and says that the general trade union movement has no fear of the syndicalists or their organization. Despite its handicaps and its isms and its close affiliation to partisan politics, the trade union movement is steadily growing. The trade unions here own thirty-five papers with a total circulation of 151,600 copies.

In Norway, the membership of the trade union movement affiliated with the National Center, was 11,000 in 1904, and had jumped in 1913 to 61,000 affiliated with the general movement. The population was 2,391,000 in 1910. The employers of Norway have a powerful organization. According to reports submitted, the trade union movement of that country is making splendid progress. In 1911 they had 201 trade disputes, involving 50,100 members. Wages were substantially increased during this time, and the working time was reduced for 19,795 people, about 1.7 hours per week of work. Fifteen of the national unions have their own official paper. The total circulation is 54,055.

In Finland, the membership of trade union movement affiliated with the National Center is not given for 1904, but in 1913 it is given as 29,900. The population of Finland in 1910 was 2,520,000. Agriculture and cattle breeding are the chief industries. The secretary of the trade union movement of Finland is a socialist and president of the Parliament in Finland. Parliament has a right to pass laws, but if in favor of or in the interests of labor they are always vetoed by the Czar of Russia.

In Austria the membership of the trade union movement affiliated with the National Center, in 1904, was 204,000, and in 1913, 428,000, and in 1911, including the non-affiliated unions, the total trade union membership of the country was 496,263. The population in 1910 was 28,321,000. It is largely an agricultural country, although its manufacturing industries are rapidly growing. In 1892 there were only 46,606 members of the trade union movement in Austria. The unions pay traveling, out-of-work, sick, superannuated, and burial benefits. The largest sums spent in 1911 were for out-of-work and sick benefits. Austria has its dual, Christian, and so-called free organizations.

In Hungary in 1904 the trade union movement affiliated with the National Center had a membership of 50,000, while in 1913 the membership had grown to 95,000. The membership in 1901 was 9,999; in 1906, 129,000; in 1908, 102,000; in 1909, 85,000; and in 1911, 95,000. While the membership has fluctuated, it has shown a wonderful increase since 1901. It is illegal in Hungary, as well as in many other places, to assist workers while on strike. The strike benefit was paid nevertheless and paid through so-called free or sick societies. In all countries where it is illegal to pay strike benefit it is usually credited under the head of unemployment benefit. The rights of the workers and their right to organize and hold meetings depend somewhat on the good will of the police authorities. The strikes are always controlled by the police, while employers have complete liberty to do as they please. The secretary says: "We have not only to fight the employers but also against the constant oppression of the State authorities."

But little can be said of Croatia, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Bosnia where the

population is small, and the unions crude and small in membership. The political movement in each of these countries from the social democratic standpoint seems to predominate. There is, however, according to the reports, a slight increase in the membership in each country.

In Servia, where the population was 2,911,000 in 1910, and the total trade union membership in 1912 was 110,000 members, the secretary says that the movement has to overcome immense difficulties; that the socialist spirit animates the movement in Servia, and that the manufacturers do as they please; that the State, which is constantly serving the upper class, rules supreme; that there is a combination of manufacturers which is constantly striving to weed out the small manufacturers, and that they are largely successful. The secretary complained, as they do in all foreign countries, of the high cost of living. Delegates from Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria were not present at the Zurich conference, as previously stated, owing to the Balkan war.

In Switzerland the membership of the trade union movement affiliated with the Secretariat in 1904 was 30,000, while in 1913 it had increased to 65,000. In 1911 the membership, including the non-affiliated unions, was 78,000. It is claimed today that the actual membership is about 92,000. The population of Switzerland in 1910 was 3,741,000. Switzerland being the oldest republic, having first been organized as such, I believe, about five centuries ago, and continuously such for the past two or three hundred years, and the home of the initiative and referendum, had for these reasons an added interest for me. I studied as carefully as possible in the time I had there the economic conditions of the masses, the surroundings, living conditions, etc. I find that the trade union movement there has its internal dissensions; that it has its anarchists, syndicalism, direct action, so-called free and Christian unions, which are dual to the national Swiss trade union movement. In Geneva, Switzerland, one of its large and more prosperous cities, the old part of the town has its ancient buildings and narrow streets, especially in the quarters where the workers live. The houses are closely crowded together and in some instances are reached by underground passageways. Many of the streets will not admit of an ordinary horse and wagon. The streets are all winding, short and run in all directions. The wages are low and hours of labor long. The chief food of the workers is bread, potatoes, cereals, and sausage. They indulge in meat about once a week. In December, 1912, the locksmiths engaged in a general strike and strike-breakers immediately took their places and the police protected them. A general strike was called for one day as a protest against the brutality of the police. The strike was a failure. The Swiss Trade Union Congress, which corresponds with our American Federation of Labor Convention, which I had the pleasure of attending, discussed the old-age pension and general insurance acts. Its most animated and heated and protracted debate was over a resolution declaring for the general strike. During the extremely interesting debate on this motion it was declared by the leaders, who were both socialists and trade unionists, that a general strike could not secure the political rights and liberties of the workers. An overwhelming majority of the Congress was decidedly opposed to the general strike. The resolution could and would have been defeated were it not for the temporizing, compromising attitude which seeks for harmony in the labor movement, between the political actionists, syndicalists, radicals, and all others. The resolution was finally amended so that in substance it provided that no general strike for any purpose could be called unless first all efforts to settle the difficulty had been exhausted, all the laws, rules, and regulations of the local union and of the national union had been complied with, and the general officers sanctioned the same, and then the executive council of the Swiss Trade Union Congress unanimously consented. It was conceded on all sides by the friends of the general strike, as well as those opposed to it, that under the motion as it passed a general or sympathetic strike was hardly a possibility. Wherever I went through Switzerland I saw evidence of thrift, and perhaps slightly more sturdy and stronger men and women, but I also saw everywhere evidence of low wages, long hours and extreme poverty. Switzerland, like all other countries in Continental Europe, is cursed with the tenement house, or home work, sweat-shop system in full swing. This applies to all the hand trades. As evidence of the everlasting thrift and necessary economy, I saw a man take a cigarette from his lips which was only about an inch long, and after extinguishing the fire, carefully place it in a wooden box and place the box in his pocket, where it would be safe until he wanted to take a whiff at some future time. Socialism is ever present in the movement. In parts of Switzerland the living conditions in the homes of the workers are fully as bad as anything I saw in all my travels. Concerning the initiative and referendum, 5 per cent of the voters can initiate legislation, or 5,000 in every 100,000 or 5 per cent can demand that any legislation adopted by the federal government be submitted to popular vote. The federal government can adopt laws without submitting them to popular vote, although 6 per cent of the voters can demand that such laws be sent to the referendum. In initiative and referendum Switzerland, a republic, conditions for the workers are not much better than in any other part of Continental Europe. In all fairness, however, it should be stated that only a native-born Swiss or one who has been naturalized can vote, and then it is compulsory, and that the immigration has been wonderfully large. In Switzerland an immigrant has to be there for three years and then pay $80 before he can enjoy full naturalization. Eighty dollars is a small fortune to these unfortunates, and mighty few of the workers ever become naturalized.

In Italy the membership of the trade union movement affiliated to the National Center in 1907 was 150,000, while in 1913 it was 275,000. This represents only the total membership upon which per capita tax was paid to the National Center. From the reports submitted I find that in 1911 there were 384,446 members of the recognized National Centers of trade unions of Italy, and that in 1911 the total membership, including non-affiliated unions, was 709,943. This I deem important for one reason that Italy more than any other country seems divided

into rival and hostile factions, such as syndicalists, the Catholic unions, the so-called free and independent unions. The population of Italy is 34,687,000. In Italy the same old complaint was made against the opposition of the employing and governing classes, the syndicalists and the general sympathetic-strike advocates. The secretary of the National Center of affiliated trade unions of Italy, Mr. Rigola, says: "In Italy as well as in other countries we have, apart from our union movement which is working for socialistic ideals, several dual organizations, some of them having religious tendencies, while others are in favor of direct action or syndicalism." Continuing, the secretary, in speaking of the syndicalists and direct-actionists, says: "Their chief object has always been to fight and obstruct all unions that refuse to adopt the anarchistic and direct-action methods." The secretary also said that the committee representing the direct-actionists and syndicalists in 1910 represented about 150,000 members, and that the so-called Christian unions had at that time about 104,614 members. The unions affiliated with the recognized National Trade Union Center of Italy called a general strike of twenty-four hours as a protest against the war for colonial conquests.

In Spain the membership of the trade union movement affiliated to the International Secretariat in 1904 was 79,600, and in 1913, 100,000. The population is 19,588,000. The secretary of the Spanish National Center, Mr. Barrio, stated that the government pretends that the trade unions represented in the Secretariat exist contrary to the law, although it has been established for about twenty-four years; that the government institutes suits against the members, the executive council and other officials; that for a short time during 1910 and 1911 all labor temples were closed by the police and numerous members imprisoned on all kinds of charges. The socialists really started and practically called the general strike, which, however, was afterwards endorsed by the trade unionists. Secretary Barrio emphatically denied that the trade unionists denounced the American Federation of Labor and its officers during the general strike. However, by careful and diplomatic questioning I discovered that much of the bitterness and some of the resentment against the American trade union movement is due to the fact that the American Federation of Labor at one of its conventions adopted resolutions declaring in favor of the freedom of Cuba. The labor movement of Spain, as elsewhere is opposed to war, and they could not understand why the Federation should, as they termed it, practically endorse war. Much of this misunderstanding was brushed aside after I had made it clear that the resolution adopted by the Federation should not be construed as favoring war even at that time, but that it was more a declaration in favor of an independent republican form of government, as opposed to the kingdom and monarchical form of government, against which "you and other trade unionists of Spain are so bitterly opposed." I pointed to the fact that at numerous conventions of the American Federation of Labor resolutions denouncing war as a means of settling disputes between nations had been adopted, and that the president of the American Federation of Labor had not only written, but had addressed many mass meetings and peace meetings in favor of the settlement of disputes between nations by the more humane means of arbitration. This did much to remove some of the bitterness still lurking in the minds of the Spanish trade unionists against America for its interference with the Spanish-Cuban war. It should be remembered that many of the leading trade unionists, however, had been imprisoned for the mere denouncing of war and the war spirit. Secretary Barrio informed me that the leader of the socialist party, and also extremely active in the general trade union movement, was imprisoned because he denounced war in Cuba. There is no question but that the minds of the trade unionists and the workers generally were poisoned against America because of the adoption of the resolution of the Federation declaring in favor of Cuban independence. The government officers of Spain advocate emigration to America, while the leaders in the trade union movement are opposed to this. They assert the government's purpose is to get rid of the agitators. Generally speaking wages are extremely low. Cigarmakers receive as low as 40 cents per day, and the hours of labor are long. Living, however, such as it is, strange to say, is comparatively cheap. The printers are among the best paid workmen there. It is claimed they get about $1.30 for nine hours' work.

In Germany the membership of the trade union movement affiliated to and upon which dues are paid to the Secretariat, in 1904 was 887,698, while in 1913 it was 2,530,000. In 1911 the reports show that the membership of the trade unions of Germany, including dual and non-affiliated organizations, was 3,061,000. The population of Germany today is estimated to be nearly 70,000,000. Everything considered, Germany has a well-developed trade union movement. The trade union movement of Germany is so interesting that I propose to review it not particularly for criticism or praise, but rather for comparison and to more particularly substantiate the faith I have in the American trade union movement, as fostered and developed by the American Federation of Labor and its leadership, and in the hopes that it may serve as a warning by which we may avoid the pitfalls before us. I studied the labor movement of Germany more carefully than that of any other country, and saw and learned many interesting things, much of which, however, is not embodied in this report. From signed statements and reports we learn that remarkable progress has been made in recent years in the economic and industrial development generally of Germany, and that there has been a wonderful increase in the number of members enrolled under the banner of trade unionism. The increase in the membership of trade unions since 1900 has been 17 per cent in the German Hirsch-Duncker or Liberal Trade Unionists, 113 per cent in the Christian Trade Union, while the increase in the Central Unions, the recognized labor movement, has been 243 per cent. The membership since 1892 has jumped in the Central Union from 237,094, upon which tax is paid, to 2,530,000 in 1913. A great many of the German unions pay benefits. In 1911 benefits were paid as follows: Traveling benefit 1,028,431 marks, removal allowances 366,865 marks, unemployment benefit 6,340,544 marks, sick pay 10,266,730 marks, death benefits 1,045,956 marks, contingent pay

470,048 marks, victimization pay 895,519 marks, and expenditure on disputes 17,303,328 marks. The total amounts paid for other benefits exceed the amount paid for strike benefits, despite the fact that wages have been increased and the hours shortened. In the last twenty-one years 108,700,000 marks were expended for strike benefit, while during the same period 142,100,000 marks were spent for other benefits. Rapid progress has been made in the payment of traveling and out-of-work benefits. Of all benefits paid the cost for the out-of-work benefit ranks third, strike benefit is first and sick benefit second. The leaders claim that the payment of out-of-work benefit has been a wonderful stimulus in the growth of the trade union movement. The employers, generally speaking, are organized in an employers' association. At the end of 1911 there were 3,085 associations or federations of employers. It should be remembered that in Germany through centuries of oppression, during which royalty and aristocracy ruled with a ruthless and merciless hand, the conditions of the working people were simply unbearable, and is so even today, to an extent almost unbelievable to the average American. Germany, like all other countries in Continental Europe, is cursed with the tenement house, sweat-shop or home work system. I personally visited many of these places and took pictures of them. I saw and have pictures of one small house containing three living rooms, a small, narrow hallway, and a barn in which pigs were kept in the other side of the house, all under one roof, in which twelve people lived and worked. There were two bedrooms to accommodate twelve people, and one room which answered the purpose of workshop, kitchen, dining room, sitting room, library, reception room, and parlor. Some of these rooms in which they work the ceiling was only six feet high, and the room about ten feet square. These places exist all over Germany in the smaller or country towns or villages. In the cities home work is carried on in the tenements, in which they have from one to three rooms, one of which, however, has to be used as the factory. It is practically impossible to control the working time or hours of labor in industries in which home work obtains. Fortunately, however, home work applies only in the hand trades. Improved machinery has mercifully eliminated home work in industries in which improved machinery plays a large part in the production. I was told by an organizer that in many of these communities where home work is carried on extensively that 50 per cent of the children die before they reach the age of one year. In many of these villages and small towns there are no street railways. I walked from one village to another visiting these workshop homes, from 8.30 in the morning to 2.30 in the afternoon, without seeing a steam or surface railway. These people are desperately poor and the awful tragedy in their lives is that they don't know it because of their isolation, and because their full time and thoughts during their waking hours are occupied with the ceaseless effort to secure an existence. Their chief food is bread, potatoes and sausage, and occasionally a little meat. A great many of the cheap toys and thermometers made in Germany are made under home working conditions, in which children, regardless of age, are pressed into service. Mr. Karl Pinkau, a socialist member of the German Parliament, informed me that he personally knew of cases where children employed in making thermometers were made idiotic from the fumes of the mercury. The workers generally, during their waking hours, including the women and children, are never free from labor. The trade unionists of Germany, including the socialists, are opposed, first, to the general strike, and, second, they are bitterly opposed to having trade agreements all end at the same time. They say that if all trade agreements in all trades, or in correlated trades, under the industrial form of organization, were to end at the same time, the employers could the more quickly starve them into submission. Germany has a strictly centralized movement which is completely dominated by autocracy. The initiative and referendum and election of officers by popular vote is unknown in the German trade union movement. The whole labor movement of Continental Europe is influenced by Germany. There is very little home rule or self-government in the German trade union movement. It is practically governed by the chief executives and the executive councils. A trade union official, local or national, who possesses the ability and discharges his duties faithfully is never defeated for office. Vacancies in such offices are only caused by death or resignation. It is a disgrace for a trade union official to be defeated for re-election in Germany. The men who are faithful in office and have the ability to serve are never defeated. The result is, as I have already stated, the development of the highest type of experience and leadership. Germany complains bitterly against the increasing number of immigrants constantly coming into the country. In 1912, 700,000 immigrants came into Germany, and there were only 86,000 emigrants. It is claimed that in the last fiscal year 1,000,000 immigrants came into Germany. The German workingmen complain more bitterly against immigration than we do here in the States. Strange as it may seem, the same complaint against the foreign immigrants exists in all countries. The wonderful strides made in the German trade union movement have been against frightful odds from without and severe handicaps from within. In 1864 Ferdinand La Salle, at a conference of labor men called in Berlin, ridiculed the trade unionists and trade union activity and strongly advocated that the energy and activity of the German working men and the labor movement be turned into political channels. In substance he said: "What is the use of patching the old shoe by the trade union movement? Let us unroot the whole industrial system through the use of the ballot and establish instead a co-operative commonwealth." His advice was taken and all energies were turned into the formation of the Social Democratic party and joined in the effort to fulfill labor's hopes and ambitions through partisan political activities. Class hatred was nourished and encouraged. This had, and could have, but one result. It first meant a fight against and an effort to destroy the monarchy, and second, a fight against and an effort to confiscate private property without compensation, which brought about the combined activity and merciless fighting strength of the monarchy, royalty and the state, and the

employing classes, both of which elements were fighting, not necessarily the material advancement of the working classes, but rather they were fighting for their own existence. Against this unequal fight with these terrific odds the labor movement struggled on with its frightful burden, making but little progress. The bitterness engendered, the class hatred aroused, and the persistent activity on both sides, resulted in the passage, in 1877, of the law which outlawed the socialist trade unions, and most of the unions were swept out of existence. Some of the unions, however, openly remained in existence, among them the Typographical Union, while others continued under the guise of friendly societies, social study clubs, debating societies, etc., so that the trade union activity, while at a low ebb, was carried on during all this time. With the repeal of the law outlawing the socialist trade unions in 1891, the legitimate trade union movement has pressed steadily forward, although little progress was made until about fifteen years ago, up to which time the labor movement of Germany was controlled by the socialists and was secondary to the Social Democratic party. The trade unionists, however, fighting against great odds, asserted their independence until finally the leadership of the labor movement of Germany passed into the hands of leaders who, while still owing allegiance to the Social Democratic party, counted themselves as trade unionists first and political actionists, or socialists, second. The labor men of Germany established trade union organs and commenced to devote more time to the trade union movement. Many of them commenced the payment of benefits, such as strike, lockout, out of work, sick and other benefits, with the inevitable result that the trade union movement has made wonderful strides. The trade union movement is fundamentally correct and no power on earth can stop its onward course here or elsewhere. Carrying the terrific handicap of syndicalism and direct action in republican France, joined to the socialist movement in monarchical Germany, monarchical Belgium, republican Switzerland, monarchical Austria, monarchical Hungary, monarchical Italy, monarchical Spain, monarchical Denmark, monarchical Norway, monarchical Sweden, and monarchical Holland, it has forged ahead; it is successful, not because of socialism, direct action, syndicalism, initiative and referendum, and partisan political actionists, kings and potentates, but despite these handicaps, and because it is inherently right and founded on justice. The trade union movement in all Continental Europe, aside from Germany, will make the same rapid strides just in proportion as the trade union leadership is developed and declares its independence and controls the movement. The trade union movement here in the A. F. of L. is indeed fortunate, working under conditions such as confront and handicaps that are not experienced in other countries, with its multiplicity of languages, with its many races, different hopes and aspirations, and its widely scattered people, in having a clean-cut trade union movement free from religious prejudice, and partisan politics. We should guard well the liberties, including the right to free speech and a free press, which are practically denied the workers of many foreign countries, and I know of no means whereby this can be done so effectively as through the trade union movement. The trade union movement of Europe has had a greater influence in preventing the wars between civilized nations than all other influences combined. During the Morocco squabble and when England, France, and Germany stood ready to grapple in the death struggle, stood on the verge of war with all its horror, misery and privation, let it be said to the everlasting credit of the trade unionists of France that they made it clearly understood and known to the government that they were opposed to a war of conquest. The French trade unionists immediately communicated with England and Germany, and while it was deemed not advisable for a conference to be held to discuss war and its prevention, it was diplomatically decided that the delegation of French trade unionists should visit Germany and England on a study tour of social and economic questions. About seventy trade unionists went to each country. They spent several days in Germany, in which time both the German and French leaders quietly talked against the war. This all culminated in a mass meeting held in Berlin and which over 30,000 people attended. Outwardly the meeting was to talk over social and economic questions, but inwardly the working people, at least, knew it was to be a protest against a war with France over the Morocco question. This substantial demonstration immediately had its effect on Germany. The French delegates immediately hurried home, where similar tactics were employed. Mass meetings of protest against war with Germany, or England, over the Morocco question, were held all over France, and resolutions of protest against the war were unanimously adopted. The same influences were at work in England, and I assert without fear of successful contradiction that the trade union movement of these three countries actually prevented what would have been one of the bloodiest and most costly wars, had it taken place, that has ever occurred in Europe. The trade union movement, if nothing else, has taught the workers of all countries that wars of conquest bring home to the workers who are fortunate enough to live through the war, nothing but misery, degradation and poverty, and after all it is the greatest agency for peace the world possesses. It has dispelled the hatred that formerly existed between the working men of different countries, and has brought about in its stead a feeling of brotherly love and kindly consideration, which augurs well for a more speedy development of the international trade union movement.

I congratulate the American trade union movement on having excluded from our movement partisan politics and religious differences, leaving to every member the right to pray and vote as his own conscience may dictate. Our tolerance of the rights and opinions of others in anything not mutually within the sphere of the trade union activity, who may honestly differ from us, has brought about an element of strength which is partly responsible for the splendid condition in which we now find ourselves, and which policy, if adhered to, will, in my judgment, bring about the day when human rights and human justice shall prevail and working men and women of our whole country and the civilized world will come into a full realization of their hopes and ambi-

tions. Everywhere in Europe and especially Continental Europe there is a strong protest and a terrifically bitter feeling against large standing armies. The expense for the maintenance and the upkeep and overhead charges, in Germany especially, is something appalling, and constitutes the reason which actuates many of the workers in voting the Socialist Democratic ticket, largely as a protest against the standing army. That is the only party in Germany which at present is opposed to militarism. Personally, I am of the opinion that standing armies of Continental Europe are maintained not so much for the purpose of repelling foreign invasion, but rather to hold in subjection the workers and to repel any uprising or revolution which the intolerable conditions might inspire in them. Continental Europe as it exists today is standing on a volcano, glossed over with a thin veneer of flowers, song, music, art, old buildings, and traditions. Remove these and there might be a eruption that would shake the civilized world to its very foundations. Where will it all end? The answer, reflected on the banner of the advancing hosts of trade unionists, is that as the trade union movement develops it will bring order out of chaos. It will restore in so far as it is possible, conditions to a more equitable level, and bring into the lives of the workers of these otherwise beautiful countries some sunlight, some happiness, and the opportunity and ability to enjoy life, as befits human beings and advancing civilization.

From the report of the delegate to Budapest in 1911:

Hungary, with twenty millions of population has 700,000 electors. An income of 200 kronens, or crowns, a month in cities makes a citizen a voter. In rural districts if a citizen owns a house or land he can vote, but men who work for a living, unless they own property or have the above income, have no vote. The Hungarian Parliament is composed of 450 members, but no workingman or one who could be said to represent workingmen either on a workingman's platform or on any other political platform is among them; in fact, speaking generally, workingmen in Hungary have no political rights. In Budapest, by far the leading city in the country, poor people pay in rent about 500 crowns a year for one room, and occasionally rent a portion of that same room to a lodger to sleep for a few hours. Nearly all of the property in Budapest is owned by so-called nobles and barons. Jews rent from them nearly all property, and do nearly all commercial business, such as banking, running stores, shops and factories. They also re-rent rooms, tenements, small shops, etc., to poor people, and are blamed by the native poor for overcharging, and many forms of usury. The Hungarian, and especially the Budapest landlords have a good organization and refuse to rent rooms, shops, factories, etc., for less than the arranged or established rates named by their organization. I was informed that working people had organized a semblance of a strike against the extortionate rate of rent and unbearable conditions of houses and shops rented by them. The result was that because of the strike they were refused homes and shops to rent under any circumstances by members of the Landords' Organization, who thus retaliated by a thoroughly organized and a rigidly conducted boycott. This caused such destitution among the participants in the strike that eventually the Hungarian government gave them permission to occupy an old and unused barracks infested with rats, and for which they had to pay in rent 500 crowns per year per room in which and in addition to their other miseries they had to contend with the rodents for such food as in the circumstances the boycotted people could buy, beg or pick up. Inhabitants of Hungary and portions of Austria are today in about the same conditions as were the people high and low in Germany and Prussia one hundred years ago, only that the former have not evidently the same ambitions as had the latter; yet it is the general impression that Hungarian civilization is as far in advance of the conditions in the neighboring Balkan States as it is behind modern German civilization. The working people's day-dreams of emulating German progress are almost balanced by their dread of Slavonic invasion, for when the native Hungarians become troublesome to the barons, bankers and property owners by demanding improved compensation or conditions of life, they are immediately confronted with the importation of Slavs and even with hundreds of Croatians who are imported to take their places, and the latter are said to be even poorer, more docile, and cheaper workers than the Slavs. Thus the way to progress among the working people in Hungary is beset by difficulties untold to us in such reports as we receive from Eastern Europe. Yet there is a rift even in Hungarian clouds. I was informed that five years ago the same class of men and women I saw at work were employed twelve and thirteen hours per day. Their working hours in many instances are now down to nine and one-half per day, and in the last few years they have succeeded in securing increases of wages of 100 per cent on the rate they received for the longer workday. All of this, too, has been accomplished without legal permission by the government to hold trade union meetings. In other words, while without authority by edict of any kind to meet and transact business, state authorities tolerate or rather do not object to them meeting under certain police regulations. Some of the requirements are that one or two representatives of the police department attend the meetings, sit next to the presiding officed, make notes of the business transacted, and report every half hour or so by messenger to the chief of police what is being said and done, who is saying it, and how it is done. The delegates to the International Secretariat, perhaps protected by passports, did not have their business so censored or reported, but the Hungarian Trades Congress, which met on the Sunday, 9 A. M., after our convention had adjourned the previous Saturday afternoon, was attended at the opening and all during its sessions by two police officials in decorated uniforms who asserted their authority on sitting down longside of the presiding officer by placing their swords in the scabbard quite noisily on the tablefi so that the jingling sound would make their presence and their official weapons known and feared. The sight of women employed as hod carriers and building laborers, carrying on their heads or by hand barrows of mortar, brick, and stone, and in pairs carrying lumber, iron and debris up or down gangways as the case might be, at 50 cents a day in summer and 35 cents a day in winter, gave me a nervous

chill. Strong of body, stout of limb, arms bare to the shoulders, poorly clad or fed, without shoes or stockings, and carefully selected under the law of the survival of the fittest, they as human beings begrimed, without hope, without smiles or evidence of the sunshine of life, offered a pitiable contrast to the human butterflies of Hungarian society As I watched the drudgery imposed on those poor women, a thought in comparison came to me that in yonder ivy-mantled castle within a cannon shot of where I then stood, were Princess Gladys, she of Vanderbilt pedigree, spending lavishly good American dollars which figuratively had been wrung from the sweat of American labor, and her princely nabob partner living in luxury filched in a way from the manhood and womanhood of Hungarian peasantry, and I involuntarily exclaimed with the poet—truly

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

If this were all, despair would displace ambition. This cannot long endure. I was informed that in several districts of that magnificently and naturally endowed country where architecture enchants, where public structures and monuments are superb, where art flourishes, where streets and public parks are laid out to please, where gold instead of justice is paramount, where the upper crest revels in luxury and the under crust in abject poverty, where misery is abundant, morality nil, child labor in its worst form, human life a commercial asset, womanhood degraded, her honor smirched, and where the sword means government, that through trade union and socialistic agitation playgrounds for children are becoming popular, many additional public schools are being erected (I doffed my hat to each one I saw), the school age is being extended, and with an ever-increasing proportion of scholars in attendance. In addition to this evidence of a future and better civilization I was informed that hundreds of Hungarians are returning from America to the native homes they left as peasants, improved in appearance, with somewhat of education, well clad, ambitious, revolutionary, possessed of the wherewithal to acquire and hold property, thereby becoming voters, buying and working their way into the bourgeois, or middle-class citizenship which makes them electors and qualified to be elected. They are bent on making progress, on installing a better time, and in some instances where numbers permit, they emphasize their acquired American tendencies by insisting in political and other public meetings on being addressed in the English language. In this way those who have been with us, who have seen and felt our freedom as compared to theirs, our democracy and our civilization, or their return to their native country are helping to influence the election of men into official positions who hold progressive views, and who in time will transmit their influence with good effect to the Hungarian body politic. Thus you see economic, social and educational evolution is visible in spots. Nearly 80 per cent of the people in Hungary are practically illiterate. This includes the thousands of Slavs, Croatians and other aliens continuously within her borders, drafted thither by designing capitalists and by scheming employers, and who are invariably illiterate, for a little education would be dangerous to the nefarious system to which I refer. Social and political conditions in Hungary differ so much from ours that comparison is difficult. The Socialist party is the only organized political protest against aristocracy, feudalism, militarism, and the present system of baronial or vested interests. It matters little by what name that protest is designated, the fact is evident that it is a contest between an effete and slowly disappearing aristocracy and a young liberty-breathing demand for freedom under democracy. Who can say with such influences at work, even although it is an uphill fight, that through such tendencies as I have just mentioned, as well as from cultivating native aggressiveness, guided and encouraged by constructive action in other countries and with the general development of solidarity among all working people wheresoever dispersed, even Hungary will rise from her economic and political slough of despond and will take her place among more progressive nations.

Each country and city I visited had its own individual as well as general interest. The progressive movement among the common people only differed in detail. In further reference to the trade union movement on the continent, and especially at this stage of my report, as it applies to the labor movement of Great Britain and America, I found a deep-seated feeling in England and Scotland against workers from Germany taking their places for low wages, and frequently during suspensions of work to influence better working conditions. Our fellow-unionists in Ireland had little to say about men from the continent, for emigration continues to be more in evidence than immigration. Having heard something of the above-mentioned complaint before I went to the continent I made inquiry about it so that I could tell American workers what was the cause of the complaint which seemed to be the chief point of contention between the British and the continental unions. I found it was extremely difficult for the Germans to explain the cause to the British, for effort to do so was usually considered to mean more of an excuse than an explanation. The Germans, however, aver that the charge about cheap native workers from their country taking the places of the British during disputes, etc., is not well borne out. We are accustomed to view the phrase, "Go West, young man" as an Americanism. The idea is really more European than American, for the trend and tendency of migration there is invariably West. Armenian, Balkan, and Slavonic races move by large numbers into Hungary and Austria. They find improved conditions. They are moving towards Germany, where they find conditions still better, and they are by increased productivity and compensation preparing to go farther West. If they have not enough money to go to America they move from Germany to Great Britain, where they complete the course of European migration, some remaining, the greater portion in one way or another finally going to North America. The German worker is not as well compensated as the British worker, and there is inducement for the German to look for better conditions, but much of the contention in Great Britain against Germany, on investigation would be found to be a protest against those from farther East, who in the first place were a menace to the Germany worker and later to the British. It is a great international question, and while the process is a source of much annoyance and hindrance to the British, who among us can

really blame people brought up under such conditions of poverty and misery as those to which I have referred, for trying to go West to better their condition? Governments as at present constituted cannot cope with the situation, for the influence of all governments seem to be unusually friendly to the rich few and proportionally calloused and cold-blooded against the poor many. Time will change this, as governments become revolutionized towards democracy, but the process is so slow that if it were not for the beneficent features possible under International Trade Unionism, the hearts of the active workers who are striving for improved conditions of life would literally break under the strain. Here is where International Trade Unionism will play its strongest part. By an intermingling of the representatives of the different countries a better understanding will be reached, the points which have brought success in different parts of the great movement in the civilized world will be brought out, adopted and developed, while the snags and mistakes which impeded the way to material progress and to human liberty will be noted and can be avoided. Right now a craving for betterment and for freedom is permeating all movements of middle class and lowly society. It may be labelled international insurgency against aristocratic, governmental and judicial tyranny, but whatever its caption may be, the movement for universal uplift of submerged and exploited citizenship was never so much in evidence as at present. The cry for relief from tyranny and the demand for just definition and administration of laws has the dynasty of China on the brink of oblivion, and from there to the capital city of our own country round about in both ways the human tremor is felt. The protests of the older established trade unions are being heard around the world and are bearing good fruit. In the most isolated portions of the universe as well as in the parts most in evidence we hear the sound and feel the pulse of the general demand for more equitable and more just conditions of life. The efforts we have made in our time and the efforts others in the past have made before us, have not been lost energy, and although to the difficulties to which I have referred in Eastern Europe may be traced considerable of the lack of faster advancements in Western Europe, in Great Britain, and to some extent in our own country, it is a condition with which we will very largely have to deal in the economic field, and I do not despair of future accomplishments, although I regret that the procession is moving slowly.

In 1893 (p. 16) the President of the A. F. of L. reported: From every country comes the cheering news of the growth of and extension of trade unions and trade union sentiment. The conviction is fast gaining ground that political liberty with economic slavery is delusive and for all practical purposes valueless. The wage-workers are discerning that the road to economic independence, and thus to full and free exercise of political equality and freedom, can only be achieved by and through the trade unions. The resolutions adopted by the Congress of Zurich au Cologne, declaring it the duty of wage-workers to belong to trade unions, are in the right direction, and, taken together with the same growing sentiment in all countries, are the precursors of the early and general recognition of the internationality and solidarity of the labor movement of the world.

RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

THE Committee on Reconstruction appointed by instruction of the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held June 10-20, 1918, drafted the following, which was unanimously endorsed by the Executive Council:

The world war has forced all free peoples to a fuller and deeper realization of the menace to civilization contained in autocrtic control of the activities and destinies of mankind. It has caused a world-wide determination to overthrow and eradicate all autocratic institutions, so that a full measure of freedom and justice can be established between man and man and nation and nation. It has awakened more fully the consciousness that the principles of democracy should regulate the relationship of men in all their activities. It has opened the doors of opportunity through which more sound and progressive policies may enter. New conceptions of human liberty, justice and opportunity are to be applied. The A. F. of L., the one organization representing Labor in America, conscious that its responsibilities are now greater than before, presents a program for the guidance of Labor, based upon experience and formulated with a full consciousness of the principles and policies which have successfully guided American trade unionism in the past.

DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY—Two codes and rules and regulations affect the workers; the law upon the statute books, and the rules within industry. The first determines their relationship as citizens to all other citizens and to property. The second largely determines the relationship of employer and employe, the terms of employment, the conditions of labor, and the rules and regulations affecting the workers as employes. The first is secured through the application of the methods of democracy in the enactment of legislation, and is based upon the principle that the laws which govern a free people should exist only with their consent. The second, except where effective trade unionism exists, is established by the arbitrary

or autocratic whim, desire or opinion of the employer and is based upon the principle that industry and commerce can not be successfully conducted unless the employer exercises the unquestioned right to establish such rules, regulations and provisions affecting the employes as self-interest prompts. Both forms of law vitally affect the workers' opportunities in life and determine their standard of living. The rules, regulations and conditions within industry in many instances affect them more than legislative enactments. It is, therefore, essential that the workers should have a voice in determining the laws within industry and commerce which affect them, equivalent to the voice which they have as citizens in determining the legislative enactments which shall govern them. It is as inconceivable that the workers as free citizens should remain under autocratically made law within industry and commerce as it is that the nation could remain a democracy while certain individuals or groups exercise autocratic powers. It is, therefore, essential that the workers everywhere should insist upon their right to organize into trade unions, and that effective legislation should be enacted which would make it a criminal offense for any employer to interfere with or hamper the exercise of this right or to interfere with the legitimate activities of trade unions.

UNEMPLOYMENT—Political economy of the old school, conceived by doctrinaires, was based upon unsound and false doctrines, and has since been used to blindfold, deceive and defeat the workers' demands for adequate wages, better living and working conditions, and a just share of the fruits of their labor. We hold strictly to the trade union philosophy and its developed political economy based upon demonstrated facts. Unemployment is due to underconsumption. Underconsumption is caused by low or insufficient wages. Just wages will prevent industrial stagnation and lessen periodical unemployment. Give the workers just wages and their consuming capacity is correspondingly increased. A man's ability to consume is controlled by the wages received. Just wages will create a market at home which will far surpass any market that may exist elsewhere and will lessen unemployment. The employment of idle workmen on public work will not permanently remove the cause of unemployment. It is an expedient at best. There is no basis in fact for the claim that the so-called law of supply and demand is natural in its operations and impossible of control or regulation. The trade union movement has maintained standards, wages, hours and life in periods of industrial depression and idleness. These in themselves are a refutation of the declared immutability of the law of supply and demand. There is in fact no such condition as an iron law of wages based upon a natural law of supply and demand. Conditions in commerce and industry, methods of production, storing of commodities, regulation of the volume of production, banking systems, the flow and direction of enterprise influenced by combinations and trusts have effectively destroyed the theory of a natural law of supply and demand as had been formulated by doctrinaire economists.

WAGES—There are no means whereby the workers can obtain and maintain fair wages except through trade union effort. Therefore, economic organization is paramount to all their other activities. Organization of the workers leads to better wages, fewer working hours, improved working conditions; it develops independence, manhood and character; it fosters tolerance and real justice and makes for a constantly growing better economic, social and political life for the burden-bearing masses. In countries where wages are best, the greatest progress has been made in economic, social and political advancement, in science, art, literature, education, and in the wealth of the people generally. All low wage-paying countries contrasted with America is proof for this statement. The American standard of life must be maintained and improved. The value of wages is determined by the purchasing power of the dollar. There is no such thing as good wages when the cost of living in decency and comfort equals or exceeds the wages received. There must be no reduction in wages; in many instances wages must be increased. The workers of the nation demand a living wage for all wage-earners, skilled or unskilled—a wage which will enable the worker and his family to live in health and comfort, provide a competence for illness and old age, and afford to all the opportunity of cultivating the best that is within mankind.

HOURS OF LABOR—Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of Labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter work week make for a constantly growing, higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals and citizenship. The right of Labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged or interfered with. The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours, with overtime prohibited except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

WOMEN AS WAGE-EARNERS — Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed. Women workers must not be permitted to perform tasks disproportionate to their physical strength or which tend to impair their potential motherhood and prevent the continuation of a nation of strong, healthy, sturdy and intelligent men and women.

CHILD LABOR—The children constitute the nation's most valuable asset. The full responsibility of the government should be recognized by such measures as will protect the health of every child at birth and during its immature years. It must be one of the chief functions of the nation through effective legislation to put an immediate end to the exploitation of children under sixteen years of age. State legislatures should protect children of immature years by prohibiting their employment, for gain, under sixteen years of age and restricting the employment of children of less than eighteen years of age to not more than twenty hours within any one week and with not less than twenty hours at school during the same period. Exploitation of child life for private gain must not be permitted.

STATUS OF PUBLIC EMPLOYES—The fixing of wages, hours and conditions of labor for public employes by legislation hampers the necessary exercise of organ-

ization and collective bargaining. Public employes must not be denied the right of organization, free activities and collective bargaining and must not be limited in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

CO-OPERATION—To attain the greatest possible development of civilization, it is essential, among other things, that the people should never delegate to others those activities and responsibilities which they are capable of assuming for themselves. Democracy can function best with the least interference by the state compatible with due protection to the rights of all citizens. There are many problems arising from production, transportation and distribution, which would be readily solved by applying the methods of co-operation. Unnecessary middlemen who exact a tax from the community without rendering any useful service can be eliminated. The farmers through co-operative dairies, canneries, packing houses, grain elevators, distributing houses, and other co-operative enterprises, can secure higher prices for their products and yet place these in the consumers' hands at lower prices than would otherwise be paid. There is an almost limitless field for the consumers in which to establish co-operative buying and selling, and in this most necessary development, the trade unionists should take an immediate and active part. Trade unions secure fair wages. Co-operation protects the wage-earner from the profiteer. Participation in these co-operative agencies must of necessity prepare the mass of the people to participate more effectively in the solution of the industrial, commercial, social and political problems which continually arise.

THE PEOPLE'S FINAL VOICE IN LEGISLATION—It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists within the nation a superior power or authority which can finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representativs, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void. An insuperable obstacle to self-government in the United States exists in the power which has been gradually assumed by the Supreme Courts of the federal and state governments, to declare legislation null and void upon the ground that, in the court's opinion, it is unconstitutional. It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or state legislatures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of a supreme court declaring an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress or a state legislature should re-enact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

POLITICAL POLICY—In the political efforts, arising from the workers' necessity to secure legislation covering those conditions and provisions of life not subject to collective bargaining with employers, organized labor has followed two methods—one by organizing political parties, the other by the determination to place in public office representatives from their ranks; to elect those who favor and champion the legislation desired and to defeat those whose policy is opposed to Labor's legislative demands, regardless of partisan politics. The disastrous experience of organized labor in America with political parties of its own, amply justified the A. F. of L.'s non-partisan political policy. The results secured by labor parties in other countries never have been such as to warrant any deviation from this position. The rules and regulations of trade unionism should not be extended so that the action of a majority could force a minority to vote for or give financial support to any political candidate or party to whom they are opposed. Trade union activities can not receive the undivided attention of members and officers if the exigencies, burdens and responsibilities of a political party are bound up with their economic and industrial organizations. The experiences and results attained through the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. cover a generation. They indicate that through its application the workers of America have secured a much larger measure of fundamental legislation, establishing their rights, safeguarding their interests, protecting their welfare and opening the doors of opportunity than have been secured by the workers of any other country. The vital legislation now required can be more readily secured through education of the public mind and the appeal to its conscience, supplemented by energetic independent political activity on the part of trade unionists, than by any other method. This is and will continue to be the political policy of the A. F. of L. if the lessons which Labor has learned in the bitter but practical school of experience are to be respected and applied. It is, therefore, most essential that the officers of the A. F. of L., the officers of the affiliated organizations, state federations and central labor bodies and the entire membership of the trade union movement should give the most vigorous application possible to the political policy of the A. F. of L. so that Labor's friends and opponents may be more widely known, and the legislation most required readily secured. This phase of our movement is still in its infancy. It should be continued and developed to its logical conclusion.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP — Public and semi-public utilities should be owned, operated or regulated by the government in the interest of the public. Whatever final disposition shall be made of the railways of the country in ownership, management or regulation, we insist upon the right of the workers to organize for their common and mutual protection and the full exercise of the normal activities which come with organization. Any attempt at the denial by governmental authority of the rights of the workers to organize, to petition, to representation and to collective bargaining, or the denial of the exercise of their political rights is repugnant to the fundamental principles of free citizenship in a republic and is destructive of their best interest and welfare. The government should own and operate all wharves and docks connected with public harbors which are used for commerce or transportation. The American Merchant Marine should be encouraged and developed under governmental control and so manned as to insure successful operation and protect in full the beneficent laws now on the statute books for the rights and welfare of

seamen. The seamen must be accorded the same rights and privileges rightfully exercised by the workers in all other employments, public and private.

WATER WAYS AND WATER POWER—The lack of a practical development of our waterways and the inadequate extension of canals have seriously handicapped water traffic and created unnecessarily high cost for transportation. In many instances it has established artificial restrictions which have worked to the serious injury of communities, owing to the schemes of those controlling a monopoly of land transportation. Our navigable rivers and our great inland lakes should be connected with the sea by an adequate system of canals, so that inland production can be more effectively fostered, the costs of transportation reduced, the private monopoly of transportation overcome and imports and exports shipped at lower costs. The nation is possessed of enormous water power. Legislation should be enacted providing that the governments, federal and state, should own, develop and operate all water power over which they have jurisdiction. The power thus generated should be supplied to all citizens at rates based upon cost. The water power of the nation, created by nature, must not be permitted to pass into private hands for private exploitation.

REGULATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP—Agriculture and stock-raising are essential to national safety and well-being. The history of all countries, at all times, indicates that the conditions which create a tenant class of agriculturists work increasing injury to the tillers of the soil. While increasing the price of the product to the consumer these conditions at the same time develop a class of large land owners who contribute little, if anything, to the welfare of the community but who exact a continually increasing share of the wealth produced by the tenant. The private ownership of large tracts of usable land is not conducive to the best interests of a democratic people. Legislation should be enacted placing a graduated tax upon all usable lands above the acreage which is cultivated by the owner. This should include provisions through which the tenant farmer, or others, may purchase land upon the lowest rate of interest and most favorable terms consistent with safety, and so safeguarded by governmental supervision and regulation as to give the fullest and freest opportunity for the development of land-owning agriculturists. Special assistance should be given in the direction of allotments of lands and the establishment of homes on the public domain. Establishment of government experimental farms, measures for stock raising-instruction, the irrigation of arid lands and reclamation of swamp and cut-over lands should be undertaken upon a larger scale under direction of the federal government. Municipalities and states should be empowered to acquire lands for cultivation or the erection of residential buildings which they may use or dispose of under equitable terms.

FEDERAL AND STATE REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS—The creation by legislative enactment of corporations, without sufficient definition of the powers and scope of activities conferred upon them and without provisions for their adequate supervision, regulation and control by the creative body, has led to the development of far-reaching abuses which have seriously affected commerce, industry and the masses of the people through their influence upon social, industrial, commercial and political development. Legislation is required which will so limit, define and regulate the powers, privileges and activities of corporations that their methods can not become detrimental to the welfare of the people. It is, therefore, essential that legislation should provide for the federal licensing of all corporations organized for profit. Furthermore, federal supervision and control should include the increasing of capital stock and the incurring of bonded indebtedness with the provision that the books of all corporations shall be open at all times to federal examiners.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION—The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION — Workmen's compensation laws should be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases. To assure that the insurance fund derived from commerce and industry will be paid in full to injured workers, state insurance must supplant, and prohibit the existence of, employers' liability insurance operated for profit.

IMMIGRATION—Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of the immigration. It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted based upon two fundamental propositions, namely, that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize the foreigners coming to our shores, and that at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an abnormal degree of unemployment. By reason of existing conditions we urge that immigration into the United States should be prohibited for a period of at least two years after peace has been declared.

TAXATION—One of the nation's most valuable assets is the initiative, energetic, constructive and inventive genius of its people. These qualities when properly applied should be fostered and protected instead of being hampered by legislation, for they constitute an invaluable element of progress and material development. Taxation should, therefore rest as lightly as possible upon constructive enterprise. Taxation should provide for full contribution from wealth by a tax upon profits which will not discourage industrial or commercial enterprise. There should be provided a progressive increase in taxes upon incomes, inheritances, and upon land values of such a nature as to render it unprofitable to hold land without putting it to use, to afford a transition to greater economic quality and to supply means of liquidating the national indebtedness growing out of the war.

EDUCATION—It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress. Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there there is an advanced form of public education in many states, there still remains a lack of adequate educational facilities in several states and communities. The welfare of the republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several states. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end state colleges and universities should be developed. It is also important that the industrial education which is being fostered and developed should have for its purpose not so much training for efficiency in industry as training for life in an industrial society. A full understanding must be had of those principles and activities that are the foundation of all productive efforts. Children should not only become familiar with tools and materials, but they should also receive a thorough knowledge of the principles of human control, of force and matter underlying our industrial relations and sciences. The danger that certain commercial and industrial interests may dominate the character of education must be averted by insisting that the workers shall have equal representation on all boards of education or committees having control over vocational studies and training. To elevate and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote popular and democratic education, the right of the teachers to organize and to affiliate with the movement of the organized workers must be recognized.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES—Essentials in industry and commerce are employe and employer, labor and capital. No one questions the right of organized capital to supply capital to employers. No one should question the right of organized labor to furnish workers. Private employment agencies abridge this right of organized labor. Where federal, state and municipal employment agencies are maintained they should operate under the supervision of joint committees of trade unionists and employers, equally represented. Private employment agencies operated for profit should not be permitted to exist.

HOUSING—Child life, the workers' physical condition and public health demand that the wage-earner and his family shall be given a full opportunity to live under wholesome conditions. It is not only necessary that there shall be sanitary and appropriate houses to live in but that a sufficient number of dwellings shall be available to free the people from high rents and overcrowding. The ownership of homes, free from the grasp of exploitive and speculative interests, will make for more efficient workers, more contented families, and better citizens. The government should, therefore, inaugurate a plan to build model homes and establish a system of credits whereby the workers may borrow money at a low rate of interest and under favorable terms to build their own homes. Credit should also be extended to voluntary non-profit making housing and joint tenancy associations. States and municipalities should be freed from the restrictions preventing their undertaking proper housing projects and should be permitted to engage in other necessary enterprises relating thereto. The erection and maintenance of dwellings where migratory workers may find lodging and nourishing food during periods of unemployment should be encouraged and supported by municipalities. If need should arise to expend public funds to relieve unemployment the building of wholesome houses would best serve the public interests.

MILITARISM—The trade union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism" or a large standing army. "Militarism" is a system fostered and developed by tyrants in the hope of supporting their arbitrary authority. It is utilized by those whose selfish ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other peoples and nations, to destroy their liberties, to acquire their wealth and to fasten the yoke of bondage upon them. The trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism" brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. The finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a deceptive patriotism is established in the people's minds, where men believe that there is nobility of spirit and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democracy. "Militarism" is the application of arbitrary and irresponsible forces as opposed to reason and justice. Resistence to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The free institutions of our country and the liberties won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to take arms and if necessary die in the defense of their liberties. Only people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions. Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A voluntary citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army. To the latter we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish the evils of "militarism." Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our states, has given cause at times for grave apprehension. Their ranks have not always been free from undesirable elements, particularly the tools of corporations involved in industrial disputes. During industrial disputes the militia has at times been called upon to support the authority of those who through selfish interests desired to enforce martial law while the courts were open and the civil authorities competent to maintain supremacy of civil law. We insist that the militia of

our several states should be wholly organized and controlled by democratic principles so that this voluntary force of soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose and used to jeopardize or infringe upon the rights and liberties of our people. The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle accepted at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS—Soldiers and sailors, those who entered the service in the nation's defense, are entitled to the generous reward of a grateful republic. The necessities of war called upon millions of workmen to leave their positions in industry and commerce to defend, upon the battle fields, the nation's safety and its free institutions. These defenders are now returning. It is advisable that they should be discharged from military service at the earliest possible moment; that as civilians they may return to their respective homes and families and take up their peace-time pursuits. The nation stands morally obligated to assist them in securing employment. Industry has undergone great changes due to the dislocation caused by war production and transportation. Further readjustments in industry and commerce must follow the rehabilitation of business under peaceful conditions. Many positions which our citizen soldiers and sailors filled previous to enlistment do not exist today. It would be manifestly unjust for the government after having removed the worker from his position in industry and placed him in military service to discharge him from the army or navy without having made adequate provision to assist him in procuring employment and providing sustenance until employment has been secured. The returned citizen soldier or sailor should not be forced by the bitter urgent necessity of securing food and clothing to place himself at a disadvantage when seeking employment. Upon their discharge, transportation and meals should be supplied to their places of residence. The monthly salary previously paid should be continued for a period not to exceed twelve months if employment is not secured within that period. The federal and state employment bureaus should be directed to co-operate with trade union agencies in securing employment for discharged soldiers and sailors. In assisting the discharged soldier and sailor to secure employment, government agencies should not expect them to accept employment for less than the prevailing rate of wages being paid in the industry. Neither should any government agency request or require such discharged men to accept employment where a trade dispute exists or is threatened. Nor should the refusal on the part of any of these discharged soldiers or sailors to accept employment where trade disputes exist or are threatened or when less than the prevailing wage rate is offered, deprive them of a continuance of their monthly pay.

Legislation also should be enacted which will give the nation's defenders the opportunity for easy and ready access to the land. Favorable inducements should be provided for them to enter agriculture and husbandry. The government should assume the responsibility for the allotment of such lands, and supply the necessary capital for its development and cultivation, with such safeguards as will protect both the government and the discharged soldier and sailor.

CONCLUSION—No element in our nation is more vitally concerned with the problems of making for a permanent peace between all nations than the working people. The opportunities now before us are without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unhampered in shaping the principles and agencies affecting the wage-earners' condition of life and work. By the light that has been given to it the A. F. of L. has attracted to its fold over three millions of wage-earners and its sphere of influence and helpfulness is growing by leaps and bounds. By having followed safe and sound fundamental principles and policies, founded on freedom, justice and democracy, the American trade union movement has achieved successes of an inestimable value to the masses of toilers of our country. By adhering to these principles and policies we can meet all problems of readjustment, however grave in importance and difficult of solution, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by a still greater success than that achieved in the past. Given the wholehearted support of all men and women of labor our organized labor movement with its constructive program, its love for freedom, justice and democracy will prove the most potent factor in protecting, safeguarding and promoting the general welfare of the great mass of our people during this trying period of reconstruction and all times thereafter. The A. F. of L. has attained its present position of dignity and splendid influence because of its adherence to one common cause and purpose; that purpose is to protect the rights and interests of the masses of the workers and to secure for them a better and a brighter day. Let us therefore strive on and on to bring into our organizations the yet unorganized. Let us concentrate our efforts to organize all forces of wage-earners. Let the nation hear the united demand from the laboring voice. Now is the time for the workers of America to come to the stand of their unions and to organize as thoroughly and completely and compactly as is possible. Let each worker bear in mind the words of Longfellow:

"In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!"

OFFICERS A. F. OF L.—1881-1918

In the first five years the presiding officer or chairman was chosen by each convention. All authority between conventions was vested in the Legislative Committee, now known as the Executive Council. Officers for each year:

PITTSBURGH, 1881.

Chairman Convention—John Jarrett.
Secretaries—Mark L. Crawford, H. H. Bengough, William C. Pollner.
President Legislative Committee—Richard Powers.
First Vice President—Samuel Gompers.
Second Vive President—Charles F. Burgman.
Treasurer—Alexander C. Rankin.
Secretary—W. H. Foster.

CLEVELAND, 1882.

Chairman Convention—Samuel L. Leffingwell.
Vice Chairman—Samuel Gompers.
Secretary—Thompson H. Murch.
President Legislative Committee—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—Richard Powers.
Second Vice President—Gabriel Edmonston.
Treasurer—Robert Howard.
Secretary—W. H. Foster.

NEW YORK CITY, 1883.

Chairman Convention—Samuel Gompers.
Vice Chairman—Richard Powers.
Secretary—William C. Pollner.
President Legislative Committee—P. H. McLogan.
First Vice President—Samuel Gompers.
Second Vice President—Gabriel Edmonston.
Third Vice President—M. D. Connolly.
Fourth Vice President—Richard Powers.
Fifth Vice President—W. H. McClelland.
Sixth Vice President—E. M. Slack.
Treasurer—Robert Howard.
Secretary—Frank K. Foster.

CHICAGO, 1884.

Chairman Convention—W. J. Hammond.
Vice Chairman—Richard Powers.
Secretaries—M. D. Connolly, Emil Levy.
President Legislative Committee—W. M. McClelland.
First Vice President—J. W. Smith.
Second Vice President—Richard Powers.
Third Vice President—James O'Sullivan.
Fourth Vice President—Frederick Blend.
Fifth Vice President—W. B. Ogden.
Sixth Vice President—James Bernard.
Treasurer—Robert Howard.
Secretary—Gabriel Edmonston.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1885.

Chairman Convention—M. D. Connolly.
Vice Chairman—John S. Kirschner.
Secretaries—Gabriel Edmonston, W. H. Foster.
Auditors—Charles H. Sharp, Samuel Gompers.
President Legislative Committee—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—Samuel S. Green.
Second Vice President—W. E. Tomson.
Third Vice President—P. F. McAuliffe.
Fourth Vice President—Hugo A. Miller.
Fifth Vice President—George G. King.
Sixth Vice President—Henry Emerich.
Treasurer—Gabriel Edmonston.
Secretary—W. H. Foster.

COLUMBUS, 1886.

Chairman Convention—J. W. Smith.
Vice Chairman—J. L. Wright.
Secretary—J. S. Kirchner.
Assistant Secretary—Henry Emerich.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—George Harris.
Second Vice President—J. W. Smith.
Secretary—P. J. McGuire.
Treasurer—Gabriel Edmonston.

BALTIMORE, 1887.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—Dan McLaughlin.
Second Vice President—William Martin.
Secretary—P. J. McGuire.
Treasurer—Gabriel Edmonston.

ST. LOUIS, 1888.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—Daniel McLaughlin.
Second Vice President—William Martin.
Secretary—P. J. McGuire.
Treasurer—Henry Emerich.

BOSTON, 1889.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—William Martin.
Second Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Secretary—Chris Evans.
Treasurer—Henry Emerich.

DETROIT, 1890.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—W. A. Carney.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Chris Evans.

BIRMINGHAM, 1891.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—W. A. Carney.
Secretary—Chris Evans.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.

PHILADELPHIA, 1892.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—W. A. Carney.
Secretary—Chris Evans.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.

CHICAGO, 1893.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—C. L. Drummond.
Third Vice President—James Brettell.
Fourth Vice President—W. H. Marden.
Secretary—Christopher Evans.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.

DENVER, 1894.

President—John McBride.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—James Duncan.
Third Vice President—Roady Kenehan.
Fourth Vice President—Thomas J. Elderkin.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—August McCraith.

NEW YORK, 1895.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—James Duncan.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Mahlon M. Garland.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—August McCraith.

CINCINNATI, 1896.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—James Duncan.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Mahlon M. Garland.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

NASHVILLE, 1897.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—James Duncan.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Mahlon M. Garland.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

KANSAS CITY, 1898.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—James Duncan.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—John Mitchell.
Fifth Vice President—Max Morris.
Sixth Vice President—Thomas I. Kidd.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

DETROIT, 1899.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—P. J. McGuire.
Second Vice President—James Duncan.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—John Mitchell.
Fifth Vice President—Max Morris.
Sixth Vice President—Thomas I. Kidd.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

LOUISVILLE, 1900.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Thomas I. Kidd.
Sixth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

SCRANTON, 1901.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Thomas I. Kidd.
Sixth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

NEW ORLEANS, 1902.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Thomas I. Kidd.
Sixth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

BOSTON, 1903.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Thomas I. Kidd.
Sixth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Seventh Vice President—Daniel J. Keefe.
Eighth Vice President—William J. Spencer.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

SAN FRANCISCO, 1904.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Thomas I. Kidd.
Sixth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Seventh Vice President—Daniel J. Keefe.
Eighth Vice President—William J. Spencer.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

PITTSBURGH, 1905.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Sixth Vice President—Daniel J. Keefe.
Seventh Vice President—William D. Huber.
Eighth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

MINNEAPOLIS, 1906.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Sixth Vice President—Daniel J. Keefe.
Seventh Vice President—William D. Huber.
Eighth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

NORFOLK, 1907.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Sixth Vice President—Daniel J. Keefe.
Seventh Vice President—William D. Huber.
Eighth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

DENVER, 1908.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.

Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Fourth Vice President—Max Morris.
Fifth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Sixth Vice President—William D. Huber.
Seventh Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Eighth Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

TORONTO, 1909.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fifth Vice President—William D. Huber.
Sixth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Seventh Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Eighth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

ST. LOUIS, 1910.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fifth Vice President—William D. Huber.
Sixth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Seventh Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Eighth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

ATLANTA, 1911.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fifth Vice President—William D. Huber.
Sixth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Seventh Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Eighth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

ROCHESTER, 1912.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—John Mitchell.
Third Vice President—James O'Connell.
Fourth Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fifth Vice President—William D. Huber.
Sixth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Seventh Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Eighth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

SEATTLE, 1913.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—James O'Connell.
Third Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fourth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Fifth Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Sixth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Seventh Vice President—John P. White.
Eighth Vice President—Frank Duffy.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

PHILADELPHIA, 1914.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—James O'Connell.
Third Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fourth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Fifth Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Sixth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Seventh Vice President—Frank Duffy.
Eighth Vice President—William Green.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

SAN FRANCISCO, 1915.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—James O'Connell.
Third Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fourth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Fifth Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Sixth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Seventh Vice President—Frank Duffy.
Eighth Vice President—William Green.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

BALTIMORE, 1916.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—James O'Connell.
Third Vice President—Dennis A. Hayes.
Fourth Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Fifth Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Sixth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Seventh Vice President—Frank Duffy.
Eighth Vice President—William Green.
Treasurer—John B. Lennon.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

BUFFALO, 1917.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—James O'Connell.
Third Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Fourth Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Fifth Vice President—Henry B. Perham.
Sixth Vice President—Frank Duffy.
Seventh Vice President—William Green.
Eighth Vice President—William D. Mahon.
Treasurer—Daniel J. Tobin.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

ST. PAUL, 1918.

President—Samuel Gompers.
First Vice President—James Duncan.
Second Vice President—Joseph F. Valentine.
Third Vice President—John R. Alpine.
Fourth Vice President—Frank Duffy.
Fifth Vice President—William Green.
Sixth Vice President—William D. Mahon.
Seventh Vice President—Thomas A. Rickert.
Eighth Vice President—Jacob Fischer.
Treasurer—Daniel J. Tobin.
Secretary—Frank Morrison.

DEPARTMENTS A. F. OF L.

Five departments of the American Federation of Labor have been formed and all have been successful. The first was the Building Trades Department, which was followed by the Railroad Employes, Metal Trades, Union Label and Mining Departments. Many obstacles were overcome before the organizations were launched on a secure foundation. A brief history of each follows:

The idea of sections or departments was first suggested in 1888 by the president of the A. F. of L., who said in a report to the convention:

"The thought has frequently occurred to me whether in the near future the basis of our Federation should not be modeled upon a somewhat different basis from the present one, by having the various industries classified by the divisions of these industries, such as, for instance, the iron, steel or metal industry to have a convention of the representatives of all the trade unions in that industry; the building trades to have their convention of the representatives of their unions in that trade; the railroad employes theirs, and so on, each legislating upon the questions that affect the general interests of their particular trades and interests; these industrial divisions to be in turn represented by their proportionate number of delegates in the convention of the A. F. of L., and a representative of each industry elected a member of the Executive Council. The convention of the industrial divisions might be held simultaneously in different halls, of course, but in the city in which the Federation would hold its convention immediately after their adjournment. The idea may not be practical for immediate adoption, but discussion of it can only lead to good results. One thing is certain—the autonomy of each trade and industrial division would thus be more firmly secured."

This suggestion was approved by the convention. Many attempts to form such organizations were made, but for different reasons some of the promoters insisted on making the organizations independent of the A. F. of L.

Building Trades—For many years the building trades unions sought a plan of cooperation to combat the continually multiplying evils that endangered their advancement. It was agreed that combined action was absolutely necessary, but there was division as to the form it should take. Interallied alliances were thought the most feasible, but these were soon discarded because the most powerful unions in point of numbers were unwilling to hazard their opportunities in defense of those that were less influential because of smaller membership. Small organizations struggling for an existence often met defeat if the employers chose to give battle. But this very fact alarmed the stronger unions, as every defeat of the weaker organizations made the former less secure in what they had gained. It gradually became apparent that any combination for the improvement of conditions in the building industry would not be complete unless all trades, no matter how immature and weak, were bound together for the concern of all. Out of these experiences came a union of unions, or Building Trades Councils, a combination capable of making common cause for offensive and defensive purposes. At first these institutions were local in character and it was optional with the organizations whether or not they affiliated. Where properly managed these councils soon demonstrated their value. Local unions grew in membership, wages were increased and the workday shortened. But being local organizations the central councils were without general or international laws or regulations. They made their own laws without regard to outside influences of any character. The result was that where an independent or dual union was formed in any trade it was admitted to membership and shared equally with the regular unions all the privileges enjoyed by the council as a body. Community of interests between officers of unions permitted this irregularity. From an international standpoint the decision of these local councils not only created chaos because of their lack of uniformity but were intolerable to the workers as well as the employers. The latter sometimes had contracts in many cities and the different decisions made by the various councils brought continuous discord. This chaotic condition caused consideration of the forming of a general or international organization empowered to issue charters to building trades councils and make laws for their guidance. The National Building Trades Council was formed in 1898, the leading spirit being the official of an independent union which had seceded from its international organization. The delegates were from local building trade councils, international and local unions. This permitted combinations to dictate to the internationals. In other words, the affairs of the National Building Trades Council as they affected the internationals were decided by representatives of local councils. Several years previously the Central Labor Union of Buffalo had reorganized on the sectional plan. Different groups of kindred trades organized sections along the lines suggested by the St. Louis Convention in 1888. Metal, label, printing and building trades sections were formed. While an improvement on previous methods it was said to still lack both compulsory membership and uniformity of decisions and laws. It was soon found necessary for the international unions to solve the problem and a conference of delegates of the basic trades was held in Lafayette, Ind., in 1903, and considered forming the Structural Building Trades Alliance of

America. Later in the year the new organization was launched at a convention in Indianapolis. Organizations that applied for admission had to show peace had been firmly established with all trades with which it was industrially grouped. In addition the internationals were required to compel subordinate unions to affiliate with local alliances wherever organized and to restrict membership in the latter bodies to the basic trades comprising the alliance. It was to be independent of the A. F. of L. Aside from the fealty claimed between the organizations that did not appear after the first convention there was said to be much merit in the organization. But the much-heradled loyalty and co-operation to each other failed to function. Withdrawals followed and after five years of uncertain life negotiations were entered into with the A. F. of L. to establish intimate relations or membership. The conference was held October 26, 1907, in New York. A report was made to the A. F. of L. convention in Norfolk and this plan for absorption of the alliance was adopted:

"That a department of the A. F. of L. be created and chartered, to be composed of bona fide national and international building trades unions, duly chartered as such by the A. F. of L., and to be given autonomy over the building trades sections, with authority to issue charters to local building trades sections; said sections and central bodies to be affiliated with the A. F. of L. and to be composed of bona fide local unions and recognized as such in the building trades."

A conference was held in Washington, D. C., February 10, 1908, when the present department was organized. The success of the department has been phenomenal. The plan of organization overcome all obstacles and at the present time its affiliated unions have 650,000 members. New hope came to the building trades and it can be said the industry has advanced to a greater degree than its most optimistic friends believed possible. Its greatest obstacle has been the question of jurisdiction, as the changes in the building industry are more frequent than in any other. Recently conferences were held to find a way to adjust these difficulties with the least trouble. It is simply another step in the road to greater activities and benefits for the rank and file. Officers elected at the first convention are.

President—James Kirby, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

Vice presidents—George F. Hedrick, James G. Hannahan, Frank M. Ryan, William J. McSorley, Charles H. Leps.

Secretary-treasurer—William J. Spencer.

The present officers are:

President—John H. Donlin, Operative Plasterers' International Union.

Secretary-treasurer—William J. Spencer, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

First vice president—George F. Hedrick, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

Second vice president—James G. Hannahan, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Third vice president—William J. McSorley, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers.

Fourth vice president—John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Fifth vice president—William L. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

Railroad Employes—The question of united action among shopmen on the railroads of the country was under discussion for many years. There were several experiments in organization, but while not wholly successful they each in turn contributed to the upbuilding of the present magnificent body of 600,000 members. In the early eighties the Knights of Labor idea of organization was given a thorough trial, but for reasons not unknown to all real students of the labor movement the plan failed. This was followed in the early nineties by a compact between the boilermakers, machinists and blacksmiths. This proved a practical organization. Then came the American Railway Union, an industrial organization, which in its collapse in 1894 brought down with it all unions in the shop trades, as well as threatening the life of the transportation brotherhoods. The result proved the plan of craft organizations to be the most practical and from that time on they grew steadily. The success of the joint craft organizations in 1893 had not been forgotten, as in 1904 the shop trades began to form what were known as system federations. As the shop trades organized more successfully the railroad officials also became active and formed the American Railway Association. By 1908 the sentiment for closer affiliation among railway men had grown to such an extent that it resulted in the officers of all the unions considering the question so important that at the A. F. of L. convention in Denver in 1908 a tentative organization was formed and named the Railroad Employes' Department. The object of the body was:

"For the purpose of enhancing the welfare of all railroad employes, to aid in more closely organizing all such employes and to seek to affiliate the unaffiliated with the A. F. of L.; to further the interests of employes by means of legislation and to take such action as might be necessary to protect their interests."

The move was unanimously indorsed by the A. F. of L. convention. The first convention was held immediately following the adjournment of the A. F. of L. A constitution was adopted and these officers elected:

President—Henry B. Perham, Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Vice president—A. B. Lowe, Maintenance of Way Employes.

Secretary-treasurer—D. W. Roderick, International Association of Machinists.

While the department had performed its functions so far as the limited opportunity of the officers permitted it was deemed a failure because of the growing demand for a more militant form of organization. The evidence of this was shown in the increasing number of system federations formed which refused to affiliate with the department. The rank and file wanted an organization that besides its educational and legislative features would include joint action in all offensive and defensive activities, at the same time recognizing craft autonomy. In May, 1912, a conference was held in Milwaukee by representatives of crafts on railroads running out of Chicago at which a resolution was adopted urging the unions affected to indorse a movement for an organization to

meet the needs of the workers. While this was under discussion a serious situation arose on the Harriman lines and Illinois Central Railroad. This caused a conference to be held in Kansas City in April, 1912, at which representatives of all crafts on forty systems of railroads were present. This conference formed the Federation of Federations and adopted a constitution. The plan was entirely different from that of the Railroad Employes' Department, as it provided for a delegate convention, salaried officers who should devote their entire time to the organization and a complete change in offensive and defensive tactics. The department's rules provided only for voluntary joint action of the affiliated crafts and educational and legislative propaganda. The rank and file had no voice in formulating laws or directing its destiny except in the most limited way. A. O. Wharton was elected president of the Federation of Federations, G. W. Pring vice president, and John W. Scott secretary-treasurer. The officers were instructed to confer with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at the earliest opportunity to secure a charter. This was held in Rochester, N. Y., at the meeting of the Railroad Employes' Department, which reorganized by indorsing the laws adopted at the Kansas City convention of the Federation of Federations and electing the latter's officers. The principles reaffirmed were.

"To bring within the organization all railway employes. To shorten the hours of labor to eight. To establish a minimum wage scale for all employes in all branches of the railway service. To bring about a national agreement. To prevent strikes and lockouts whenever possible and thus by concerted action reap the full benefits of their labor."

During the war President Wharton served as a member of the railroad wage board and B. M. Jewell acted as president. During the past two years the department has secured the eight-hour day and a universal wage scale for all railroads. The organizations affiliated with the department are:

Int. Ass'n of Machinists.
Int. Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers of America.
Am. Sheet Metal Workers' Int. Alliance.
Int. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.
Switchmen's Union of North America.
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.
Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders.

The officers are:

President—A. O. Wharton.
Acting president—B. M. Jewell.
Secretary-treasurer—J. W. Scott, 505-8 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Executive council—W. H. Johnston, J. W. Kline, Louis Weyand, J. J. Hynes, James P. Noonan, M. F. Ryan, S. E. Heberling, J. J. Forrester.

Metal Trades—The Metal Trades Department was organized in February, 1909, in Cincinnati, Ohio. It was the outgrowth of fifteen years' effort to construct a central organization of machinists, boilermakers, molders, blacksmiths and others trades that would protect them in every crisis. In 1892 the president of the International Association of Machinists at its Chicago convention reported he had been in correspondence with a number of officials of metal trades unions on the question of forming a National Machinery Constructive Federation. In 1893 the machinists' convention declared that to longer neglect joining a nation-wide federation would be criminal. Instructions were given the officials to persist in the formation of a federation in which the boilermakers, blacksmiths, and machinists should be represented. They also were instructed to invite the molders and patternmakers to join in the movement. The conference was held in Indianapolis October 20, 1894, and organized the Federated Metal Trades. Lee Johnson was chosen president, James O'Connell vice president, and William Anderson secretary-treasurer. This report was made to the next convention of machinists:

"We wish the new organization unlimited success, and believe a great deal of good can be accomplished by proper management. The trades will be brought close together and each will understand the other's wants to better advantage."

The molders and patternmakers were again invited to co-operate with the blacksmiths, boilermakers and machinists in the new national federation. The Brotherhood of Machinery Molders was refused admission on the ground it was a dual union. A constitution was adopted. This declaration was made of the objects of the organization:

"We, the representatives of the various metal trades represented, do hereby form the Federated Metal Trades of America for the purpose of organizing and concentrating the workers of the allied metal trades for their mutual protection and advancement, to secure a closer relationship and to act in unison, so far as possible, in all matters of general interest to the metal working trades of the country."

This organization met with indifferent success as it had no salaried officers. The next move for a national organization was made in 1900 during the A. F. of L. convention. Several meetings of the various metal trades were held to bring about a closer alliance. A temporary organization was formed with James Cramer as president and L. R. Thomas secretary. They were to hold office until a permanent organization was formed. This action was indorsed by the A. F. of L. In 1901 a report was made to the Scranton convention that the metal trades were forming metal trades councils in many cities. This plan was indorsed, as it had been the desire of the A. F. of L. that such sections be organized. In 1906 a permanent secretary was elected by the Federated Metal Trades. It continued in existence independent of the A. F. of L.; but little advancement was made. In June, 1908, a conference was held to reorganize the body into the present Metal Trades Department. The following February the department was officially launched. Giant strides have been made by the department. Its selection of officers was proved successful as not a question has arisen, especially during the great war, that has not been handled with tact and excellent judgment. This department, like all the others was a tower of strength to the nation. Its success also has proved the wisdom of the department form of organization. The organizations affiliated to the Metal Trades Department have an aggregate of 600,000 members. They have grown rapidly during the war and the indications happily point to a permanency that is un-

expected. The present officers of the department are:

President—James O'Connell.

Secretary-treasurer—A. J. Berres, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Vice presidents—James W. Kline, Joseph A. Franklin, John R. Alpine, J. J. Hynes, Joseph F. Valentine, W. W. Britton.

Organizations affiliated:

Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.
American Federation of Labor.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of America, Brotherhood of.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.
Engineers, International Union of Steam.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.
Machinists, International Association of.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' international Union of North America.
Moulders' Union of North America, International.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.
Stove Mounters, International Union—
United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the U. S. and Canada.

Union Label Department—One of organized labor's greatest economic weapons is the union label. It is an assurance that the products on which it is printed, stamped or sewed are made under healthy, sanitary conditions and by labor receiving the union scales of wages and acceptable working conditions. It early became noticeable that some central organization of the national and international unions should be formed to make extraordinary efforts to so advertise the labels that they would be known to the general public and therefore increase the sales of union labeled articles. The A. F. of L. conventions had considered plans yearly for the advancement of the label and finally a conference was authorized by the Norfolk convention in 1907 to consider the formation of a union label department. A report was made at the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. and the committee was continued. It held several meetings in Washington. An invitation was extended to all national and international unions having labels to meet with the committee and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. In answer to the invitation 57 representatives of thirty organizations assembled in Washington March 29, 1909 and decided to organize a union label department. The attack on the hatters' label as well as the opposition of the National Manufacturers' Association to all union labels made it necessary for the label trades to organize for self-protection. A constitution was adopted and these officers chosen:

President—John B. Lennon, Journeymen Tailors' Union.

Secretary-treasurer—Thomas F. Tracy, Cigarmakers' International Union.

Vice presidents—John F. Tobin, Boot and Shoeworkers' Union; T. C. Parsons, International Typographical Union; Max Morris, president Retail Clerks' International Association; Owen Miller, American Federation of Musicians; John J. Manning, United Garment Workers.

While the affiliated organizations control their laws the department has given public licity to all of them in places where label their own union labels in accordance with agitation is seldom if ever heard. Its work is largely of an educational character and to assist the organizations, especially those that are weak, in all their activities tending to encourage the sale of union labeled products. The national and international unions comprising the Union Label Department are:

American Federation of Labor.
Allied Wall Paper Trades of the United States.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.
Journeymen Barbers' International Union.
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.
Broom and Whisk Makers' International Union.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.
Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.
Coopers' International Union of America.
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.
International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.
United Garment Workers of America.
Glove Workers' International Union of America.
United Hatters of North America.
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
Laundry Workers' International Union.
United Leather Workers' International Union.
International Association of Machinists.
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.
International Molders' Union of North America.
International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
Metal Polishers' International Union.
United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America.
International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America.
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of America.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' International Union of North America.
Stove Mounters' International Union.
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.
United Textile Workers of America.
International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.
International Typographical Union.
American Wire Weavers' Protective Association.
Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Present officers:

President—J. W. Hays, International Typographical Union.

Secretary-treasurer—John J. Manning, United Garment Workers.

First vice president—Jacob Fischer, Journeyman Barbers' International Union.

Second vice president—George W. Perkins, Cigarmakers' International Union.

Third vice president—A. McAndrew, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

Fourth vice president—Matthew Woll, Photo-Engravers' International Union.

Fifth vice president—Joseph Proebstle, International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

Mining—The idea of a Mining Department of the A. F. of L. grew out of the need for closer affiliation between all organizations engaged in the mining industry. The metalliferous miners of the Western Federation of Labor had just affiliated with the A. F. of L. and this proved an incentive to formulate a new policy for both that and the coal industry. A conference was held in Indianapolis February 8, 1912, where a constitution was adopted. Charles H. Moyer was elected president and Edwin Perry secretary-treasurer. The next meeting of the officers was July 1, 1912, where the affiliation of other unions was considered as well as plans for an extended organization campaign in Southern Colorado, Utah, and the New Mexico fields. The first annual convention was held in Rochester in November, 1912. John P. White was elected president and Ernest Mills secretary-treasurer. At the Seattle convention the question of placing the president under salary was considered, but action was deferred until January 22, 1914, at a meeting in Indianapolis where James Lord was chosen president. President Lord did not take office until after the wage movement then in progress was completed. He then opened offices in Washington and is now located in the A. F. of L. Building. The present officers are:

President—James Lord, United Mine Workers.

Secretary-treasurer—Ernest Mills, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union.

Executive board—Frank J. Hayes, United Mine Workers; Joseph Cannon, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union; John Williams, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; William H. Johnston, International Association of Machinists; W. M. Welsh, Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen; P. H. Morin, International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers.

AFFILIATED UNIONS

NATIONAL and International Unions to the number of 111 are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Nearly all have benefit systems. These beneficial features have encouraged organization and served as protection in times of strikes or lockouts. During the war members in the service were protected in their membership and benefits either by the National or International Unions or by the locals. The present officers of the National and International Unions, with a brief statement of special provisions made for war members, where officially reported, are:

Bakery and Confectionary Workers' International Union of America—Pays sick, death and strike benefits. Members in military service exempt from dues.

Present officers—Treasurer, A. A. Myrup, 310 Bush Temple, Chicago; recording and corresponding secretary, Charles Iffland; financial secretary, Henry Koch; editor Bakers' Journal, Charles F. Hohmann (all officers same address).

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Pays $5 a week sick and disability benefits, and $75 to $500 death benefits according to length of membership.

Present officers—President, Frank X. Noschang; secretary-treasurer, Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.; organizer, James C. Shanessy; vice presidents, C. M. Feider, C. F. Foley, John E. Connelly, H. J. Halford, C. W. Merker, George H. Wahl.

First officer—President, Edward Finklestone.

Bill Posters and Billers of United States and Canada International Alliance—Pays sick and death benefits through local unions.

Present officers—President, Patrick F. Murphy; vice presidents, W. J. McDonald, Al Norrington, James Besant, James H. Leaverty, Herman Konig, David Roberts, Frank Isadore; secretary, William McCarthy, Longacre Building, New York City; treasurer, George Abernathy; trustees, George Burns, Gus Pries, Thomas A. Noonan; sergeant-at-arms, Al Ruland.

First officers—President, Charles Josepha; vice presidents, Jerry Donavan, Ike Klein, Dick Penny, William J. Murray, George W. Lowery, Thomas Cahill, A. Chappelle; secretary, J. J. McCormack; treasurer, Robert Mullens; trustees, J. J. Dunning, R. Penny, William J. Murphy.

Blacksmiths and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Strike benefits paid.

Present officers—General president, James W. Kline; secretary-treasurer, William F. Kramer, Transportation Building, Chicago; vice presidents, F. C. Bolam, Roy Horn, W. G. Powlesland, Edward Tegtmeyer, C. C. Van Dorne, John H. Tapken, A. O. Anderson, W. L. Phillips, John M. Tobin.

Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, International Brotherhood of.

Present officers—President, J. A. Franklin; assistant president, Louis Weyand; secretary-treasurer, F. P. Reinemeyer, Law Building, Kansas City, Mo.; editor-manager Journal, James B. Casey; vice presidents, John J. Dowd, R. C. McCutchan, M. A. Maher, Thomas Nolan, Joseph P. Ryan, John F. Schmitt, E. J. Sheehan.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Pays strike; also death benefits of $75. Members in war service kept in good standing.

Present officers—President, Walter N. Reddick, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis; vice presidents, William Glockling, John Haggerty, Mrs. Augusta J. Frincke; secretary-treasurer, David T. Davies; executive board, Miss Anna Neary, Miss Mary E. Meehan, Thomas P. Garrity, Daniel J. Ahearn, Frank H. Callahan, C. O. Kennell.

First officers—President, William B. Hyde; secretary, S. J. Canning; secretary-treasurer, J. A. B. Espey.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Pays $5 a week sick benefits for 13 weeks, $50 death benefit for six months' membership and $100 for two years. Members in military service allowed reinstatement without fee.

Present officers—President, John F. Tobin; vice president, Collis Lovely; secretary-treasurer, Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston; executive board, John F. Tobin, Mary Anderson, Warren M. Hatch, C. E. James, Fred M. Knight, Z. Lesperance, Collis Lovely, Gad Martindale, William Prout, Emmet T. Walls, Charles L. Baine.

First officers—President, John F. Tobin; vice president, William H. Loughlin; secretary, Horace M. Eaton; treasurer, Alvin C. Howes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of—Pays strike and emergency benefits.

Present officers—Corresponding secretary, John Rader; recording secretary, Joseph Obergfell; financial secretary, Joseph Proebstle; secretary-treasurer, John Rader, 51 Vine St., Cincinnati; organizer, Albert Kugler.

Delegates to first convention held in 1886—Adam Ketterman, Ph. Magk, Christ Rauscher, Ch. Dieringer, Charles Pommer, Albert Sauer, Adolph Biswanger, Frank Zeh, Rudolph Weber, Alois Kopf.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.

Present officers—President, William J. Bowen; secretary, William Dobson, University Park Building, Indianapolis; vice presidents, Thomas R. Preece, George T. Thornton, Joseph P. Duffy, Thomas Izzard, Bert Childs, James Hickey, Michael H. Nolan, Alf. R. Taubman; treasurer, Patrick Murray.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance International—Pays $100 death benefits; locals pay from $100 to $250. Members in war service exempt from dues and will be reinstated after being discharged.

Present officers—President, Frank Kasten; associate president, Frank Butterworth; secretary-treasurer, William Tracy; vice presidents, William Pratt, William J. Albrecht, N. J. Rogers, C. F. Woodard, N. Luscombe, C. Shildroth, James P. Flynn, Louis Barbaglia, H. E. Burkhart. Headquarters, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago.

First officers—President, Charles Hanks; secretary-treasurer, George Hodge.

Bridge, Structural and Ornamental, International Association of—Pays death benefits; after January 1, 1920, old age and disability pensions.

Present officers—President, P. J. Morrin, American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.; vice presidents; J. A. Johnston, 266 Plane St., Newark, N. J.; W. J. McCain, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.; Ben Osborne, 162½ Second St., Portland, Oreg.; John R. McMullen, 522 Center St., Chicago, Ill.; D. J. O'Shea, Erickson Place, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; Thos. Scahill, 47 Richland Ave., San Francisco, Cal.; secretary-treasurer, Harry Jones, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis.

First officers—Edward Ryan, president; James G. Crowley, secretary-treasurer; Davis McKelvey, J. W. Kelly, D. F. McIntyre, Emil Tranton, executive board.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Pays $75 and $100 death benefits after six and twelve months' continuous merbership, respectively.

Present officers—President, J. M. Burgin; vice president, J. A. Gidding; secretary-treasurer, Will R. Boyer, 851 King place, Chicago; District No. 1, T. C. Milford; No. 2, J. W. Weaver; No. 3, Joseph A. Connors; No. 4, George McRoberts; No. 5, J. A. Petfield; No. 6, Harry Monteverde; No. 7, James McKenzie; No. 8, Thomas Gold.

First officers—President, C. J. Anderson; secretary, P. J. McCormickk.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood of Railroad—Pays $50 to $250 death benefit and also gives strike pay. Locals have either sick, accident, death or funeral benefits.

Present officers—F. L. Ronemus, P. G. P., 603 West 20th St., Kansas City, Mo.; M. F. Ryan, G. P., 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; F. H. Knight, A. G. P., 1125 John Ave., St. Louis, Mo.; general vice presidents, Frank McKenna, care H. Pickett, 150 Cathedral Ave., Winnipeg, Man.; Geo. A. Nolte, 2219 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.; J. H. Spelts, 4568 Tennyson St., Denver, Colo.; Frank Paquin, 5361 Princeton Ave., Chicago, Ill.; J. F. McCreery, 323 N. 9th St., Paducah, Ky.; Louis Beuloin, 465 Gordon Ave., Verdun, Montreal, Canada; D. J. Collins, 834 Hickory St., Scranton, Pa.; D. A. Crosswhite, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Adolph Werner, 1514 Emma St., Chicago, Ill.; Edw. M. Ware, 1112 N. Conrad St., Palestine, Texas; G. F. Mounts, 2509 Denver, Kansas City, Mo.; J. M. Patterson, 902 W. Monroe, Bloomington, Ill.; E. Wm. Weeks, general secretary and treasurer, 506-507-508-509-510 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; general executive board, S. L. Watts, chairman, 7127 Lanham Ave., St. Louis, Mo.; John Johnson, secretary, 343 S. Carolina Ave., Mason City, Iowa; J. S. Wilds, 743 Lenon St., Jacksonville, Fla.; C. E. Whitlow, 901 Travis Ave., Fort Worth, Texas; Thos. Broad, 50 Melrose Ave., Ottawa, Ont., Canada; W. J. Adames, editor and manager Journal, 511-512 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.

First officers—Grand chief carman, W. H. Ronemus; vice grand chief carman, W. S. Missemer; grand secretary-treasurer, S. Kelliher; grand warden, L. H. Shaefer; grand sentinel, C. E. Chilson; grand executive board, R. Hazelwood, Charles Board, P. Kelly, J. Wyman, F. L. Ronemus.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Pays strike, lockout, death and disability benefits; sick benefits paid by local unions. Members in active service in the army and navy entitled to benefits until mustered out of service.

Present officers—President, W. L. Hutcheson; vice presidents, John T. Cosgrove, George H. Lakey; secretary-treasurer, Frank Duffy; treasurer, Thomas Neale; P. O. address all general officers, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis; executive board T. M. Guerin, D. A. Post, John H. Potts, James P. Ogletree, Harry Blackmore, W. A. Cole, Arthur Martel, and the president and secretary.

First officers—President, Gabriel Edmonston; secretary, P. J. McGuire.

Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood—Pays death, fire insurance on tools and strike benefits.

Present officers—Central or national committee, Aug. Schrempf, chairman; William Betsch, treasurer; Frank Walter, William Dettelbach, C. A. Tessitore, trustees; general secretary, Frank Detlef, 230 Woodbine St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

First officers—Chairman chosen at each convention; secretary, John Henges.

Cigarmakers' International Union—Pays death benefit from $50 to $550; sick benefits, $65 per year; out of work, $54 per year; strike, $5 per week for 16 weeks and $3 until strike or lockout ends; traveling loan, $20.

Present officers—President, secretary and editor of Journal, George W. Perkins, Monon Building, Chicago; vice presidents, Samuel Gompers, L. P. Hoffman, A. Garispy, John Reichert, E. G. Hall, E. J. Stack, Charles H. Stevens, Gibson Weber.

First officers—President, A. J. Zeitler; secretary, Charles Baker.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—Pays strike benefits. Members in war service exempt from dues and entitled to benefits.

Present officers—President, James J. Forrester; secretary-treasurer, M. V. H. Bright; acting secretary-treasurer, Charles M. Owens, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati vice presidents, H. F. Baldwin, Fred W. Smith, H. C. DeGrey, J. L. Johnson.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—Pays $5 sick benefit for twelve weeks in any fiscal year and funerel ranging from $25 to $200, according to duration of membership.

Present officers—President, E. E. Baker; vice presidents, Jacob Koch, C. C. Coulter, W. G. Despete, John B. Schulte, William P. Spinnenweber; secretary-treasurer, H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Pays strike and death benefits.

Present officers—President, Andrew C. Hughes; vice presidents, F. M. Krepps, Joseph Cresse, M. McGowan; secretary-treasurer, William R. Deal, Bishop Building, Kansas City, Kan.

First officers—President, M. McGowan; vice presidents, F. M. Ravenscraft, L. K. McChesney, James Ahern; secretary-treasurer, Philip Strong.

Cutting Die and Cutter Makers of America, International Union of—Pays death benefits.

Present officers—President, George Bleau; vice president, Frank Sheehan; recording secretary, Albert Leik; secretary-treasurer, Leonard S. Rantz, 156 Short St., Brockton, Mass.

First officers—President, Martin Kramer; vice presidents, George Goslin, Peter Tongas, Frank Vallantry, N. Adelbert Gould; secretary-treasurer, James Classen, Jr.; recording secretary, John Landrigan.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.

Present officers—President, Andries Meyer, 323 Washington St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; secretary, Theo. Quets; treasurer, T. Verlenden.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of.

Present and first officers—President, John C. P. de Kraft, 411 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.; vice president, C. L. Rosemund, 417 Richmond Ave., Portsmouth, Va.; secretary-treasurer, Horace B. Abel, 1942 E. Ontario St., Philadelphia; business address, 411 S. Broad St., Philadelphia.

Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of—Pays funeral benefits.

Present officers—President, F. J. McNulty; secretary, Charles P. Ford; treasurer, W. A. Hogan; vice presidents, G. M. Bugniazet, J. P. Noonan, L. C. Grasser, F. Ingles.

First officers—President, Henry Miller; secretary-treasurer, J. F. Kelley, Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.; vice presidents, J. Harting, T. Heizelman, T. J. Fennell.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Strike benefits are paid.

Present officers—President, Frank Feeney, 708 South Fifty-second St., Philadelphia, Pa.; vice presidents, John C. MacDonald, 386 Harrison Ave., Boston, Mass.; Edward Smith, 156 East Fifty-fourth St., New York City; Walter Snow, 128 South Sacramento Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.; E. H. Large, 602 Dorman St., Indianapolis, Ind.; H. D. Rowan, 39 Woodbine Ave., Ingram, Pa.; Edw. McGee, 3662 Twentieth St., San Francisco, Cal.; secretary-treasurer; Frank J. Schneider, 402-404 Perry Building, Philadelphia, Pa.; Delegate to A. F. of L., Frank Feeney, 708 South Fifty-second St., Philadelphia, Pa.

First officers—President, F. W. Doyle, St. Louis; vice presidents, John Lally, Chicago; H. McLaughlin, New York; D. C. Barnett, Pittsburgh; J. Giberson, Philadelphia; Walter McIntyre, Boston; William Young, Philadelphia.

Engineers' Beneficial Association, National Marine—Death benefits of $100 to $150; several locals pay sick benefits, and pay dues of members in military service.

Present officers—President, William S. Brown, 356 Ellicott Square Bldg., Buffalo; vice presidents, Thomas L. Delahunty, 26 Park place, New York City; John S. Fisher, 2215 35th St., Galveston, Texas; William H. Hyman, 1600 N. Montford Ave., Baltimore; secretary, George A. Grubb, 356 Ellicott Square Bldg., Buffalo; treasurer, Albert L. Jones, 38 Avery Ave., Detroit, Mich., telephone Grand 3687.

Old officers—President, Garrett Douw; vice presidents, A. L. Foote, J. W. Shea; secretary, Thomas Buchanan; treasurer, Rudolphus Doty.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Benefits are in maintaining union conditions for the members.

Present officers—President, Milton Snellings; vice presidents, A. M. Huddell, William McKenzie, Joseph Munfering, Dave Evans, James A. Cooley; secretary-treasurer, H. M. Comerford, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago.

Engravers' League, International Steel and Copper—Just organized and question of benefits will be decided by first convention.

Acting officer—Secretary, William Johnson, 79 Webb St., Weymouth, Mass.

Engravers' Union of North America, Photo, International—Pays tuberculosis, strike and death benefits.

Present officers—President, Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop St., Chicago; vice presidents, Theo. Greifzu, John F. Maguire, Charles Horrocks; secretary-treasurer, Henry F. Schmal, 412 Nicholas Building, 1504 South Grand Ave., St. Louis.

First officers—President, John Bevan; secretary, W. Palmer Hall.

Federal Employes, National Federation of—Present officers—President, Luther C. Steward; vice presidents, W. E. Junker, Martin J. Leonard, Miss Florence Etheredge, William T. Griffith, Charles F. Nagel, S. Tyson Kinsell, Charles L. Wiegand; secretary treasurer, E. J. Newmyer, Continental Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

First officers—President, H. M. McLaren; vice presidents, Luther C. Steward, W. E. Junker, W. J. Burke, Miss Florence Etheredge, William T. Griffith, Charles F. Nagel, Martin J. Gorman; secretary-treasurer, E. J. Newmyer.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Provision made by locals to protect membership of men in military service.

Present officers—President, Thomas G. Spellacy; secretary-treasurer, W. A. Smith, 1312 E St. N.E., Washington, D. C.; vice presidents, S. A. Fink, Fred W. Baer, E. J. Coveney, R. E. Oden, O. C. Dunn, G. J. Richardson, W. R. Brown, Sidney Johnson, L. N. Riley, J. F. Kerwin, William H. Leslie.

First officers—Temporary chairman, Raymond E. Oden; temporary secretary, William Andrew Smith.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Pays strike benefits; locals pay sick and death benefits.

Present officers—President, Timothy Healy, 211 E. 45th St., New York City; vice presidents, N. A. James, P. J. Timon, A. A. Woodward, L. F. Sprouse, R. W. Beattie, James Coulsting, Joseph P. Flanagan; secretary-treasurer, C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. 24th St., Omaha, Neb.

First officers—President, J. W. Morton; secretary-treasurer, C. L. Shamp; vice presidents, H. W. Bausch, H. E. Plimon; Peter Brush, T. F. Tirney, William Katrell.

Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of—Pays strike benefits of $4 per week, but discontinued sick benefits owing to low per capita tax. Local unions pay sick and death benefits and retained members in good standing and entitled to benefits.

Present officers—President, A. R. Linn, 810 Chestnut St., St. Louis; vice presidents, John Cebula, 612 Webster St., Schenectady, N. Y.; Thomas Cameron, 215 Douglas Ave., Belleville, Ill.; David Whelan, 27 Jefferson St., Troy, N. Y.; Mathew Madigan, 218 Walworth St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; William O. Anders, 1423½ Third Ave., Seattle, Wash.; secretary-treasurer, George Bechtold, 307, 810 Chestnut St., St. Louis.

First officers—President, Frank McArdle; secretary, George Bechtold; vivce presidents, Michael Doran, George Kline, John Slumski, John Gilluley.

Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International—Pays death benefit of $75 and for strikes.

Present officers—Acting president, Morris Kaufman; secretary-treasurer, Andrew Wenneis, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y.; vice presidents, Hyman Sorkin, Charles Gmeiner, Morris Kaufman, J. A. McEwan, Benjamin Lederman, Joseph Zigler.

First officers—President, A. W. Miller; secretary, Andrew Wenneis; vice presidents, Ph. Silberstein, S. Stracher, Ch. Gmeiner, M. Kaufman, J. A. McEwan, B. Lederman, Joseph Ziger.

Garment Workers, International, Ladies—Pays strike benefits while many locals give sick benefit. Members in war service absolved from paying dues.

Present officers—President, Benjamin Schlessinger; secretary-treasurer, Abraham Baroff, 32 Union Square, New York City.

Garment Workers of America, United.

Present officers—President, Thomas A. Rickert, room 504, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago; secretary, B. A. Larger, Rooms 116-22 Bible House, New York City; treasurer, Henry Waxman; auditor, I. Hashkins; trustees, Victor Altman, Margaret C. Daley; these officials and the following comprise the executive board: B. Abrams, Abraham Gordon, Frank Doyle, W. F. Bush.

First officers—Secretary, Charles F. Reichers; treasurer, Jacob Gross; auditor, Harry White; executive board, A. J. Fels, P. Aaronson, A. Sussman, A. Israel.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association—Pays death benefit of $500. Assessment for deaths, 10 cents per capita. Many locals have sick benefits.

Present officers—President, John A. Voll, Colonial Trust Building, Philadelphia; treasurer, Harry Halton, 924 Washington Ave., Alton, Ill.; vice president, James Maloney, 1817 Monsey Ave., Scranton, Pa.; secretary, Harry Jenkins, Colonial Trust Building, Philadelphia; executive board, F. M. Edwards, Arthur Muhleman, J. L. Lanoux, William C. Connolly, Robert G. Vansant, W. W. Campbell, John S. Roberts, Albert C. McLaughlin.

Glass Workers, National Window—Pays $100 benefit to members in good standing on wife's death and $200 to heirs on member's death.

Present officers—President, J. M. Neenan; secretary, Thomas Reynolds, 419 Electric Building, Cleveland; treasurer, Joseph Slight; trustees, Harry B. Neal, S. P. Smallwood, C. D. Smith.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.

Present officers—President, William P. Clarke; vice president, Joseph M. Gillooly; secretary-treasurer, C. J. Shipman, Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio; assistant secretary, H H. Cook.

Glove Workers of America.

Present officers—President, Thomas J. Mahoney; vice presidents, Agnes Nestor, Charles Haddleton, Bessie Williams, Gotfried Peterson, Charles C. Brandt; secretary-

treasurer, Elizabeth Christman, 139 North Clark St., Chicago.

First officers—President, George H. Taylor; vice presidents, L. W. Chamberlain, W. H. Cox, Cora B. Hogan, J. H. Bedmann, Charles Roever; secretary, A. H. Cosselman; treasurer, John J. Loza.

Granite Cutters' International Union—Members pay half dues after 50 years of age and are exempt after 60. Loss of sight benefits, $500 and $10 per month pension or honorary benefit for six months after 52 years.

Present officers—President, James Duncan, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.; executive board, the president, Nicholas Williams, J. B. Hutchison, George A. McDonald, John Boyson, William McGhee, Saverio Frantelli.

First officers—President, N. C. Bassick; secretary, T. H. Murch; vice presidents, N. S. Fales, Thomas Fahey, P. H. Cooney, I. P. Clay, W. K. Smith.

Hatters of North America, United.

Present officers—President, M. F. Green; secretary-treasurer, Martin Lawlor, 72 Bible House, New York City.

Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers, International Union of—Pays strike benefits.

Present officers—President, Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Eleventh St., Elmherst, Long Island, N. Y.; vice presidents, John J. McCormick, 215 Morris St., Gloucester, N. J.; Edward Brinkler, 862 Gladwin Ave., Detroit, Mich.; Charles C. Rice, 51 Alexander place, Buffalo; Alexander F. Wiggins, 310 W. 72d St., Seattle, Wash.; Harry H. Holland, 4826 W. Superior St., Chicago; secretary-treasurer, Thomas J. McNamara, St. Louis, Mo.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, International—Pays death benefits of $50 on 12 months' membership and $100 on two years, and for members in war service.

Present officers—President, D. D'Alessandro, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.; vice presidents, George Seelhorst, 84 Howard St., Tarrytown, N. Y.; W. J. Cordell, 3056 Mentor St., Cincinnati; E. W. Hopkins, Portland, Me.; V. De Italco, 468 Brand Ave, Providence, R. I.; secretary-treasurer, A. Persion, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.

First officers—President, Herman Lilien; secretary, H. A. Steinburgh; vice presidents, Peter Larsen, James Malley, Val M. Canavan, August Palutzs, Elmo Chambers.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Locals pay sick and death benefits. All dues and per capita tax remitted to members in war service.

Present officers—President and general organizer, Bernard Flatley, 92 Brill St., Newark, N. J.; vice presidents, Harry Dunlop, Timothy Healy, Henry M. Backer; secretary-treasurer, Hubert S. Marshall, 707 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati.

First officers—President, John McGee; secretary, William Whalen; vice presidents, James Keenan, William E. Roach, Cornelius McCarthy.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America—The character of the catering trade prevents abolition of Sunday labor but has been successful in establishing "one day's rest in seven."

Present officers—President, Edward Flore, 375 Oak St., Buffalo; vice presidents, Robert Hesketh, Frank Hoffman, C. W. McCurdy, Elizabeth Maloney, Paul Steffler, John W. Conley, A. B. Hassel, J. Charles Hackett; secretary-treasurer, Jere L. Sullivan, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati.

First officers—Secretary, Julius Weiner, New York City; treasurer, William Schimmel, Brooklyn; executive board, S. K. Govern, Richard Albers, George Herzberg. The laws did not provide for a president or vice president.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—Pays sick, accident, death and strike benefits. Local lodges pay dues of members in war service and they are entitled to all benefits.

Present officers—Assistant president, D. J. Davis; secretary-treasurer, M. F. Tighe, House Building, Pittsburgh; assistant secretary, Fred Keightly; benefit secretary, J. A. Bowers; managing editor, Ben I. Davis; vice president, Walter Larkin; trustees, Jenkin Jones, John Donahue, James McCoy.

First officers—President and secretary, Joseph Bishop; treasurer, David A. Plant; trustees, William Martin, John Jarrett.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Pays strike benefits.

Present officers—President, George W. Livsey; secretary-treasurer, Abraham Greenstein, 331 4th Ave., New York City; organizer, M. L. Werner; vice presidents, Sam Schutzer, Dora Jacobs, John Schwartz, Joseph Eisenberg, M. Dorfman, Thomas Gunning, Frank Maucher, S. E. Beardsley, H. J. Moyniman.

First officers—President, Julius Birnham; treasurer, Abraham Greenstein; vice presi- Emil Rosenquist, Louis L. Cushman, Arnold dents, Charles B. Minard, James Doherty, Lagergran, Joseph Weinstein, Jacob Chiselsky; organizer, John Schwartz.

Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated—Pays funeral benefits of $100 to $500 on a graduated scale of membership from one to ten years. Strike benefits and $7 a week.

Present officers—President, David Wilson; representative, William McCaffrey; secretary-treasurer, David L. Gould, 545 W. Lehigh Ave, Philadelphia.

First officers—President, John Young; secretary, Edwin S. Langham; treasurer, Amos Pashley; executive Committee, James Ireland, John Smith, Ed. W. Woolley, George Hart, John Upton, James Pollitt, Edgar Taylor, William Nesbit.

Lathers' International Union, Wood, Wire and Metal—Pays $100 funeral and strike benefits.

Present officers—President, William J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland; vice presidents, John Bell, Dean R. Weston, Edward N. Kelley, Frank Mahoney, Parker Franks, Charles M. Livingston, John J. Fallon; secretary-treasurer, Ralph V. Brandt, 401 Superior St., Cleveland.

First officers—President, E. J. Bracken; secretary, P. J. Burns; treasurer, Arthur Sanford.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Members in military service are protected in their membership during term of service.

Present officers—President, James F. Brock, Box 11, Station 1, Troy, N. Y.; vice presidents, F. H. Cockroft, 1240 Virginia Ave., Johnstown, Pa.; M. J. O'Leary, 26 W.

Dedham St., Boston, Mass.; Carl E. Lunn, 764 John St., Seattle, Wash.; Roy Burt, 588-C Natoma St., San Francisco; trustees, Mrs. Mary A. Moran, Station A, Box 28, Boston; Earl W. Young, 1117 Plymouth Ave., San Francisco; John O'Keefe, 2664 Bryant St., San Francisco; secretary-treasurer, H. L. Morrison, 799 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.

First officers—President, J. J. Manning; secretary, C. Nordeck.

Leather Workers' International Union, United—Pays strike, lockout, sick and death benefits.

Present officers—President, W. E. Bryan; vice president, Edward E. Schilling; secretary-treasurer, John J. Pfeiffer; executive board, F. P. Maloney, John Doran, W. F. Alterman, R. E. Ladwig, J. W. Trapp; executive council, all officers. General offices, 504-505 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.

First officers—Chairman, representing the A. F. of L., Hugh Frayne; advisor representing A. F. of L., Frany Duffy; secretary, John J. Pfeiffer; chairman law committee, W. E. Bryan.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Pays sick, accident and life insurance.

Present officers—President, Edw. J. Gainor, Muncie, Ind.; vice president, P. J. McNabb, New York, N. Y.; secretary, Ed. J. Cantwell, Kenois Building, 11th and G Sts. N. W., Washington, D. C.; assistant secretary, M. T. Finnan, Kenois Building, 11th and G. Sts. N. W., Washington, D. C.; treasurer, Chas. D. Duffy, Chicago, Ill.; executive board, R. F. Quinn, chairman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Wm. Maher, Omaha, Nebr.; F. M. Truax, St. Paul, Minn.; J. S. Foley, Boston, Mass.; C. F. Stinson, Bayonne, N. J.; committee on constitution and law; D. F. Murray, chairman, Kalamazoo, Mich.; John S. Winchester, Los Angeles, Cal.; C. E. Priddy, Topeka, Kans.; chief collector, M. B. A., L. E. Swartz, Nashville, Tenn.; board of trustees, M. B. A., T. L. McKeever, president, San Francisco, Cal.; C. L. Watson, Dallas, Texas; E. W. Engel, St. Louis, Mo.; Geo. D. Slater, Brooklyn, N. Y.; J. T. Mahoney, Buffalo, N. Y.; B. J. Curtin, Lynn, Mass.; chief medical examiner, Dr. W. A. Armour, Kansas City, Mo.; chief clerk, national sick benefit association, John T. Mugavin, Cincinnati, Ohio.; board of directors, national sick benefit association, W. H. R. Woodrow, president, Baltimore, Md.; J. J. Scully, Pittsburgh, Pa.; W. R. Beavis, Detroit, Mich.

First officers—President, W. H. Wood, Detroit; vice president, A. F. Dahlman, Milwaukee; treasurer, George E. Goellner, Detroit; executive committee, J. J. Simons, Chicago; Ira Odell, Milwaukee; J. J. Goodwin, Providence; H. Cummer, Buffalo; legislative committee, Wilmot Dunn, Nashville; George J. Kleffner, Omaha; J. J. Edmonds, Chicago; Thomas F. O'Dea, St. Paul.

Lithographers of America, Amalgamated—Pays mortuary benefit of $50 for first six months of membership and graduating up to $500 for those in good standing three years or more; sick and unemployed benefits being inaugurated. Members in war service exempt from dues and assessments.

Present officers—President, Philip Bock; vice presidents, William Benson, Walter Newman, C. C. Simmendinger, A. D. Norman; secretary-treasurer, James M. O'Connor, 309 Broadway, New York City.

First officers known—President, John C. Mackenzie; recording secretary, Fred F. Hauter; financial secretary, Joseph Keogn.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Pays strike or lockout benefit of $4 a week.

Present officers—President, T. V. O'Connor, 704 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.; secretary-treasurer, John J. Joyce, 702 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.; vice presidents, Anthony J. Chlopek, 16 So. Patterson Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.; M. J. Gahagan, 2015½ Avenue D, Galveston, Tex.; W. B. Jones, 408 Hodges Bldg., Detroit, Mich.; Thos. Harrison, 618 Philip St., New Orleans, La.; F. P. A. Vaccarelli, 1475 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Gordon J. Kelly, 4160 Arcade Bldg., Seattle, Wash.; John T. Joy, 59 Upper Water St., Halifax, N. S.; Charles Lindsay, 17 Gaynor Court, Detroit, Mich.; Thos. P. Woodland, 2908 Fourth St., New Orleans, La.; J. C. Bjorklund, 504 East 64th St., Tacoma, Wash.; Michael F. Keavy, 65 Monument St., Charlestown, Mass.; Spencer Johnson, P. O. Box 1236, Port Arthur, Tex.

First officers—President, Charles Kelly; secretary, J. G. McKay.

Machinists, International Association of—Pays a maximum of $200 death and $6 and $8 strike benefits. Locals control sick benefits.

Present officers—President, William H. Johnston; secretary-treasurer, E. C. Davison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.; assistant secretary-treasurer, R. S. Newham; executive board, Robert Fechner, H. J. Carr, William Hannon, Charles T. Nicholson, V. S. Gauthier.

First officers—Grand master machinists, T. W. Talbot; grand foreman, J. J. Creamer; financial secretary, W. L. Dawley.

Maintenance of Way Employes, United Brotherhood of—Benefits are paid by local lodges.

Present officers—Grand president, A. E. Barker, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.; grand secretary-treasurer, George Seal, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.; grand vice presidents, F. H. Fljozdal, Room 455 Temple Block, Minneapolis, Minn.; T. H. Gerrey, 408 A. F. of of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.; O. Folland, Room 706, 417 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.; W. V. Turnbull, 240 King St., West, St. John, N. B.; C. R. Patten, R. F. D. A., Box 329, Jacksonville, Fla; E. F. Grable, 19 Buckminster St., Boston, Mass.; D. Stroud, Monroe, La.; executive board, Wm. Dorey, chairman, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.; L. I. Kennedy, secretary, 1303 Lancaster Ave., Wilmington, Del.; C. E. Crook, 4126 Colfax Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn.; G. H. Flynt, 408 Gorrell St., Greensboro, N. C.; W. Robson, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.; trustees, Wm. Dorsey, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.; Leo. I. Kennedy, 1303 Lancaster Ave., Wilmington, Del.; G. H. Flynt, 408 Gorrell St., Greensboro, N. C.; editor and manager of Advance Guide, F. Finnson, 27 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of.

Present officer—President, S. C. Hogan, 446 E. 149th St., New York City.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America—Death benefits paid by many locals.

Present officers — President, John H. Pruett; vice presidents, W. T. Daniels, War-

ren N. Phinney, Charles S. Love, Frederick C. Boyer, George E. Coffee, John C. Strain, George W. Keeney; treasurer, A. B. Devlin; secretary, M. D. Tenniswood, 308 Vine St., Camden, N. J.; trustees, R. S. Lavender, Ulster Davis, David W. Pratt.

First officers—President, Frank H. Ward; secretary, Benj. F. Perkins; treasurer, William J. Hutton.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Amalgamated—Pays death benefits of $50 to $100. Many locals paid dues and benefits to members in military service.

Present officers—President, John F. Hart; vice presidents, Fred Schmidt, Phil Guest, Joseph Minhart, John Kennedy, A. J. Pike, Joseph Hofmann, T. A. McCreath; secretary-treasurer, Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago.

First officers—President, John F. Hart; secretary-treasurer, Homer D. Call.

Metal Workers' Amalgamated Sheet.

Present officers — President, John J. Hynes; vice presidents, Thomas Redding, J. J. O'Brien, W. S. Howell, Fred Gundlash, Otto E. Hoard, David J. Kiniry, Daniel J. White, William M. O'Brien, A. J. Crawford, James Petterson; secretary-treasurer, John E. Bray, 122 South Ashland Ave., Chicago.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union—Pays strike, death and sick benefits and out of work in case of a lockout to discriminate against members.

Present officers—President, Charles H. Moyer; vice president, J. B. Rankin; secretary-treasurer, Ernest Mills, Denham Bldg., Denver, Colo.; executive board, William Davidson, Guy E. Miller, William A. Burns, Alfred Bordsen.

First officers—President, John Gilligan; vice president, D. D. Goode; temporary secretary, T. M. Malouin; secretary-treasurer, W. J. Weeks; executive board, James Millet, Anthony Matthews, Patrick Gallagher, John McLeod.

Mine Workers of America, United—Local union controls the beneficial features, but the international pays strike benefits in unorganized fields. Members in war service exempt from dues and assessments and are entitled to benefits.

Present officers — President, Frank J. Hayes; vice president, John L. Lewis; secretary-treasurer, William Green; executive board, District No. 1, Thomas Davis; No. 2, William Donaldson; No. 5, John O'Leary; No. 6, A. R. Watkins; No. 7, N. J. Ferry; No. 8, Lawrence Bramlet; No. 9, John J. Mates; No. 10, Sam Caddy; No. 11, W. D. Vanhorn; No. 12, Johnh Zimmerman; No. 13, Samuel Ballentine; No. 14, G. L. Peck; No. 15, Luke Brennan; No. 17, B. C. Scott; No. 18, Robert Livett; No. 21, William Dalrymple; No. 22, Hugh McLeod; No. 23, George Baker; No. 24, John Crutchfield; No. 25, Andrew Steele; No. 27, Adam Wilkinson; No. 29, Lawrence Dwyer. Headquarters, Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis.

First officers—President, John B. Rae; secretary, Robert Watchorn; executive board, Patrick McBryde, William Scaife, R. F. Warren, John Kane, W. C. Webb.

Molders' Union of America, International—Pays $7.60 per week sick, $9.60 strike, and $100 to $200 death benefits. Special fund to protect members in war service.

Present officers—President, Joseph F. Valentine; vice presidents, Michael J. Keough, John R. O'Leary, Lawrence O'Keefe, John H. Barnett, Nick Smith, Charles W. Wilkerson, James Brown; secretary, Victor Kluber, 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati; treasurer, John Gill; editor Journal, John P. Frey, P. O. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.

First officers—President, William C. Rea, secretaries, Norman Van Alstine and Samuel Wilson.

Musicians, American Federation of—International benefits are prohibited by the constitution, each local taking care of its members in its own way. Members in war service exempt from dues.

Present officers—President, Joseph N Weber; vice president, William J. Kerngood; secretary, William Kerngood, 3535 Pine St., St. Louis; treasurer, Otto Ostendorf; executive committee, C. A. Weaver, A. C. Hayden, Frank Borgel, H. E. Brenton, D. A. Carey.

First officers—President, Owen Miller; secretary, Jacob Schmalz; treasurer, John J. Meurer; vice presidents, I. J. Masten, William Koch, Christian Ahbe, F. H. Wade.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, International Association of—Referendum being taken on establishing sick, accident or death benefits.

Present officers—President, R. E. Evans; secretary-treasurer, H. L. Hope; vice presidents, John Sheehan, H. A. Hill; editor International Oil Worker, George Fisher.

First officers—President, G. G. Jacobs, secretary-treasurer, T. L. Colebourne; recording secretary, R. C. Walter.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Pays graduated death and disability benefits from $25 to $300; wife's death benefit, $25 to $50. Members in war service entitled to all benefits.

President, George F. Hedrick, Lafayette, Ind.; vice presidents, John M. Finan, Joseph F. Kelley, Charles E. Cullen, Joseph F Clarke, Clarence E. Swick, A. E. Scott; secretary-treasurer, J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.

First officers—President, Joseph Harrold, Newark, N. J.; secretary, John T. Elliott, Baltimore; treasurer, John Watson, Baltimore; vice presidents, John A. Rese, Danbury, Conn.; George Harris, Toronto, Ont.; executive board, A. W. Young, H. C. Frisch, Jesse Marsden, George W. Jones, William E. Laing, all of Baltimore.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood—Pays death benefits. Members in war exempt from dues and entitled to benefits.

Present officers—President and secretary, J. T. Carey, 25 South Hawk St., Albany, N Y.; vice presidents, George J. Schneider, M H. Parker, William B. Clements, James Lockwood; treasurer, D. McDonald.

First officers—President, George Mackey; secretary, Phil Ackerman; treasurer, William Godsoc.

Patternmakers' League of North America—Pays strike benefits of $8.50 per week, $4 a week sick, $50 to $400 death and $25 to $150 for tool insurance. Members in war service kept in good standing and entitled to benefits.

Present officers—President, James Wilson, 1007 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati; executive board, J. L. Gernon,

chairman, 411 Albemarle road, Brooklyn, N. Y.; J. S. Forrest, L. R. Thomas, John Watt, F. G. Dyer.

First officers—President, T. J. Gonnell; secretary, William J. Johnson; vice presidents, Ed. C. Colson, P. F. Duchemin; executive board, Harry O'Neill, Louis H. Kirberg, James K. Duvall.

Pavers, Rammersmen, Asphalt Workers, Mastic Asphalt Workers, Asphalt Block Pavers, Flaggers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Pays strike and death benefits.

Present officers—President, T. M. Doherty; vice presidents, Thomas O'Reilly, Charles Martin, Edward Koster, John J. Smith, Patrick J. Garrity, Thomas Hurley; treasurer, T. J. Connaughton; general secretary, Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. 57th St., New York City.

First officers—President, Patrick Dillon; vice presidents, Michael Engelhart, John E. Pritchard, Christopher Coffey, Francis Murray, David Drohan, Carl E. Deeg.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States—Benefits by voluntary contributions.

Present officers—Secretary, Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.; board of directors, John Whittington, Orlando Fortunato, R. E. Williams, Sam Dimmock, Angus Sinclair, James Lawrence.

First officers—President, Joseph Patterson; vice president, William Jardin; secretary.

Piano, Organ and Musical Instrument Workers' International Union—Pays sick, death, out-of-work, strike and victimization benefits.

Present officers—President, Charles Dold, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago; vice presidents, Jacob Fischer, William Drever, W. A. F. Scanlon, Frank Helle, M. B. Kalsch, John A. Ehni, Theo. Schlicht, Maurice Arneson, Henry Dunteman.

First officers—President, Frank Helle; secretary, R. W. Erickson; vice presidents, J. F. Schwerin, Albert Schaubel, Edward F. Held, Aug. Anderson, Tony Guitar, F. W. Zuchorvsky; general organizer, Charles Dold.

Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Pays strike and lockout benefits of $5 a week; death benefits of $100 to $200. International paid all death benefits of members who died in war and locals kept them in good standing.

Present officers—President, Edward J. McGivern, Boston, Mass.; vice president, Peter G. Cook, 36 Union Road, Roselle Park, N. J.; secretary-treasurer, T. A. Scully, residence, 442 E. Second St., Middletown, Ohio; office, 306-307-308 Castell Bldg., Middletown, Ohio, Postoffice Box 228; general organizer, Wm. A. O'Keefe, 4031 Scanlon Place, St. Louis, Missouri; editor, Joseph McIlveen, Room 22, Jackson Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.; vice presidents, Wm. J. Hamilton, 307 Salem Ave., Toronto, Canada; Philip E. Hoering, 1911 Summerdale Ave., C. M. Anderson, 1259 W. 71st St., Chicago; James B. Allen, 530 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn; James S. Haves, 274 Charlotte Ave., Detroit; Chas. A. Gunther, 3033 Octavia St., San Francisco; Thomas George, 1321 Russel Road, Cleveland; Jos. J. McDermott, 832 S. Harvey Ave., Oak Park, Ill.; Chas. Smith, 18 Todd Place N. E., Washington; Mike Reilly, 2209 Pennsylvania Ave., Dallas; Robt. P. Duncan, R. F. D. 4, Box 116, Seattle.

First officers—President, Michael J. Mulvihill, Cincinnati; secretary, J. J. Kennedy, Cleveland.

Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—Pays strike, sick and death benefits.

Present officers—President, John R. Alpine; secretary-treasurer, Thomas E. Burke, Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.; general organizers, Edw. W. Leonard, Frank J. Kennedy, William Lynn, James G. Higgins, Thos. B. Clark, James H. Sheehe, J. W. Bruce, Chas. Dickson, Michael F. Garrett; vice presidents, John Coefield, J. P. Vallila, Chas. Grace, Frank Manning, James J. McKee, Louis Guerard, James Bulger, Martin Conroy, M. J. Scanlon, Thos. P. O'Rourke, E. W. Shirk, J. H. Roberts, Fred. Deigan, Jos. Sullivan.

First officers—President, P. J. Quinlan, Boston; secretary-treasurer, Richard A. O'Brien.

Polishers, Metal, International Union of North America—Pays graduated death benefit up to $200 for six years' continuous membership, and out-of-work and strike benefits; 60 per cent of locals pay sick benefit.

Present officers—President, W. W. Britton; secretary, Charles R. Atherton, Neave Bldg., Cincinnati.

Postal Employes, National Federation of—Pays sick benefits of $7 per week for 13 weeks; local unions also have sick benefit features.

Present officers—President, Gilbert E. Hyatt; vice presidents, John J. Welsh, J. S. McGee, J. M. Ripley, Walter C. Hancock, Patrick E. Higgins; secretary-treasurer, Thomas F. Flaherty, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

First officers—President, Edward B. Goltra; vice president, John J. Fields; secretary, George F. Pfeiffer; treasurer, John F. House; national organizer, H. J. Cavenay; sergeant-at-arms, H. H. Don.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Free sanitarium treatment for members afflicted with tuberculosis, $200 death insurance and $10 per week strike benefits. Benefits extended without cost to enlisted men.

Present officers—President, Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio; secretary-treasurer, John T. Wood, same address; vice presidents, F. H. Hutchins, George Chadwick, Louis Driber, S. M. Moore, George H. Cartridge, T. M. Woods, John Shingler.

First officers—President, Harry Laydon; vice president, A. S. Hughes; secretary, Charles Dargue; executive council, James Jameson, John Hunter, Samuel Hanlon, Alphonsus Kenney.

Powder and High Explosive Workers, United.

Present officers—President, Paul Bennett; vice president, Louis McConnell; secretary-treasurer, H. A. Ellis, Columbia, Kan.; executive board members, G. R. Chapman, George Barber.

Print Cutters' Association of America, International—Pays funeral, strike and out-of-work benefits.

Present officers—President, Ralph T. Holman; treasurer, Rudolph Heinl; secretary, William H. Parr, 2684 Briggs Ave., Bronx, New York City.

First officers—President, William Hopper; secretary, E. J. Dix; treasurer, Thomas Eastwood; vice president, William Perfetty;

guide, William Dey; guardian, R. H. Scheller.

Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, International Association of Machine—Funeral benefits up to $200.

Present officers—President, Matthew McGivney; vice president, C. S. Schaab; secretary, William McInerney, 845 Niagara St., Buffalo; treasurer, P. H. Kelly.

First officers—President, Washny Cucknell; vice president, P. E. Lyons; secretary, C. E. Casey; treasurer, Frank Merritt.

Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate—Strike benefits paid. Locals pay sick and death benefits.

Present officers—President, Joseph S. Leach; vice president, William J. Fagan; secretary-treasurer, James E. Goodyear, 1630 W. Louden St., Philadelphia; organizer, William E. Fisk.

First officers—President, William Johnsoon; vice president, Robert J. Jones, New York; secretary-treasurer, John R. Jones; organizer, John Hayden.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—Pays death, strike, lockout and old age pensions.

Present officers—President, George L. Berry; vice presidents, John M. Brophy, William H. McHugh, S. B. Marks; secretary-treasurer, Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.

First officers—President, Thomas F. Mahoney; vice presidents, John W. Williams, Charles F. Taylor; secretary-treasurer, T. J. Hawkins.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, International Brotherhood of.

Present officers—President-secretary, John P. Burke, Fort Edward, N. Y.; vice presidents, H. W. Sullivan, John Connelly, H. W. Moores, Maurice La Belle, Joseph Tylkoff; treasurer, Michael Daley; auditor, George C. Brooks.

First officers—President-secretary, James J. Fitzgerald; vice presidents, E. W. Hayward, John T. Mackin, J. J. Hourihan; treasurer, John H. Malin.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Pays funeral, strike and old-age exemption benefits. Members in war service exempt from dues.

Present officers—President, George Lawson, Websterville, Vt.; secretary-treasurer, Fred W. Suitor, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.

First officers—President George Thompson; secretary, Fred W. Suitor.

Railway Mail Association—Pays benefits for disability or death from accidents.

Present officers—President, E. J. Ryan Washington, D. C.; vice president, C. M. Harvey, St. Paul; secretary-treasurer, R. E. Ross, 604 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.; industrial secretary, W. M. Collins.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers, International Brotherhood of—Pays death benefits.

Present officers—President, Jeremiah T. Hurley; vice presidents, John Fulton, Henry Lauds, George E. Thomas, James McHale, H. B. Cameron, Walter F. Brind; secretary-treasurer, William F. Haggerty, 112 E. 5th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

First officers—P. F. Garvey; vice presidents, Fred Gusman, Daniel Spellman, H. E. Marsh, G. Flanigan, H. C. Hundau; secretary-treasurer, Henry Lauds.

Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile—Pays $100 burial benefit. Members in war exempt from dues and entitled to benefits.

Present officers—President, James Cullen; vice presidents, George M. Lauerman, J. H. Heuyett, H. S. Stewart, Samuel Specht, Henry Huberty, Joseph McLevy; secretary-treasurer, J. M. Gavlak, 3643 W 47th St., Cleveland.

First officers—President, William N. Clark; vice presidents, P. J. Mulvehill, William C. Cornish, John T. Adam, Jasper McLevy, Thomas Fisher, W. T. Hughes; secretary-treasurer, H. J. Harms.

Sawsmiths' National Union.

Present officer—Secretary-treasurer, Ernest H. Borman, 1737 South Delaware St., Indianapolis.

Seamen's International Union of America—District unions making up the international date back to 1863, 1878, 1883, 1885, 1888. In case of sickness members are exempt from dues. Pays for hospital supplies, and sick, shipwreck and accident benefits and burial expenses.

Present officers—President, Andrew Furuseth, 59 Clay St., San Francisco; vice presidents, Patrick Flynn, 58 Commercial St., San Francisco; Victor A. Olander, 324 W. Randolph St., Chicago; Thomas Conway, 71 Main St., Buffalo; H. P. Griffin, 12 South St., New York City; P. B. Gill, 84 Seneca St., Seattle; I. N. Hylen, 49 Clay St., San Francisco; Percy B. Pryor, 1½ Lewsis St., Boston; Eugene Steidle, 42 Market St., San Francisco; William H. Brown, 202 Atlantic Ave., Boston; Oscar Carlson, 40 Burling Slip, New York; editor Coast Seamen's Journal, Paul Scharenberg; secretary-treasurer, T. A. Hanson, 324 W. Randolph St., Chicago.

First officers—President, Charles Hagen, New Orleans; vice president, Frank Waterhouse, San Francisco; chairman legislative committee, Andrew Furuseth; secretary-treasurer, Thomas J. Elderkin.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Railroad.

Present officers—Grand chief signalman, D. W. Helt, 533 S. Market St., Shamokin, Pa.; vice grand chief, 1535 West Chester Ave., New York City; grand secretary-treasurer, T. A. Austin, North Kingsville, Ohio.

First officers—Grand chief signalman, D. W. Helt; secretary, I. A. Austin; grand vice chief, D. Clinton Cone; trustees, W. L. Ross, H. G. Baker, C. A. Drinkwater.

Spinners' Union, International—Pays strike benefits; local unions pay death and out-of-work benefits.

Present officers—President, George Thornton; vice president, Samuel Ross; secretary, Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman St., Holyoke, Mass.; treasurer, Frank Riley; executive board, James Reynolds, John Longsden, Joseph Ashton, William Lee, William Parlow, Jacob Ashworth, George T. Lord, Frank Moral.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, Theatrical.

Present officers—President, Charles C. Shay; secretary-treasurer, F. G. Lemaster, 107 W. 46th St., New York City; assistant president, L. G. Dolliver; manager of organizing and claim department, James Lemke; vice presidents, William F. Canavan, Rich-

ard Green, Steven B. Newman, Benjamin Harrison, William Covert.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, International—Funeral benefits.

Present officers—President, James J. Freel, 1839 85th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; vice president, James P. Fitzsimmons, 3300 Bryan St., Fruitvale, Cal.; executive board, Thomas V. Casey, 919 Eagle Ave., New York City; Lewis M. Odell, 12620 Woodside Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; secretary-treasurer, Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.

First officers—President, James J. Freel; vice president, A. Thomas Campbell, Washington, D. C.; secretary-treasurer, George W. Williams, Boston, Mass.

Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen—Locals control beneficial features.

Present officers—President, Sam Griggs; secretary, Joseph Blasey, American Life Bldg., Indianapolis; vice president; Arthur C. Doherty; executive board, Johnh Frey, William J. Hagan, M. W. Shanahan, John Rankin, Octave Jette, Albert Gosselin, T. A. Wood.

First officers—President, John T. Hunt; secretary, Thomas Ward; executive board, Daniel McHugh, Henry Curtis, Cornelius Ragen, Emory Brennan, P. J. Sullivan.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Pays death benefit of $100. Members in war service exempt from dues and death benefits are paid.

Present officers—President, W. L. Funderburk, 1210 Jefferson Ave. E., Detroit; vice presidents, Charles Spilker, R. T. Parke, John Brog, John Asplan; secretary-treasurer, Frank Grimshaw, 1210 Grimshaw Ave. E., Detroit.

First officers—President, H. P. Oberling; secretary, James McGinn; vice president, T. J. Barden; treasurer, Harry Moser.

Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of—Pays disability and funeral benefits of $100 to $800 according to duration of membership; old-age benefits of $800 after twenty years continuous membership and over 65 years of age, and $5 a week strike benefits. Sick benefits controlled by local unions.

Present officers—President, W. D. Mahon, 104 E. High St., Detroit; vice presidents, William B. Fitzgerald, 104 E. High St., Detroit; P. J. O'Brien, 66 Everett St., Springfield, Mass.; William S. McClenathan, 332 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago; Ben F. Bowbeer, 1405 First Ave., Oakland, Cal.; Joseph Gibbons, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ont.; Fred A. Hoover, 2409 Clark drive, Vancouver; George A. Dean, 1415 E. Oak St., Stockton, Cal.; P. J. McGrath, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh; Frank O'Shea, Niagara Falls; Thomas F. Shine, Malden, Mass.; executive board, R. L. Reeves, 104 High St., Detroit; Edward McMorrow, Chicago; Magnus Sinclair, P. J. Shea, Joseph C. Colgan, J. H. Reardon, A. H. Burt, William F. Welch, J. B. Lawson; international treasurer, L. D. Bland, Chicago.

First officers—President, William J. Law, Detroit; secretary, J. C. Manuel, Detroit; vice presidents, F. H. Terry, Tacoma; Merrill S. Hall, New Orleans; E. W. De Will, Youngstown, Ohio; M. J. Carroll, Wheeling; Henry Burghdurf, Topeka; trustees, Eli Ingraham, Indianapolis; executive officers authorized to select other trustees.

Switchmen's Union of America—Pays $375, $750 and $1,500 disability and death benefits. Benefits extended to members in war service.

Present officers—President, S. E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo; assistant president, James B. Connors; secretary-treasurer, M. R. Welch; Journal editor, W. H. Thomson; board of directors, T. G. Meaney, A. D. Manley, T. C. Cashen, H. B. Burton, M. S. Meehan; vice presidents, W. A. Titus, T. Clohessy, F. J. Sheehan, F. C. Janes, W. H. Burt.

First officers—President, D. D. Sweeney; vice president, M. R. Conlin; secretary, John Doherty; directors, M. R. Welch, H. C. Nelson, F. D. Wartinbee.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Pays strike benefit of $6 a week, sick benefit of $5 for ten weeks in a year, and death benefit of $100.

Present officers—Secretary, Thomas Sweeney, E. 67th and Stony Island Ave., Chicago; assistant secretary, William Reznicek; treasurer, C. B. Robel.

Officers in 1887—President, Charles H. Sharpe; vice president, Fred Jensen; secretary, Joseph Wilkinson.

Teachers, American Federation of.

Present officers—President, Charles B Stillman, 1620 Lake Ave., Wilmette, Ill.; secretary, C. C. Willard; financial secretary and treasurer, F. G. Stecker; executive board, Charles B. Stillman, W. T. McCoy, C. C. Willard, F. G. Stecker, F. W. Plapp, C. E. Linebarger, A. M. Otwell, J. A. Meade, Andrew Nichols, F. W. Schaght.

First officers—President, C. B. Stillman; recording secretary, Mary T. Dwyer; vice president, Ida M. Fursman; corresponding secretary, Margaret Snodgrass; financial secretary, E. G. Stecker; treasurer, James A. Meade; trustees, Hedwig Hochbaum, Ida Halpin, Margaret Haley.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Strike or lockout benefits, $5 a week.

Present officers—President, Daniel J. Tobin; general secretary-treasurer, Thomas L. Hughes; vice presidents, Michael J. Cashal, Michael Casey, George W. King, George F. Golden, John Geary, Harry Jennings, D. J. Murphy. Headquarters, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis.

First officers—President, C. P. Shea; secretary-treasurer, E. L. Turley; corresponding secretary, William Rowbotham; vice presidents, Edward Gould, M. Dwyer, J. P. Fitzpatrick, Sam Johnson, H. R. Sullivan, Charles Robb, J. H. Warner.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—Pays strike and death benefits and pensions.

Present officers—President, H. B. Perham, St. Louis; vice presidents, W. T. Brown, G. D. Robertson, T. M. Pierson, J. J. Dermody E. J. Manion; secretary-treasurer, C. P. Rawlins, St. Louis.

First officers—President, A. H. Thurston; secretary, S. O. Fox; grand senior telegrapher, H. M. Carr; grand junior telegrapher, S. F. McGuire; inside sentinel, F. T. Rocho; outside sentinel, H. I. Mills.

Telegraphers' Union of America, Commercial—Death benefits are paid and for strikes but not a specified amount.

Present officers—President, Sylvester J. Konenkamp, Transportation Bldg., Chicago; secretary-treasurer, James M. Campbell; vice

presidents, L. I. Marshall, K. M. Whitten; executive board, Charles E. Hill, David K. Stevenson, Joseph F. Mallon, Archie Hainey, Robert F. Wise, H. C. Thomas, Edward J. Young.

First officers—President, Will C. Long; vice president, Elmer Lingquist; secretary-treasurer, Wilbur Eastlake; executive board, Daniel L. Russell, Michael J. Reidy, C. K. Oralle, W. F. Craig, Jr., A. E. Bates, A. A. Davis, H. J. Wiegel.

Textile Workers of America, United—Pays $4 a week strike and $50 death benefits. Members in war service protected in full membership.

Present officers—President, John Golden; secretary-treasurer, Sara A. Conboy, 86 Bible House, New York City; vice presidents, Jesse Walker, Frank McKosky.

First officers—President, James Tansey; secretary, Albert Hibbert; treasurer, James Whitehead; vice presidents, S. J. Thompson, M. J. Connors.

Timber Workers, International Union of—Pays strike benefits.

Present officers—President, Claid Covert; vice presidents, J. S. McDonald, A. T. Pickering, A. M. Jones, R. R. Canterbery, C. T. Hurlbert; secretary-treasurer, John M. Norland, 207 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Wash. president District No. 2, Charles A. Peterson; president No. 3, R. C. Durie.

Tobacco Workers' Union of America, National—Pays $3 a week sick, $3 strike and $50 death benefits.

Present officers—President, A. McAndrew; secretary-treasurer, E. Lewis Evans, Iroquois Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.

First officers—President, Henry Trescher; secretary, E. Lewis Evans; vice presidents, Harry R. Jackson, John White, Mamie O'Keefe.

Transferrers' Association of America, International Steel Plate.

Present officers—President, Benj. Goldsworthy, Washington; vice presidents, Fred Daubney, Joseph L. Heffern; treasurer, Robert Nicholl; secretary, J. A. MacCaskie, 65 N. 11th St., Newark, N. J.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Present officers—President, T. J. Curtis, 206 E. 128th St., New York City; secretary-treasurer, Tito Pacelli, 206 128th St., New York City.

Typographical Union, International—Pays old-age pension, mortuary and strike benefits and members are cared for in the Printers' Home. Those in war service are protected and the mortuary benefit paid.

Present officers—President, Marsden Scott; vice presidents Walter W. Barrett, Hugo Miller, Charles N. Smith; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Hays. Headquarters, Newton Claypool Bldg., Indianapolis.

First officers—President, M. C. Brown; corresponding secretary, W. A. Baker; recording secretary, George B. Seig; treasurer, J. S. Nafew; vice presidents, S. W. Wilder, E. A. Lewis.

Upholsterers and Trimmers' International Union of North America—Pays $7 a week strike benefits.

Present officers—President, James H. Hatch, 182 East 80th St., New York City treasurer, William Soeker, 1910 Montgomery St., St. Louis, Mo.

Weavers, Amalgamated Association, Elastic Goring—Pays strike, out-of-work and death benefits. Members in war exempt from dues.

Present officers—President, George H. Flowers; secretary, Joseph Hurley, 19 W. Ashland Ave., Brockton, Mass.; these officers and Harry Moore form executive committee.

Weavers' Protective Association, American—Locals control benefits.

Present officers—President, John F. Curley, Holyoke, Mass.; secretary, Charles C. Bradley, Brooklyn, N. Y.; vice president, John H. Hart, Cleveland, Ohio.; sergeant-at-arms, Carl Moeser; auditors, Thomas Routledge, Patrick Waters.

White Rats Actors' Union of America and Associated Actresses of America.

Present officers—Present, James William Fitzpatrick; vice president, Edward Clarke; international executive and secretary-treasurer, Harry Montford, 207 E. 54th St., New York City.

RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS

The four brotherhoods of railroad employes have more than 400,000 members. During the past four years they have established the eight hour day and time and a half for overtime. This was accomplished by trade union activity and in a remarkable campaign. A brief history of the organizations is presented:

Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive—The Brotherhood of the Foot Board was organized in May, 1863. A year later at the convention held in Indianapolis the name was changed to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. The organization now has 82,000 members. The beneficial features of the Brotherhood have been a principal feature of its work. Since its inception it has paid out $38,532,054.67 in insurance. It has also given in donations to the widows and orphans of members, $3,700,000; to indigent members, $904,831.21, and in pensions, $826,396.80. The Brotherhood has its headquarters in its own building in Cleveland. It is a skyscraper and one of the finest office buildings in that city, costing $1,250,000. The preamble to the constitution of the Brotherhood declares:

"The purpose of this organization shall be to combine the interests of locomotive engineers, elevate their social, moral and intellectual standing; to guard their financial interests, and promote their general welfare; its cardinal principles, sobriety, truth, justice and morality. The interests of the employer and employe being co-ordinate, the aim of the organization will be co-operation and the cultivation of amicable relations with the employer, and to guarantee the fulfillment of every contract made in its name by the use of every power vested in it. The true principles of the brotherhood of man are the fundamental principles of the order —'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you,' and so fulfill the law. And in harmony with this divine admonition the hand of fellowship is held out to the brother in health or in need, and sympathy and helpfulness are extended to the widow and orphan, and the opportunity given to every

brother to provide for the future of his family through the insurance department created for the purpose of protecting the welfare of all members and their dependents." Insurance is based on the cost, the rate being $18 per $1,000.

Officers of the Brotherhood—Grand chief engineer, W. S. Stone; assistant grand chief engineers, M. W. Cadle, H. E. Wills, F. A. Burgess, Ash Kennedy, E. Corrigan, L. G. Griffing, M. E. Montgomery, H. P. Daugherty, A. Johnston; secretary-treasurer, W. B. Prenter; assistant editor Journal, C. H. Salmons; grand assistant engineers, F. E. Wood, J. C. Currie; grand guide, G. W. Phillips; chaplain, G. R. Dority; Locomotive Engineers' Mutual Insurance Association, president, W. E. Futch; secretary-treasurer, J. E. Richards.

Conductors, Order of Railroad—The Order of Railroad Conductors has passed the half century mark. It was organized by a small group of Illinois Central conductors at Amboy, Ill., in the spring of 1868 under the name of the "Conductors' Union." Closely following the formation of this union the conductors on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, at Galesburg, Ill., organized Division No. 2 of the Conductors' Union. In July of the same year the two divisions met at Mendota, Ill., and formed the Conductors' Brotherhood. Almost immediately divisions were formed at Aurora and Centralia, Ill. Opposition began to show itself from the railroad officials. The Burlington ordered its employes to sever their connection with the union. This resulted as such opposition always does. It stirrred the members to action and a call was issued to all conductors in the United States and Canada to send delegates to a convention to be held in Columbus, Ohio, December 15, 1868, for the purpose of organizing a Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors. The convention was successful. The constitution was revised and a benefit department established. January 1, 1879, the name was changed to the Order of Railroad Conductors. In 1890 the order became a protective organization and through regularly elected committees of adjustment took up the work of formulating agreements with railroad managements throughout its jurisdiction for wages and conditions of employment. Nearly $22,000,000 has been paid in benefits at a very low cost to holders of its certificates. A relief fund was established in 1901 by levying a small annual assessment. This is used in disbursing small monthly allowances to those members of the order who are permanently and totally disabled from performing any labor and whose disabilities are not covered by the requirements of the mutual benefit department. The aims and purposes of the order are to procure, by conservative business methods, a fair and reasonable compensation and condition of employment for its members, teach fidelity to duty and faithful adherence to the right, loyalty to each other, to the order, and to their employers; justice in conceding to everyone his just due; rectitude in all their dealings; just in conduct and life, and charity for fellowman and brother.

Officers—President, A. B. Garretson, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; senior vice president, L. E. Sheppard, Cedar Rapids; secretary-treasurer, C. E. Whitney, Cedar Rapids; vice presidents, S. N. Berry, E. P. Curtis, W. M. Clark, T. A. Gregg, W. C. Turner, M. C. Carey; trustees, J. D. Condit, J. H. Mooney, A. Anderson; associate editor Railway Conductor, F. H. Pease; insurance committee, C. E. Bishop, H. S. Hopkins, M. J. Land.

Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of—Eleven firemen of the old Erie Road met at Fort Jervis, N. Y., December 1, 1873, and organized the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. Twelve lodges were represented. Each year afterward the new organization continued to grow in membership and influence. During the railroad strike of 1887 the Brotherhood suffered loss of membership. Many members were thrown out of employment and spies and secret agents of the railroad companies plied their insideous operations against the Brotherhood. Although as a result many lodges went out of existence, many faithful members stood shoulder to shoulder and kept the flag flying until the future brought relief. Previous to the organization of the Brotherhood there was an International Firemen's Union in existence which had scarcely any benefit features. In 1878 it was absorbed by the Brotherhood. In 1879 the financial condition of the Brotherhood was in a deplorable condition. The members had not yet realized money was necessary to make it successful. So bitter was the opposition of the railroad officials that it was decided to eliminate the protective features and a resolution was adopted against strikes. At the 1880 convention it was reported that the financial condition of the Brotherhood was worse than in the previous year. With a view of overcoming this trouble it was ordered that all assessments on death claims should be paid in thirty days, that the grand secretary-treasurer be placed under bond and three trustees should examine his books. These changes had much to do with the increasing improvements in the condition of the organization. For the purpose of meeting all indebtedness subscription blanks were sent to all lodges for donations. Reports made at the 1881 convention showed 2,998 members and total receipts for the year of $21,346.85. All obligations had been met, and the Brotherhood found itself for the first time free of debt. From this time on the organization continued to increase in membership and its financial condition was satisfactory. In 1885 it again changed its policy and became a protective union. Notice was sent to all other unions that the "Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen would thereafter be counted with organizations of labor that were willing to fight for justice if necessary." The grand masters up to this time had been merely "figureheads" whose sole duty was to preside at conventions. One of the most trying ordeals of the Brotherhood was the Burlington strike. It began February 27, 1888, and was not called off until January 7, 1889. Notwithstanding the strike was not won and regardless of the great financial cost, the upbuilding of the order proceeded thereafter with greater strides than ever before in its history. "Enginemen" was added to the title in 1906. In 1908 the titles of the officers were changed from "grand master," etc., to "president," etc.

Officers of the Brotherhood are—President, William S. Carter; acting president, Timothy Shea; vice presidents, Albert Phillips, C. V. McLaughlin, P. J. McNamara, George K. Wark, D. B. Robertson, Arthur J. Lovell,

S. A. Boone. The headquarters are in Cleveland.

Trainmen, Brotherhood of Railroad—The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is the largest organization representing railroad employes in this country, having an approximate membership of 186,000. September 23, 1883, a few employes of the Delaware and Hudson at Oneonta, N. Y., organized the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakmen. At the time of the organization there was no thought of having it anything other than a mutual benefit association to provide for the necessities of the killed and injured at Oneonta. Until almost two years after the organization of the Brotherhood there was no protective organization among the employes in the train and yard service. The conductors had an organization which was not protective and of little actual benefit to the men in that class of service except as an insurance association. It did not declare itself a protective organization until its 1885 convention, held at Burlington, Iowa, at which time it took its position along with the other organizations of labor that declared for the adoption of the strike as the court of last resort. The sacrifices made in the beginning, which included the blacklist, separation from family and home as a penalty for attempting to organize the brakemen and yardmen, have been forgotten even by those who carried the banner of the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen over unbroken trails, hampered by obstacles that cannot be imagined now. They are all a part of the forgotten history of the Brotherhood. The hundreds of thousands of dollars paid to the widow and the orphan and the disabled member are a part of its history appreciated only by those who have directly benefited. The work of its committees through the years has slowly but surely brought about better service and living conditions that cannot be appreciated other than by those who know the conditions of three decades ago. The advantages assured through remedial legislation have been brought into operation through the work of this Brotherhood, and, taken altogether, while uninteresting as to detail, they stand as a monument of the practical exemplification of actual brotherhood, working for the betterment of mankind, that will be more enduring than any structure of brass or marble. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, in every sense, is a protective, insurance, fraternal association. As such, it used its greatest endeavors to secure the best possible conditions of employment, which mean, briefly, everything that goes with the term. It provides death and total disability insurance for its members at little more than the actual cost of operation. The employment is regarded as extra hazardous by insurance companies, and their rates are usually too high to permit the employe to carry more than a nominal sum. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has done most effective work through its protective, educational and fraternal insurance departments. It has gained better wages, a shorter work day and improved working conditions. It encourages in them and their families an ambition for a healthy social life which is certain to develop into a demand for a higher standard of living, and which will always bring with it wages necessary to secure the desired ends and all of the attendant advantages. The protective feature of the organization is responsible for whatever has come to the service in the way of wages, hours, rights to promotion, protection as employes and whatever has followed as the result of general betterments in employment. Wage increases, decreased hours of service and other advantages secured cannot be well understood except by those who were in the service twenty-five years ago, and who appreciate what has been done.

The insurance department has paid out approximately $42,000,000 in death and disability claims. This, of itself, is a wonderful record of what insurance, properly managed and carefully directed, can accomplish within a very few years. It has taken up the work of securing protective legislation, and has its representatives at the state and national capitals. The Brotherhood believes that the interests of all the people should be scrupulously guarded by our lawmakers, and applies its theory as far as possible in having them protect those rights.

Officers of the Brotherhood—President, W. G. Lee, American Trust Building, Cleveland; vice presidents, Val Fitzpatrick, James Murdock, C. H. Sines, John Bannon, J. A. Farquharson, W. N. Doak, A. F. Whitney, C. W. Anderson; secretary-treasurer, A. E. King, American Trust Building, Cleveland; editor Railroad Trainman, D. L. Cease; board of trustees, W. Dougherty, G. H. Thomas, James Conley; executive board, J. W. Rhodes, chairman; R. J. Powers, T. E. Donovan, H. Walter, T. W. Donnelly; board of insurance, J. P. Ogden, W. L. Moorehead, J. Bryan, R. W. Cartmell, R. A. Edwards, R. McBirnie, T. J. Forbes.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech.

(Address at the Dedication of the National Cemetery, November 19, 1863.)

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. (An accurate version of the Gettysburg Address as revised by Mr. Lincoln and printed in "Autographs of Our Country's Authors," Baltimore, 1864.)

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SEVENTY-TWO delegates met at Laredo, Texas, November 13, 1918, and organized the Pan-American Federation of Labor. They represented the labor movements of the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Salvadore and Colombia. The movements of Cuba, Venezuela and Peru elected delegates, but they were unable to attend. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, represented President Wilson, who sent his greetings and sympathy for the objects of the gathering. The principles on which the Pan-American Federation of Labor is founded are:

"First. The establishment of better conditions for the working people who emigrate from one country to another.

"Second. The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the Pan-American republics.

"Third. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests and the welware of the peoples of the Pan-American republics.

"Fourth. To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivatting the most favorable and friendly relations between the labor movements and peoples of the Pan-American republics."

Officers elected:

Chairman—Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L.

English-speaking Secretary—John Murray, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee.

Spanish-speaking Secretary — Canuto A. Vargas, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union of Morenci, Arizona.

Treasurer—James Lord.

The headquarters of the Federation are in the A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C., and the first annual Congress will be held in New York City, July 7, 1919.

Among other declarations and actions of the Conference are: Declared for a league of free peoples to secure justice and peace between nations; no political or economic restrictions to benefit some nations and cripple others; recognition of the rights of small nations to dispose of themselves; that the labor power of a human being is not a commodity; that industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime; free association, speech, assemblage, and press shall not be abridged; seamen shall be guaranteed the right to quit their jobs when the ship reaches port; abolition of child labor; eight-hour basic work day; trial by jury; establishing an agency in New York City to educate the workers who come from Pan-American countries in the principles of trade unionism and the benefits of labor organization; providing for a joint committee made up of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor to investigate alleged abuse of the rights of Mexican workers by border authorities and discrimination against Mexican workers by trade unions in the United States; authorizing the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to exert its influence so that "justice and protection be imparted to those workingmen who for various reasons are deprived of their liberty in the jails of the United States."

It was the unanimous opinion of the Conference that an intelligently organized national labor movement in each of the Pan-American countries to deal with national questions affecting the workers and the unions of the national labor movements in a Pan-American Federation of Labor would be the greatest opportunity and guaranty for a democracy that will protect the workers and insure their betterment. Following are the delegates and the organizations they represented:

UNITED STATES.

American Federation of Labor—Samuel Gompers, president; James Duncan, first vice president; John R. Alpine, third vice president; Frank Duffy, fourth vice president; William Green, fifth vice president; W. D. Mahon, sixth vice president; T. A. Rickert, seventh vice president; Jacob Fischer, eighth vice president; Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer; Frank Morrison, secretary.

Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee—John Murray, secretary.

Mining Department, A. F. of L.—James Lord, president.

Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.—John Donlin, president.

Union Labor Trades Department, A. F. of L.—John Manning.

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths—G. C. Van Darnes.

International Union Steam and Operating Engineers—Arthur M. Huddell, Milton Snellings, Herman M. Comerford.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America—James P. Noonan.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen—W. M. Walsh.

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—Charles H. Moyer, president; H. S. McCluskey, Pascual M. Vargas.

International Union of Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America—Joseph Proebstle, A. J. Kugler.

Free Federation of Workers of Porto Rico—Santiago Iglesias, president.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—C. A. Vargas.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Edward Cunningham, George H. Slater, Earl Ferguson.

San Antonio Trades Council, San Antonio, Texas—William L. Hoefgen, F. D. Guardo, Wayne Bohanan, Frank Hopkins, John W. Ellett.

Metal Trades Craft, Kansas City, Mo.—J. Brennan.

Mine Mill and Smelter Workers' Union No. 80, Morenci, Arizona—J. Ignacio Garcia.

Union No. 84, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, Metcalf, Arizona—Luis E. Soto.

Clifton Mill and Smelter Workers' Union No. 86, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, Clifton, Arizona—Guillermo Quiroz.

Dallas Central Labor Council and Local No. 28 United Leather Workers' International Union, Dallas, Texas—George Montijo.

Local Union No. 2538, United Mine Workers of America, Thurber, Texas—John Hobbs, W. E. Crew, Earl Ferguson.

Building Trades Council, San Antonio, Texas—E. M. Nagel.

Carpenters' Local Union No. 14, San Antonio, Texas—Charles Morgan.

Mexican Printers' Mutual Society, San Antonio, Texas—Jose Reyes Estrada.

UNITED STATES OF MEXICO.

Mexican Federation of Labor, Central Committee—Luis N. Morones, secretary general; Ricardo Trevino, J. M. Tristan, secretaries of the exterior; Salustio Hernandez.

Federation of Sindicates, San Luis, Potosi—Valentin Narvaez.

Union Workers of Various Trades, Pachuca, Hidalgo—Wenceslao Espinosa.

La Esmeralda Workers' Union, Ramos Arizpe, Coahuila, and Grand Union of Industrial Workers of the World, Torreon, Coahuila—Cayetano Perez Ruiz.

Federation of Workers' Sindicates of the Federal District—Joseph Lopez Cortes.

House of the World's Workers, Mexico City—Reinaldo Cervantes Torres.

Sindicate of Textile Workers, Satillo, Coahuila—C. J. Marcos Torres.

Mexico Miners' Union, La Rosita, Coahuila—Francisco A. Moreno, president of the central committee.

Union of Mexican Machinists, Aguascalientes—Antonio Valdez.

Sindicate of Farm Laborers, San Miguel, Coahuila—Manuel E. Rodriguez.

Sindicate of Electric Railway Workers, of Torreon, Coahuila and Gomez Palacio, Durango—Tiburcio F. Montoya.

Workers' Union of Zacatecas, Zacatecas—J. Guadalupe Iscobedo.

Railway Workers' Union, Mexico City—Severino Sazan.

Daily Newspaper Workers' Union, Mexico City—Ezeuiel Salcedo.

Linotypists' Union, Mexico City—Juan Rico.

Progressive Workers' Union of Santa Rosa, Vera Cruz and Orizaba—Albaro Meza.

House of the World's Workers, Mexico City—Rafael Quintero.

Free Union of Workers, Venado, San Luis Potosi—Valentin Narvaez.

GUATEMALA.

Workers' Federation of Guatemala—Ricardo de Leon.

COSTA RICA.

Workers' Federation of Costa Rica—Rafael Paris Escinar.

SALVADOR.

Workers' Confederation of San Salvador—Benjamin Huezo.

COLOMBIA.

Organized Workers of Colombia—Francisco Marin.

COOPERATION

HEREWITH is given a model constitution for a coöperative society, hints to members, the rules of debate, and how to start such an organization. They represent the best results obtained after years of experience by the Gillespie Coöperative Society of Illinois:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I—Name of Society: The Society shall be called the Gillespie Co-operative Society.

ARTICLE II—Object: The object of the Society is to raise by subscription of the members a fund for better enabling them to purchase food, fuel, clothing or other necessaries by carrying on in common the trade of general dealers, manufacturers and builders, and if requisite for any such purpose to purchase, hold, sell, mortgage, rent, lease or sub-lease lands of any tenure and to erect, pull down, repair, alter or otherwise deal with any building thereon.

ARTICLE III—Membership: The Society shall consist of the present members of the Gillespie Co-operative Society and of all other persons who may hereafter be admitted as members. Any person not under the age of 16 years, wishing to become a member of the Society shall hand in his name to the Society's place of business. The application shall be submitted to the directors at their first meeting thereafter, and if approved of he shall be admitted to membership and shall pay 25 cents for entry money and 25 cents for a copy of the Rules, both of which sums shall be carried to the reserve fund.

ARTICLE IV—Roll of Members: A list of the names and addresses of all members shall be kept at the office of the Society; no person shall be deemed a member until his name appears on the list and the Directors shall cause the names of all persons who, under these rules cease to be members, erased therefrom. It shall be the duty of each member to notify the Secretary within thirty days of any change of residence.

ARTICLE V—Capital; How Paid Up: The capital stock of this Society shall be lim-

ited to $25.00 per member, which shall be divided into 5 shares of $5.00 each, which shall be withdrawable but not transferable. Each member must hold 5 shares which may be paid in advance or by installments of $10.00, or the first 2 shares down and any sum of $1.00 or more, or by leaving his dividend to pay the balance of his shares, but must leace one-half his dividend until his 5 shares are paid up.

ARTICLE VI—Loans: The Society will accept loan capital to the amount of $500.00 from members either by deposit or by them leaving their dividends and interest lay, which sums shall be recordeu in the members' share book at the end of each quarter.

ARTICLE VII—Withdrawals: Any member may withdraw from the Society on giving notice in writng to the Board of Directors who shall cause to be paid to him the capital advanced by him, together with all arrears of interest or profit, if any, within 6 months from the date of such notice. Any member who has participated in the profits shall, upon withdrawal, forfeit a sum of $1.00, which shall be carried to the reserve fund. Members may withdraw according to the following scale of notice, given in writing: $10.00 on application; $25.00, two weeks' notice; $50.00, 1 month's notice; $75.00, 2 months' notice; $100.00, 3 months' notice; $200.00, 4 months' notice; $400.00, 5 months' notice; $500.00, 6 months' notice.

ARTICLE VIII—Lien on Capital: The Society shall have an absolute lien on the shares, loans, or deposits of any member for any debt due the Society by him and may set off any sum credited to the member thereon in or towards the payment of such debt.

ARTICLE IX—Repayment of Loans: Should the Directors have more cash on hand than they can profitably invest they shall have power in the first place to repay all loans contracted under Rule 7, and should they still have too much money they shall, with the consent of a general meeting, have power to reduce the number of shares held by members, the highest being first called in. Members may allow their surplus cash to remain in the funds of the Society after the time of notice has expired, but shall not receive interest thereon.

ARTICLE X—Interest: The interest on all moneys held by the Society shall be paid on the following scale: The first 2 shares held as working capital and non-interest bearing; the remaining 3 shares shall be paid interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum; loan capital paid interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum; all interest shall be calculated quarterly; no interest shall be calculated on or for any fraction of $1.00 or for moneys deposited for less than 12 weeks in any one quarter.

ARTICLE XI—Transmission of Interest and Deceased Member's Shares: The shares of deceased members shall be paid to the legal heirs; if any member of the Society dies, leaving a will, such interest shall be payable only to his executors or administrators.

ARTICLE XII—Management: The management of the Society shall be vested in a board of Directors consisting of a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer and nine members, who shall hold office for 9 months and be elected as follows; The President and Vice President and 3 Directors at the end of one quarter; the Secretary and 3 Directors at the end of the next quarter, and the Treasurer and 3 Directors at the end of the following quarter; but, if through resignation or otherwise, a vacancy should occur, the Directors may fill up the vacancy or vacancies until the first general meeting of the members. The Directors shall, subject to the provisions herein contained, have control of all business carried on by or on account of the Society. They shall have the appointing of all salesmen and other employes necessary for conducting the business of the Society and they shall assign to said employes such duties and salaries as they may think fit. No member of the Board shall be present during the discussion of or have a vote in respect to any matter in which he or any relatives is personally interested. The Directors shall, in all their actions, be under the control and direction of any quarterly or special meeting of the members. The Directors shall not make any alteration in building to the value of more than $100.00 without the sanction of a general meeting.

ARTICLE XIII—Duties of Directors: The Directors shall meet once a week, a majority to form a quorum; they shall in all cases act for and in the Society's name and all acts and orders under the powers delegated to them shall have the like force and effect as if they were acts and orders of a majority of the members of the Society at a general meeting thereof. They shall arrange themselves into sub-committees and each sub-committee shall superintend one or more of the different departments of business carried on by the Society, and shall lay before the Directors at their regular meeting a detailed statement of the business done in the departments during the past week. And at the end of every quarter, or oftener, if necessary, take along with the manager of each department, an inventory of all stock. Every question at any meeting of Directors shall be decided by a majority of votes. Any two Directors may call a special meeting by giving two days' notice in writing to the Secretary, specifying the object thereof and signed by them. The Directors shall convene all meetings of the Society and shall cause all accounts of the business carried on in behalf of the Society to be regularly entered in the proper books and shall cause a statement of the accounts of the Society with all necessary vouchers, up to the end of every quarter, to be made out and laid before the persons appointed to audit the same.

ARTICLE XIV—Duties of President, The President shall act as chairman at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Directors, but should he be absent, the Vice President will take the chair; should he also be absent, the officers and directors shall elect one from among themselves to act as chairman on that occasion; the President or chairman acting in his absence, shall sign all contracts and have a casting vote besides his own as a member.

ARTICLE XV—Duties of Secretary: The Secretary shall give notice to members of all meetings of the Society or the Board of Directors and shall record the names of all the Directors present, and the minutes of their proceedings; he shall also countersign all contracts sanctioned and entered into

by the Directors; he shall likewise receive all proposals for admission into the Society and demands for payment of every description, granted in these rules. He shall keep the accounts, documents and papers of this Society in such a manner and for such purpose as the Directors may appoint. He shall prepare the quarterly statement of the Society's affairs. The Secretary shall on all occasions in the execution of his duties act under the superintendence, control and direction of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XVI—Duties of Treasurer: The Treasurer shall be required to attend all general meetings of the Society and of the Directors; he, with the Secretary and President will call and receive the receipts from the manager twice each week; he will be responsible for such sums of money as may from time to time be paid into his hands by the Secretary or by any other person on account of the Society and for the investment or application of the same under the authority of the Directors in such a manner as they shall direct; he shall pay all wages and salaries due to employes and officers and also all accounts due by the Society. He shall balance his cash account weekly and supply the Secretary with a duplicate thereof.

ARTICLE XVII—Disqualification of Directors: Any Director shall vacate his office if he holds any other office or place of profit under the Society; if he becomes bankrupt or insolvent; if he is concerned in or participates in the profits of any contract with the Society; no employe of the Society or their father or brother or person supplying the Society with goods shall hold any office as a Director on any account whatever.

ARTICLE XVIII—Appointment and Duties of Auditors: There shall be 3 auditors who shall be elected by the members in rotation at the quarterly meeting of the Society; they shall serve for nine months, and the auditors shall at all times have access to the books, vouchers and accounts of the Society, and shall examine and audit same and every balancesheet and annual return of the receipts and expenditures and effects of the Society and shall verify them with the accounts and vouchers relating thereto; they shall either sign the same as found by them to be correct, duly vouched and in accordance with law or shall specially report to the meeting of the Society before which same is laid, in what respects they find it incorrect, unvouched or not in accordance with law.

ARTICLE XIX—Injurious Conduct: The Directors may suspend any member who persists in any conduct they consider injurious to the Society, until they submit the same to a general meeting (of which the offending member shall have 3 days' notice) who shall have power to expel such member or otherwise, as they may think fit. No person so expelled shall again be admitted except by a vote of two-thirds of the members present voting at a general meeting, nor unless notice has been given at the last quarterly meeting of the intention to propose his readmission.

ARTICLE XX—Complaints: If any member has any complaint to make of the goods or the conduct of any of the employes of the Society, such complaint must be sent to the Secretary or the Directors in writing. They shall investigate and decide thereon and such decision to be entered in their minute book. If the party complaining be not satisfied with the decision of the Directors, he may appeal to a general meeting of the members, whose decision shall be final.

ARTICLE XXI—Term of Office: The officers and directors and auditors shall be eligible to serve two consecutive terms, but must retire for one term before they become eligible for further service.

ARTICLE XXII—The bonds of the officers and directors of this Society shall be as follows: President, $1,000.00; Secretary, $1,000.00; Treasurer, $2,000.00; Directors, ——— ; Manager, $1,000.00.

ARTICLE XXIII—Reserve Fund: To meet any contingency that may arise, there shall be taken from the profit each quarter a sum not less than 1 per cent of the net profits, which shall be applied to the formation of this fund, which shall be held for any emergency affecting the business of the Society and may be applied to meet such losses as may from time to time occur to the Society, or for such other purpose as the members of any general meeting may direct. Individual members leaving the Society shall have no claim whatever on this fund.

ARTICLE XXIV — Depreciation: All buildings held by the Society and used for trade purposes shall be reduced at the rate of not less than 2½ per cent per annum. Fixtures, live stock and machinery not less than 10 per cent per annum. All such reductions shall be reckoned on and taken quarterly from the nominal value of such buildings and fixtures.

Division of Profit: The net proceeds of all business carried on by or on account of the Society, after paying or providing for the expenses of management. Interest on all moneys according to the rates agreed to be paid. Depreciation as per Rule 24, and such additions as required by Rule 23, for the reserve fund. The remainder shall be divided among the members in proportion to the amount of their purchases during the quarter and any balance remaining shall be carried to the next quarter's account. All dividends not withdrawn within ten days after each quarterly meeting shall be carried to the member's account. Members must purchase $35.00 of goods in each quarter or they will receive only one-half dividend. This rule does not apply to unmarried members. Power shall be vested in the Board of Directors to deal with cases under this rule.

ARTICLE XXV—Credit to Members: The business of this Society shall be conducted generally for cash, but members who may not find it convenient to pay cash on making their purchases shall be allowed credit to the extent of $15.00 when they have their five shares paid up. Any member failing to pay his account at the end of the current quarter shall have the amount deducted from his share capital and any member who has his share capital below $25.00, thus reduced, shall not be allowed to withdraw any dividends until his shares are in the position they would have been had the debt not been deducted.

ARTICLE XXVI—Place and Number Constituting a Meeting: All general meetings shall be held at such place as the Directors may determine and no meeting shall proceed to business unless at least 20 members of the Society be present within one-half

hour of the time of meeting; otherwise such meeting, if it be an ordinary meeting of the Society, or a special meeting convened by the Directors, shall stand adjourned to that day week. But if it be convened by notice from the members, it shall be absolutely dissolved.

ARTICLE XXVII—Quarterly Meetings: The quarterly meeting of the Society shall be held on the third Monday after each quarterly stock-taking or such other date as the Directors shall determine, when the officers shall make their reports, in which shall be specified the amount of funds and value of stock possessed by the Society, the minutes of the Directors for the past quarter shall be read; the various office bearers elected according to Rules 12 and 18 and any other business which is not contrary to the rules of the Society.

ARTICLE XXVIII—Special General Meeting: A special general meeting may be convened at any time in virtue of a resolution of the Directors or of any quarterly meeting or on the requisition of 20 members addressed to the Directors. Such meeting shall be called by a notice being posted up in the Grocery Department of the Society six days before the meeting takes places. Such notice shall specify the time and object of such meeting and no business other than specified in the notice can be transacted thereat.

ARTICLE XXIX—Voting: The voting on all occasions shall be by a show of hands, but should it be thought necessary at any time to adopt the ballot the same shall be agreed upon before taking any vote on the question at issue. A member shall on all occasions have but one vote. Voting by proxy not allowed.

ARTICLE XXX—Dissolution of Society: The Society may be dissolved by the consent of three-fourths of the members, testified by their signatures.

ARTICLE XXXI—Alteration of Rules: There shall be no alteration of these rules, either by amendment, repeal or new rule, except by a vote of a majority of two-thirds of the members voting at a special general meeting of the Society, called for that purpose.

ARTICLE XXXII—Fines: Members absent from quarterly meetings shall be fined 25 cents, which, if not paid, shall be deducted from the member's capital and carried to the reserve fund.

ARTICLE XXXIII — Construction of Rules: In construing these rules words importing the masculine gender shall be taken to apply to a female; words importing one person or thing shall be taken to apply to more than one person or thing, and words importing to be a class shall be taken to apply to the majority of that class unless there is anything in the contest to prevent such construction. The word Director means a member of the Board of Management and the words the Society means the Gillespie Co-Operative Society.

RULES OF DEBATE

1. Any member wishing to speak shall arise and address the Chairman and receive recognition and permission from the chair before he proceeds.

2. All questions to members or officers shall be put through the Chairman.

3. Questions on the minutes, on being duly answered by the Chairman, cannot form the subject of discussion, except a motion is made and duly seconded. The Chairman shall decide whether such motion is in order or not, and if it is not in order, he shall state when it shall be in order.

4. No member shall speak more than once on the same question, except the mover of a motion, who shall have the right to reply. No right to reply is allowed to the mover of an amendment, or such motion as the previous question.

5. During any discussion a member may appeal to the Chairman on a point of order, provided he at once does so on such point arising. The member who was addressing the meeting must thereupon resume his seat, and also must the member who rose to order, when he has concluded his appeal to the chair.

6. When the Chairman arises during a debate, any member then speaking must conclude his remarks and the meeting is to be silent so that the Chairman may be heard without interruption.

HINTS TO MEMBERS

1. Procure the authority and protection of the law by enrollment.

2. Let integrity, intelligence and ability be indispensable qualifications in the choice of officers and managers, and not wealth or other distinction.

3. Let each member have but one vote, and make no distinction as regards the amount of wealth any member may contribute.

4. Let the will of the majority prevail in all matters of government.

5. Look well after the money matters; punish fraud, when duly established, by the immediate expulsion of the defaulter.

6. In buying goods, give co-operative productions and union-made articles your first consideration, thereby you shall secure the best conditions for the worker.

7. If at all possible, practice the principle of buying and selling for ready money.

8. Beware of long reckoning. Short accounts make long friends.

9. For the sake of security, see that buildings and fixtures are wisely depreciated.

10. See that the accounts of the Society are properly audited by men of your own choosing.

11. Committees should always ask and obtain the authority of the members before taking any important or expensive step.

12. Do not court opposition or publicity, nor fear it when it comes.

13. Choose for your leaders men whom you can trust, and then give them your confidence.

HOW TO START CO-OPERATIVE STORE.

RESULTS OF CO-OPERATION—Consumers' co-operative stores were started by the working people for the purpose of reducing the cost of living, which would, of course, enable purchasing larger quantities for the same amount of money, and in effect be equal to an advance in wages. It has resulted in a better living also, because they have gone into the wholesale business and manufacturing as well, and as they are manufacturing for consumption themselves, it is self-evident that the foodstuffs they make are as pure and wholesome as possible, and in clothing, furniture, tools, implements, etc., they make them the most durable, as well

as of the best quality of workmanship. As there is no personal gain can come to the manager or clerks of a co-operative store by dishonesty in those respects, trading at your own co-operative store guarantees you protection from short weight, short measure, impure foods, poor material or poor workmanship in all articles that you buy. The co-operative movement has also given the workers a clear insight into business methods of all kinds; has given them valuable first-hand information which they have been able to use to their decided advantage during strikes, in negotiating contracts and in securing remedial legislation, also in a political way. It has also given them an opportunity to develop within themselves the capacity to operate and manage successfully every phase of commerce, finance and industry, and has a tremendous educational influence for the good of the common people in every way. Insofar as it is firmly established, it has given the workers a better commercial, financial, political and industrial standing; an added power and influence, which has militated for their own good in every avenue of their lives, and at the same time weakened the power and influence of their enemies in inverse ratio from the same angle. It is at once a substantial addition to their fighting strength for offensive and defensive purposes.

HOW TO BEGIN—If there is a desire in your locality to start a store, the best thing to do is to call a meeting of all who are interested, to discuss the matter, and elect good substantial honest men as temporary officers. Then select men to solicit subscriptions, who are interested enough to do that work free of charge, and do not collect any money until your temporary treasurer has been bonded properly. Then, when enough subscribers have paid in a stated minimum on their shares to warrant it, call a meeting of the paid-up subscribers; agree on your by-laws; elect a board of directors and a tactful well-informed shop committee which can take up complaints about the manager or store by the members or against the members, or suggestions in connection with the store by the manager. Be sure they are level-headed, sensible, honest men. Then let the board select a good, capable, trustworthy and reliable man for manager, and assistants or clerks (where necessary) and proceed to start the store.

ONE MEMBER—ONE VOTE—No one should be allowed more than one vote—no matter how many shares of stock they own. Five dollars a share and no one to be allowed to own more than five shares, will insure enough money for good working capital purposes. No more than six per cent interest should be paid on share or loan capital. Have every officer who handles finances or property bonded in such a manner as to insure the absolute safety of the funds and property of the society.

To prevent stock from getting into the hands of enemies, no transfer of stock should be allowed. Provide for persons desiring to sell their stock turning it into the treasury for its actual value. It is better not to do any credit business at all if possible to avoid it, but not more credit than to the amount of three-fifths their stock ownership should be allowed to anyone, and no credit should be allowed even on that basis if it will rduce the capital stock of the store below what it should be.

MAINTAIN PRICES—Do not cut current selling prices, either directly or indirectly, through discounts, rebates in advance or otherwise. One of the fatal mistakes in operating a co-operative store is to reduce prices. Because if they do reduce prices, as generally the private merchant is forced to do likewise, it adds to the bitterness and viciousness with which the merchant fights the co-operative movement. It minimizes the dividends that the co-operative store can pay, and thus reduces the incentive for outsiders to become members of the society. And if they get it down to just the cost of operation and the private merchant reduces to just the same basis, then to the ordinary person there is no incentive to join the co-operative society and usually, when this is done, in the localities where people do not thoroughly understand the other benefits that accrue from the co-operative movement, the result is that the store goes out of business. Of course, the merchant immediately raises prices as soon as the co-operative stores are put out of business. The higher prices the other stores charge—if you charge the same prices—the larger dividends the co-operative stores will pay, and as the private merchant pays no dividends to his customers, the higher dividend the "Co-op." pays the greater the incentive for the workers to join the society. The private merchant can short-weight and short-measure; he can sell cheap, imitation, shoddy and adulterated goods. He can actually steal from the uninformed or careless customers by juggling their accounts or marking up their purchases. He can beat down the price of his labor; work his employes unreasonable hours at unreasonable, disagreeable, dangerous, unhealthful tasks. He can get credit for goods. He can borrow and steal and a hundred and one other things that a co-op. can not do; all of which contributes to his resources and ability to give accommodations to the favored ones for a purpose and to stay in business and fight. So that a good co-operator, a real friend of the workers, is doing the best that can be done for them when, no matter how high the prices may be and how unreasonable they are (that the private merchants are charging) they charge the same prices, and unless you do that, the co-operative movement is going to be on a very precarious footing, and as the members of a co-operative society get every penny they pay above the cost of operation back in their dividends anyway, they lose nothing, no matter what prices they pay at their store. The main essentials to successful co-operation are: First, honest management and, second, loyal patronage. The degree of competency in the management will effect proportionately the degree of success, but absolute honesty is the most important necessity.

ADVANTAGES TO MEMBERS—When trading with a private merchant, generally a worker is in debt from two weeks to a month, and in the event of a strike, he owes his last pay for his grocery bill. If he pays it, he has nothing to strike on, and if he does not pay the bill, the store shuts off his credit. When trading in a co-operative store, the worker is generally paid up, has his last pay to strike on, and nearly always has some reserve funds lying as unused dividends. It really means that the average worker is in a position to strike a full month or more longer for his rights, when it is

necessary, where he trades in a co-operative store, than he can when trading with a private concern; and if he does not need to strike it means that he and his family have just that much more of the necessities or the good things in life. The dividends from co-operative stores usually become a home fund which contributes to the well-being, the happiness, the pleasure and the advantage for progress of the families of the members. If an accident happens or sickness or death occurs, generally there is enough dividends lying in the store to tide them over it. If there is an excursion, picnic or outing planned, the dividends generally enable the mothers and the children, as well as the husband and father to take advantage of it. If a boy or girl shows exceptional promise, generally the dividends enable them to get an extra term in school. It places the opportunity in our own hands to buy from producers' associations, or farmers' unions, direct, also to secure every other article which is union made, and see that all labor employed in all branches of the co-operative work is organized; thereby enabling us to use an influence directly which will have the effect of building up and strengthening practically every union in the country.

INSIST UPON SAFEGUARDS—Do not throw down the necessary safeguards in order to make it easy to get membership. Be careful to prevent enemies or spotters or men whose honesty has not been pretty thoroughly established by their past records, from getting into positions of power or influence. To start with, it is better to have only those for members who can be depended upon to stick and to meet intelligently the opposition of its foes, than it is to have a large membership to begin with which knows nothing about the co-operative movement, and who are easily discouraged, or who might be easily influenced to make fatal mistakes. Where co-operative industry supplants private industry, the political or governmental representatives also change from the tools of the interests to representatives of the people.

AVOID HASTY ACTION—Don't be hasty in starting your store. Take plenty of time. and be sure you are on a solid bed-rock basis before you start. Be sure to start as soon as you can get on that basis. The co-operative movement offers a means to the workers in times of peace of making an immediate substantial improvement for themselves, without strikes, suffering or sacrifices, and building up an organization, which during times of strife will add enormously to their strength.

ROCHDALE SYSTEM—Under the Rochdale co-operative system, a straight rate of interest is paid on all share and loan capital invested in the society by the members, generally from four to six per cent, and whatever surplus is left over is then paid out in dividends on the basis of the amount of purchases made by each member, leaving, however, each time a dividend is paid, as much as seems reasonable in the treasury for a sinking fund to extend the business or meet any bad luck.

BELGIAN PLAN—Under the Belgian co-operative plan, they charge the same current prices and operate the store the same in every respect, except that the first surplus they have they pay back whatever is invested as share and loan capital, and then they do not pay any dividends or interest to anyone but use their surplus to extend the business and for educational and recreational purposes and to assist the workers on strike as well as to help in particularly needy cases on the part of the membership.

LAW—INCORPORATION—If you have not a law already providing for it on the statutes of your state, you should as early as possible try to secure the enactment of one which will limit liability on the part of members of co-operative societies to just the amount for which they have subscribed as stockholders. Then be sure to incorporate under that law as soon as possible after you start in business. By degrees, the co-operative movement settles permanently, on the basis of justice, a number of vital questions, and the possibilities are that finally nearly all of our industrial troubles will be adjusted by this movement. It puts business on the basis of reward for actual services rendered, rather than on the basis of exploitation, or all that the business will stand. as it is now, which means every penny that the business man, by manipulation or jugglery can get out of the people regardless of the value of the services that he may render.

EXTEND ORGANIZATIONS—Whenever a co-operative society has established a store and put it on a permanent, successful basis, then in their own interests as well as in the interest of the general movement, if there is a locality near by, where the opportunity is promising for establishing a successful store, the original society should organize a branch society there. It will not only be an immediate advantage to the people in that locality where the new branch society is established, but because of the experience of the older branch, it will mean minimizing the prospects of failure and adding the advantage of their knowledge and experience and standing in the business world to make it a success and, of course, the real advantage to the original branch comes from their buyer being able to purchase for both stores, thereby getting their own goods cheaper when buying wholesale, because of buying in larger lots and, of course, every store that is established successfully, minimizes the opposition to the co-operative movement and contributes that much more added influence towards protecting, advancing and building it up.

PRACTICE ECONOMY—Rigid economy should be practiced and no committee should be paid any money for services unless they are forced to spend money or lose money while serving as committeemen, and then only just the amount they are actually out. There should be a committee of directors audit the purchasing and sales accounts, the method of keeping accounts, and to verify the deposits at least twice a week. The most successful stores are doing it three times a week. The membership must be convinced that the business is being run on an absolutely honest basis at all times.

INTER-ALLIED LABOR CONFERENCE

DELEGATES of the American Federation of Labor to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, held in London September 17-19, 1918, presented the following, which were adopted:

We recognize in this World War the conflict between autocratic and democratic institutions; the contest between the principles of self-development through free institutions and that of arbitrary control of government by groups or individuals for selfish ends. It is therefore essential that the peoples and the governments of all countries should have a full and definite knowledge of the spirit and determination of this Inter-allied Conference, representative of the workers of our respective countries, with reference to the prosecution of the war. We declare it to be our unqualified determination to do all that lies within our power to assist our allied countries in the marshalling of all of their resources to the end that the armed forces of the Central Powers may be driven from the soil of the nations which they have invaded and now occupy; and, furthermore, that these armed forces shall be opposed so long as they carry out the orders or respond to the control of the militaristic autocratic governments of the Central Powers which now threaten the existence of all self-governing people. This Conference endorses the fourteen points laid down by President Wilson as conditions upon which peace between the belligerent nations may be established and maintained, as follows:

"Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

"Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

"The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to peace and associating itself for its maintenance.

"Adequate guarantees, given and taken, that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

"A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all Colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

"The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire.

"The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs, as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

"Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve, as this will serve, to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

"All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

"A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

"The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the first opportunity of autonomous development.

"Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated, the occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

"The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

"An independent Polish State should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and terri

torial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

"A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

The world is requiring tremendous sacrifices of all the peoples. Because of their response in defense of principles of freedom the peoples have earned the right to wipe out all vestiges of the old idea that the government belongs to or constitutes a "governing class." In determining issues that will vitally affect the lives and welfare of millions of wage earners, justice requires that they should have direct representation in the agencies authorized to make such decisions. We therefore declare that—In the official delegations from each of the belligerent countries which will formulate the Peace Treaty, the Workers should have direct official representation. We declare in favor of a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and place as the Peace Conference that will formulate the Peace Treaty closing the war. We declare that the following essentially fundamental principles must underlie the Peace Treaty:

A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarras others

No reprisals based upon purely vindictive purposes, or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles there should be incorporated in the Treaty which shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the War, the following declarations fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.

Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The right of free association, free assemblage, free speech and free press shall not be abridged.

That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are in safe harbor.

No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work.

It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours per day.

Trial by jury should be established.

LAWS TO BENEFIT HUMANITY

Through the influence of the American Federation of Labor many laws have been secured to protect the health, comfort and safety of men and women both in industry and in the home. Among its successes are:

COMPENSATION

List of states that have enacted compensation laws:

Arizona	Nevada
California	New Hampshire
Colorado	New Jersey
Connecticut	New York
Illinois	Ohio
Indiana	Oklahoma
Iowa	Oregon
Kansas	Pennsylvania
Kentucky	Rhode Island
Louisiana	Texas
Maine	Utah
Maryland	Vermont
Massachusetts	Washington
Michigan	West Virginia
Minnesota	Wisconsin
Montana	Wyoming—33
Nebraska	

The United States law is for Federal employes only. It does not include employes engaged in interstate commerce or employes of private employers in the District of Columbia.

Territories and insular possessions:

Alaska	Philippines
Canal Zone	Porto Rico
Hawaii	

All of these compensation laws have been enacted since 1908, through the activity of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

State Legislatures considering compensation laws:

Arizona	Florida
Arkansas	North Dakota
Idaho	North Carolina
Missouri	Tennessee
Delaware	Virginia

CHILD LABOR.

List of states that have enacted child labor laws and minimum age limit in each state, the employment of children in gainful

occupations generally applicable during school hours:

State.	Min. Age.	State.	Min. Age.
Alabama	14	Missouri	14
Alaska	16	Montana	14
Arizona	14	Nebraska	14
Arkansas	14	Nevada	14
California	15	New Hampshire	14
Colorado	14	New Jersey	14
Connecticut	14	New Mexico	14
Delaware	14	New York	14
Dist. of Col.	14	Ohio	15
Florida	12	Oklahoma	14
Georgia	12	Oregon	14
Idaho	14	Pennsylvania	14
Illinois	14	Rhode Island	14
Indiana	14	South Carolina	12
Iowa	14	South Dakota	14
Kansas	14	Tennessee	14
Kentucky	14	Texas	14
Louisiana	14	Utah	14
Maine	14	Vermont	14
Maryland	14	Virginia	14
Massachusetts	14	Washington	14
Michigan	15	West Virginia	14
Minnesota	14	Wisconsin	14
Mississippi	12	Wyoming	14

In considering the limits set by the several states as a minimum age at which children can be employed there are a variety of qualifications according to the geographical locality of the state or states, together with the main industrial activity of each. In many which have a large canning business, like California, Delaware, Florida, Maryland and others the age limits during the canning season are reduced from the minimum for all gainful occupations. States like Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina and others, which have a large cotton productivity, make exception in manufacturing establishments so that the age limit is from one to two years lower than the normal. Other exceptions or qualifications are made in nearly all of the state laws regulating the employment of children, which, undoubtedly, are dictated by the local needs and requirements. Nevertheless it is a fact, that as time passes, these local favors appear unnecessary and are either ignored or the exceptional law repealed.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Compulsory educational laws have been enacted in all states except Mississippi, where an active campaign is, however, being conducted by organized labor and friends.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

Only eight states forbid women voting for any official of the state, county, municipality or school district. Forty grant the right of suffrage to a more or less degree. The eight states in which they have no voice are:

Alabama
Georgia
Maine
Missouri
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Virginia
West Virginia

The aim of the organizations of labor is for equal citizenship rights for both sexes without degree or qualification.

STATE ANTI-INJUNCTION LAWS

KANSAS—The legislature of Kansas enacted an injunction limitation law in 1913 somewhat similar to the Clayton Antitrust, Injunction Limitation Federal Law approved October 15, 1914.

MASSACHUSETTS—The legislature of Massachusetts enacted an injunction limitation law of an effective character, approved July 7, 1914. This state law has been used as a basis for a model state antitrust injunction limitation law for enactment by other states. The Massachusetts law came before the Supreme Court of that State in the case of John Bogni et al. vs. Giovanni Perrotti et al., on May 20, 1916, and was declared unconstitutional by that court, it being positively and definitely stated by the court that "labor is property, and as such, merits protection."

MONTANA—The legislature of Montana during the session of 1913 amended the injunction laws of that state by denying the use of the writ of injunction during "labor disputes or between parties neither or none of whom were laborers or interested in labor questions."

The American Federation of Labor and State Federation officials are endeavoring to secure the enactment of labor's Model Antitrust Injunction Limitation Law in these states.

Colorado
Connecticut
Iowa
Illinois
Maine
New York
Ohio
West Virginia
Wyoming

ANTITRUST LAWS

With the exception of the Antitrust Injunction Limitation Law in Massachusetts, above referred to, no state has enacted any antitrust law similar to the Clayton Act, but the following states have enacted either in brief or modified form a declaration in favor of labor in the general antitrust laws:

CALIFORNIA—Act of 1909. "Labor, skilled or unskilled, is not a commodity within the meaning of this act."

LOUISIANA—Act of 1892. "The provisions of this act shall not be so construed as to affect any combination or confederation of laborers for the purpose of procuring an increase of wages or redress of grievances."

MICHIGAN—Act of 1897. "The provisions of this act do not apply to laborers or artisans formed into societies or organizations for the benefit or protection of their members."

MONTANA—Acts of 1907 and 1909. "The provisions of this act do not apply to any arrangements, agreement, or combination between laborers, made with the object of lessening the number of hours of labor or increasing wages, nor of persons engaged in horticulture or agriculture with the view of enhancing the price of their products."

WISCONSIN—Act of 1911. "Nothing herein shall be construed to affect labor unions or any other association of laborers organized for the purpose of promoting the welfare of its members, nor associations or organizations intended to legitimately promote the interests of trade, commerce or manufacturing in this state."

CONVICT LABOR

There are six systems for the employment of convicts: The lease and contract systems are practically the same, the convicts being let to contractors by the day either outside or in the penal institutions, the state furnishing machinery. The piece price system

is where the state supplies the raw material, machinery and manufactures goods for contractors on a plus-price plan. The public account system is where the products of convicts are sold on the open market for the benefit of the state. The state use system provides that all manufactures shall be sold to the state and political divisions thereof. The public works and ways system is where the convicts are used by the state on public roads or other outside employment.

Contract and Lease Systems—The organizations of labor have strongly opposed the Contract and Lease Systems on the ground that they are the most mischievous and the worst competitive schemes ever devised for the employment of convicts. Such systems are manifestly unfair to free labor and fair employers. Both groups of laborers and employers have vigorously protested against the installation or continuance of the Contract and Lease Systems. As a result of this combined protest, the following states have forbidden the employment of convicts under the Contract and Lease Systems:

Arkansas	New York
California	North Dakota
Illinois	Ohio
Iowa	Pennsylvania
Louisiana	South Dakota
Massachusetts	Utah
Minnesota	Virginia
Missouri (50 per ct.)	Washington
Montana	Wyoming
New Jersey	

State Use System—The State Use System is the one most strongly advocated by the organizations of labor. The following states have authorized in whole or in part the State Use System for the employment of convicts:

Alabama	Nevada
Arkansas	New Jersey
California	New Mexico
Colorado	New York
Delaware	North Carolina
Illinois	North Dakota
Indiana	Ohio
Iowa	Oregon
Kansas	Pennsylvania
Massachusetts	South Dakota
Michigan	Tennessee
Minnesota	Utah
Mississippi	Washington
Missouri	West Virginia
Nebraska	Wisconsin

Public Account System—Due undoubtedly to the persistent opposition by organized labor to the Contract and Lease Systems of employment of convicts a number of officials in state prisons and penitentiaries are becoming overzealous in behalf of the Public Account System in which there is no such intervention of outside parties seeking the labor of convicts for profit as prevailing in the Contract and Lease Systems. Under the Public Account System, the employment of convicts is directed by the state, and the products of the convicts' labor sold for the benefit of the state. It is therefore very necessary that the organizations of labor should insist that such convict productions must be confined for sale within the state wherein they are produced and not permit the zealous industrial speculators, who pose as prison reformers, to enter the markets of a neighboring state with the materials produced by the convicts in the state in which he operates. Labor should also insist that the convict, or the convict's family, should receive a reasonable price for his labor. It is equally unjust for society, acting through the state, to take the value of the convict's labor without just compensation as it is for the speculative contractor or leaseholder of the convict's labor. These states employ convicts under the Public Account System in whole or in part:

Arizona	Mississippi
California	Missouri
Connecticut	Nevada
Delaware	New Hampshire
Dist. of Col.	New Jersey
Illinois	New Mexico
Indiana	Ohio
Kansas	Pennsylvania
Kentucky	Texas
Louisiana	Utah
Maine	Vermont
Massachusetts	Washington
Michigan	Wisconsin
Minnesota	

Employment of Convicts on Public Roads and Other Outdoor Employment—In the following states the legislatures have authorized the employment of convicts to make and repair public roads, to produce farm products and where indexed (p. c.) it indicates payment to convicts for their labor:

Alabama	Nebraska
Arizona	Nevada
California	New Jersey (p.c.)
Colorado	New Mexico
Delaware	New York (p.c.)
Dist. of Col.	North Carolina
Florida	North Dakota (p.c.)
Georgia	Ohio
Idaho (p.c.)	Oklahoma
Illinois	Oregon
Indiana	Pennsylvania (p.c.)
Iowa (p.c.)	South Carolina
Kansas	South Dakota
Kentucky	Tennessee
Louisiana	Texas
Maine	Utah
Massachusetts	Vermont (p.c.)
Michigan	Virginia
Minnesota	Washington
Mississippi	Wisconsin
Missouri	Wyoming
Montana	

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Arizona enacted an old age pension law. It took effect December 14, 1914, and in the case of L. H. Buckstegge vs. Board of Control of the State of Arizona et al., the Superior Court of Maricopa County held the act unconstitutional. The Supreme Court of the State affirmed the decision in 1915. California, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Wisconsin appointed commissions to investigate and report an old age pension plan to the State Legislatures.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

Mothers' pension laws have been enacted by the following states:

Arizona	Minnesota
California	Missouri
Colorado	Montana
Idaho	Nebraska
Illinois	Nevada
Iowa	New Hampshire
Kansas	New Jersey
Massachusetts	New York
Michigan	North Dakota

Ohio	Utah
Oklahoma	Washington
Oregon	West Virginia
Pennsylvania	Wisconsin
South Dakota	Wyoming
Tennessee	

DETECTIVE AGENCIES

Strike-Breaking Agencies—Whatever statutes have been written in any of the states are not so worded as to either regulate or define the operations of persons engaged in such questionable business.

Armed Guards—The following states have enacted laws restraining the hiring of armed guards by employers. All of these state laws are generally similar in character. Illinois was the first state to enact such a law:

Arkansas	Oklahoma
Colorado	Tennessee
Illinois	Washington
Massachusetts	Wisconsin
Missouri	Ter. of Alaska

Industrial Police—The following states have enacted laws permitting the appointment by the Governor of the State of special police at the request of individuals and corporations, to be paid for by parties requesting their appointment but subject to the order of the state local authorities:

California	North Dakota
Connecticut	Ohio
Indiana	Pennsylvania
Maryland	South Carolina
Massachusetts	Vermont
North Carolina	West Virginia

HOURS FOR WOMEN AND MEN

Following are the state laws governing the maximum number of hours women can be employed and the legal day's work for men in public work:

States.	Max. hrs. for women.	Legal days' work for men.
Alabama	..	..
Arizona	8	8
Arkansas	9	..
California	8	8
Colorado	8	8
Connecticut	55*	8
Delaware	55*	..
District of Columbia	8	8
Florida	..	10
Georgia	9	..
Idaho	9	8
Illinois	10	8
Indiana	..	8
Iowa	..	..
Kansas	10	8
Kentucky	60*	8
Louisiana	60*	..
Maine	9	10
Maryland	10	8
Massachusetts	54*	8
Michigan	10	10
Minnesota	10	10
Mississippi	10	..
Missouri	9	8
Montana	8	8
Nebraska	9	..
Nevada	8	..
New Hampshire	54*	..
New Jersey	10	8
New Mexico	..	8
New York	54*	8
North Carolina	10	..
North Dakota	10	..
Ohio	9	8
Oklahoma	9	8
Oregon	10	8
Pennsylvania	54*	8
Rhode Island	54*	..
South Carolina	60*	..
South Dakota	10	..
Tennessee	57*	..
Texas	9	8
Utah	54*	8
Vermont	56*	..
Virginia	10	..
Washington	8	8
West Virginia	..	8
Wisconsin	10 day 8 night	..
Wyoming	60*	8
Alaska	..	8
Hawaii	..	8
Philippines	..	..
Porto Rico	8	8

* Maximum per week.

DELEGATES TO CONVENTIONS

Year.	No.	Year.	No.
1881, Terra Haute,	9	1900	221
1881	107	1901	285
1882	17	1902	312
1883	27	1903	496
1884	25	1904	272
1885	18	1905	309
1886	26	1906	312
1887	56	1907	355
1888	51	1908	321
1889	74	1909	312
1890	103	1910	387
1891	70	1911	319
1892	89	1912	355
1893	95	1913	325
1894	77	1914	369
1895	96	1915	341
1896	117	1916	394
1897	83	1917	440
1898	135	1918	448
1899	189		

Henry Ford and Eight-Hour Day.

"For employers who are hostile to the eight-hour day do not know their business. Eight hours is long enough for anybody to work. A man can't work more than eight hours and do good work. We've proved it often. We have had the eight-hour day in force in the Ford factory for three years and we have made more money each succeeding year under it. It has proved its own merit. When you get down to eight hours you observe a wonderful increase in efficiency. When we put it into effect our product simply skyrocketed in output. The men are full of efficiency, life, ginger. They feel this way:

"'Well, here's eight hours to hustle. I'll hustle and earn my fair wage, and then I've got all the rest of the time to myself. I can improve myself. I'm not worn out, tied down. I'm a man.'

"I don't know what the increased profits have been to our company. But we've got earnings by millions and made our men better off. And it would do the same for other properly conducted businesses."

FEDERAL COURT DECISIONS

DECISIONS made by Federal Courts on Accident Insurance, Alien Contract Labor Law, Blacklisting, Child Labor, Chinese Exclusion, Employers' Liability Cases, Full Crew (railroad cases), Habeas Corpus (kidnapping), Hours of Labor, Injunctions, Laundries, Licensing Employments, Mine Regulations, Safety Appliances, Seamen, Wages:

ACCIDENT INSURANCE.

Frank Unnewehr Co., Standard Life and Accident Insurance Co.—176 Fed. Rep., 16. U. S. Labor Bul. 88, p. 868.

ALIEN CONTRACT LABOR LAW.

Lee v. United States—150 U. S. 476.
Pearson v. Williams—202 U. S. 281.
United States v. Laws—163 U. S. 258.
Grant Bros. v. United States—114 Pac. Rep., 955. U. S. Labor Bul. 95, p. 289. (Arizona Immigration Case.)

BLACKLISTING.

Adair v. United States—28 Sup. Ct. Repr., 277. U. S. Labor Bul. 75, p. 634. 152 Fed. Rep., 737. U. S. Labor Bul. 72, p. 613.
Pierce v. Tenn. Coal, Iron & R. R. Co.—173 U. S., 1.

CHILD LABOR.

District of Columbia v. Reider Juvenile Ct. of District of Columbia—U. S. Labor Bul. 81, p. 416.
U. S. Supreme Court declares Federal law unconstitutional.
Western District of North Carolina v. Roland H. Dagenhart, et al. U. S. Dept. of Labor Monthly Review, July, 1918.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

Chin Bak Kan v. United States—186 U. S. 193.
Chin Yow v. United States—208 U. S. 6.
Fok Yung v. United States—185 U. S. 296.
Fong Yue Ting v. United States—149 U. S. 698.
Lee Lung v. Patterson—186 U. S. 168.
Lem Moon Sing v. United States—158 U. S. 538.
Li Sing v. United States—180 U. S. 486.
Liu Hop Fong v. United States—209 U. S. 453.
United States v. Ju Toy—198 U. S. 253.
United States v. Mrs. Gue Lim—176 U. S. 459.
United States v. Sing Tuck—194 U. S. 161.
Williams v. United States—168 U. S. 382 or 392.
Wong Wing v. United States—163 U. S. 226.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY CASES.

St. Louis & San F. R. R. v. Delk—158 Fed. Rep., 931; U. S. Labor Bul. 77, p. 378.
St. Louis Iron Mountain & Southern Ry. v. Taylor—28 Sup. Ct. Repr., 616; U. S. Labor Bul. 78, p. 578.
Hyde v. Southern Ry. Co.—36 Wash. Law Repr., 374; U. S. Labor Bul. 78, p. 582.
Goldenstein v. B. & O. R. R. Co.—37 Wash. Law Repr., 2; U. S. Labor Bul. 81, p. 410.
Harvey v. Texas and Pacific Ry. Co.—166 Fed. Rep., 385; U. S. Labor Bul. 83, p. 153.
Fulso et al v. Schuylkill Stone Co.—169 Fed. Rep. 98; U. S. Labor Bul. 84, p. 418.
Railroad Companies—Potter v. Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.—37 Wash. Law Repr., 466; U. S. Labor Bul. 86, p. 310.
El Paso and North Eastern Ry. Co. v. Gutierrez—30 Sup. Ct. Repr., 21; U. S. Labor Bul. 86, p. 316.
Weir v. Rountree—173 Fed. Rep. 776; U. S. Labor Bul. 87, p. 640.
Missouri Pacific Ry. Co. v. Castle—172 Fed. Rep. 841; U. S. Labor Bul. 87, p. 647.
Minot v. Snavely—172 Fed. Rep. 212; U. S. Labor Bul. 87, p. 669.
Western Real Estate—Trustees v. Hughes—172 Fed. Rep. 206; U. S. Labor Bul. 87, p. 670.
McNamara v. Washington Terminal Co.—38 Wash. Law Repr., 343; U. S. Labor Bul. 89, p. 419.
Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Ry. Co. v. Westby—178 Fed. Rep. 619; U. S. Labor Bul. 90, p. 836.
Louisville and Nashville R. R. Co. v. Melton—30 Sup. Ct. Repr 676; U. S. Labor Bul. 90, p. 848.
West Va., Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Ry. Co.—179 Fed. Rep. 801; U. S. Labor Bul. 90, p. 861.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. Co. v. McGuire—31 Sup. Ct. Repr. 259; U. S. Labor Bul. 93, p. 644. Waiving of rights denied. (Verification of Temple amendment to Iowa Employers' Liability Law).
Travelers' Insurance Co. v. Great Lakes Engineering Works Co.—184 Fed. Rep. 426; U. S. Labor Bul. 95, p. 304.
Maki v. Union Pacific Coal Co.—187 Fed. Rep. 389; U. S. Labor Bul. 96, p. 842.
Delk v. St. Louis and San Francisco R. R. Co.—31 Sup. Ct. Repr., 617; U. S. Labor Bul. 96, p. 845.
Schlemmer v. Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg Ry. Co.—31 Sup. Ct. Repr. 561; U. S. Labor Bul. 96, p. 846.
American Manufacturing Co. v. Bigelow—188 Fed. Rep. 34; U. S. Labor Bul. 98, p. 468.
Mondou v. N. Y., New Haven and Hartford R. R.—32 Sup. Ct. Repr. 169; U. S. Labor Bul. 98, p. 470.
Williamson v. Berlin Mills Co.—190 Fed. Rep. 1; U. S. Labor Bul. 98, p. 493.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v. Lundberg—176 Fed. Rep. 847; U. S. Labor Bul. 88, p. 897.
Last Clear Chance—Herr v. St. Louis and San Francisco R. R. Co.—174 Fed. Rep. 938; U. S. Labor Bul. 88, p. 899.
Missouri Pacific R. R. Co. v. Castle—32

Sup. Ct. Repr. 606; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 76.
Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Co. v. Gawinski—197 Fed. Rep. 31; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 80.
Employers' Liability—Railroad Companies. Northern Pac. R. R. Co. v. Maerkl—198 Fed. Rep. 1; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 84.
Lamphere v. Oregon R. R. and Navigation Co.—196 Fed. Rep. 336; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 86.
Pederson v. Delaware, Lackawanna and Western R. R. Co.—197 Fed. Rep. 537; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 89.
Central R. R. of New Jersey v. Colasurdo—192 Fed. Rep. 901; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 89.
Oliver v. Northern Pacific Ry. Co.—196 Fed. Rep. 432; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 93.
Wind River Lumber Co. v. Frankfort Marine, Accident and Plate Glass Insurance Co.—196 Fed. Rep. 340; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 97.
Beutler v. Grand Trunk Jct. Ry. Co.—32 Sup. Ct. Repr. 402; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 148.
Railroad Shopmen's Case. Malloy v. Northern Pacific—151 Fed. Rep. 1019; U. S Labor Bul. 72, p. 610.
Standard Oil Co. v. Edw. Anderson—212 U. S. 215.
Employer and Employes' Termination of Relation—Assumed Risk—176 Fed. Rep. 1; U. S. Labor Bul. 88, p 896.
Howard v. Illinois Central R. R. and
Brooks v. Southern Pacific R. R.—207 U. S. 463; U. S. Labor Bul. 68, p. 188. U. S. Labor Bul 68, p. 192. U. S. Labor Bul. 74, p. 216. (The Howard Case.)
Alabama Southern R. R. Co. v. Thompson—200 U. S., 206.
Alaska Mining Co. v Whelan—168 U. S. 86.
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. v. Baugh—149 U. S., 368.
Baltimore and Phil. R. R. Co. v. Mackey—157 U. S., 72.
Central R. R. Co. v. Keegan—160 U. S., 259.
Chicago, Keokuk & Western R. R. v. Pontius—157 U. S., 209.
Choctaw & Okla. R. R. v. Holloway—191 U. S., 334.
Choctaw & Okla. R. R. v. McDade—191 U. S., 64.
Cincinnati & Texas Pacific R. R. Co. v. Bohen—200 U. S., 221.
Fletcher v. Baltimore & Phil. R. R.—168 U S., 135.
Gila Valley R. R. v. Lyon—203 U. S, 465.
Kohn v. McNulta—147 U. S., 238.
Looney v. Metropolitan Railway Co.—200 U. S., 480.
McCabe Steen Co. v. Wilson—209 U. S., 275.
Martin v. Railway Co.—166 U. S., 399.
Mathers v. Rilston—156 U. S., 391.
Minnesota Iron Co. v. Kline—199 U. S., 593.
New England R. R. v. Conroy—175 U. S., 323.
Northern Pacific Railway Co. v. Babcock—154 U. S., 190.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v. Charless—162 U. S., 359.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v. Dickson—194 U. S., 338.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v Egeland—163 U S., 93.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v. Everett—152 U. S., 107.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v. Hambly—154 U. S., 349.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v .Petersen, 162—U. S., 346.
Northern Pacific Ry. Co. v. Poirier—167 U. S., 48.
Oakes v. Mase—165 U. S., 363.
Patton v. Railway Co—179 U. S., 658.
Pierce v. Tenn. Coal, Iron & R. R. Co.—173 U. S., 1.
Santa Fe Pacific R. R. v. Holmes—202 U. S., 438.
Schlemmer v. Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh R. R.—205 U. S., 1.
Southern Pacific Railway v. Pool—160 U. S., 438.
Southern Pacific Railway v. Seley—152 U. S., 145.
St. Louis Iron Mountain & Southern v. Taylor—210 U. S., 281.
(a) Standard Oil Co. v. Anderson—212 U. S., 215.
Texas & Pacific Railway v. Archibald—170 U. S., 665.
Texas & Pacific Railway v. Barrett—166 U. S., 617.
Texas & Pacific Railway v. Carlin—189 U. S., 354.
Texas & Pacific Railway v. Dashiell—198 U. S., 521.
Texas & Pacific Railway v. Swearinger—196 U. S., 51.
Tullis v. Railway Co.—175 U. S., 348.
Union Pacific Railway Co. v. Daniels—152 U. S., 684.
Union Pacific Railway Co. v. Harris—158 U. S., 326.
Union Pacific Railway Co. v. James—163 U. S., 485.
Union Pacific Railway Co. v. O'Brien—161 U. S., 451.
Wilmington Mining Co. v. Fulton—205 U. S., 60.

FULL CREW (RAILROAD CASES).

Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific v. State of Arkansas—31 Sup. Ct. Repr. 275; U. S. Labor Bul. 95, p. 317.

HABEAS CORPUS (KIDNAPPING).

Haywood v. Nichols—203 U. S. 222.
Moyer v. Nichols—203 U. S. 221.
Pettibone v. Nichols—203 U. S. 192.

HOURS OF LABOR.

Eight Hours—Ten Hours—Sixteen Hours for Railroad Men and Hours for Women Workers.

Breakwater Co. v. United States—183 Fed. Rep. 112; U. S. Labor Bul. 95, p. 295.
United States v. Garbish—32 Sup. Ct. Repr. 77; U. S. Labor Bul. 99, p. 708.
Ellis v. United States—27 Sup. Ct. Repr. 600; U. S. Labor Bul. 71, p. 361.
Atkin v. Kansas—191 U. S., 207.
Bay State Dredging Co. v. United States—206 U. S. 246.
Ellis v. United States—206 U. S., 246.
Holden v. Hardy—169 U. S., 366. (Utah Constitution Test Case.)
Lochner v. New York—198 U. S., 45. (Bakers' 10-hour case.)
Muller v. State (Oregon) Laundry—208 U. S. 412; 85 Pac. Rep., 855; U. S. Labor Bul. 67, p. 877. 28 Sup. Ct. Repr. 324; U. S. Labor Bul. 75, p. 361, U. S. Labor Bul. 67, p. 877. (Women's 10-hour law.)
United States v. Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Ry. Co.—31 Sup. Ct. Repr., 362; U. S. Labor Bul. 95, p. 311.
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Ry. Co. v.

United States—177 Fed. Rep. 114; U. S. Labor Bul. 89, p. 425.
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. v. Interstate Commerce Commission—31 Sup. Ct. Repr. 621; U. S. Labor Bul. 96, p. 858.

INJUNCTIONS.

Decisions of Federal Courts on Labor cases where injunctions have been issued, conspiracy charged, and alleging that the anti-trust law was violated.

Allis-Chalmers Co. v. Reliable Lodge—111 Fed. Rep. 264; U. S. Labor Bul. 38, p. 183.
Allis-Chalmers Co. v. Iron Molders' Union No. 125 et al—150 Fed. Rep. 155; U. S. Labor Bul. 70, p. 734. 166 Fed. Rep. 45; U. S. Labor Bul. 83, p. 157.
Aluminum Casting Co. v. Local 84 of International Molders' Union of N. A., et al—197 Fed. Rep. 221.
American Steel & Wire Co. v. Wire, etc.—90 Fed. Rep. 221.
Armstrong Cork Co. v. Anheuser-Busch Brewing Co. (1904).
Arthur v. Oakes—63 Fed. Rep. 310.
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. R. R. Co. v. Gee, Cir. Ct. Southern District Iowa—139 Fed. Rep. 582; 140 Fed. Rep. 153.
Bender v. Local Union 118, Bakers' Organization, Sup.—34 Wash. Law Repr., 574: U. S. Labor Bul. 67, p. 984.
Barnes, A. R. & Co., v. Berry—156 Fed. Rep. 72; U. S. Labor Bul. 74, p. 259; 157 Fed. Rep. 833.
Beck et al v. Railway Trainmen's Protective.
Besette v. Conkey & Co.—194 U. S. 324; 24 Sup. Ct. Repr. 665.
Blindell et al v. Hogan et al—54 Fed. Rep. 40.
Boutwell et al v. Marr et al—42 Atl. Repr. 607.
Bowels v. Indiana Railway Co.—62 N. E. Rep. 94.
Boyer et al v. Western Union Telegraph Co. C. C. E. D., Missouri—124 Fed. Rep. 246.
Buck Stove & Range Co. v. American Federation of Labor—35 Wash. Law Rep. 797; U. S. Labor Bul. 74, p. 246.
Buck Stove & Range Co. v. American Federation of Labor—36 Wash. Law Rep. 822; U. S. Labor Bul. 80, p. 124 and No. 86, p. 355.
Buck Stove & Range Co.—A. F. of L., Court of Appeals of District of Columbia—37 Washington Law Rep., p. 154; U. S. Labor Bul. 83, p. 169. 31 Sup. Ct. Rep. 492; U. S. Labor Bul. 95, p. 323. 40 Wash. Law Rep. 412; U. S. Labor Bul. 112, p. 155.
Brewing & Malting Co. v. Hansen (Seattle)—144 Fed. Rep. p. 1011; U. S. Labor Bul. 68.
Barnes, A. R. & Co. v. Chicago Typographical Union—83 N. E. Repr. 932; U. S. Labor Bul. 76, p. 1016.
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therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Govvernments.

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-Citizens taken captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injiry. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We Therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be free and independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, We mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

The Constitution originally consisted of a Preamble and seven Articles, and in that form was "Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth." The Constitution was declared in effect on the first Wednesday in March, 1789. The signers of the original Constitution, by virtue of their membership in Congress, were: Go. Washington, Presidt. and deputy from Virginia. New Hampshire—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman. Massachusetts—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King. Connecticut—Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman. New York—Alexander Hamilton. New Jersey—Wil. Livingston, David Brearley, Wm. Patterson, Jona. Dayton. Pennsylvania—B. Franklin, Robt. Morris, Thos. Fitzsimons, James Wilson, Thomas Mifflin, Geo. Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Gouv. Morris. Delaware—Geo. Read, John Dickinson, Jaco. Broom, Gunning Bedford jun, Richard Bassett. Maryland—James McHenry, Danl. Carroll, Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer. Virginia—John Blair, James Madison, Jr. North Carolina—Wm. Blount, Hu. Williamson, Richd. Dobbs Spaight. South Carolina—J. Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler. Georgia—William Few, Abr. Baldwin. Attest: William Jackson, Secretary.

The Constitution was ratified by the thirteen original States in the following order:

Delaware, December 7, 1787, unanimously.
Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, vote 46 to 23.
New Jersey, December 18, 1787, unanimously.
Georgia, January 2, 1788, unanimously.
Connecticut, January 9, 1788, vote 128 to 40.
Massachusetts, February 6, 1788, vote 187 to 168.
Maryland, April 28, 1788, vote 63 to 12.
South Carolina, May 23, 1788, vote 149 to 73.
New Hampshire, June 21, 1788, vote 57 to 46.
Virginia, June 25, 1788, vote 89 to 79.
New York, July 26, 1788, vote 30 to 28.
North Carolina, November 21, 1789, vote 193 to 75.
Rhode Island, May 29, 1790, vote 34 to 32.

The Constitution.

PREAMBLE—We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domes-

tic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.—Section 1. (Legislative powers: in whom vested.)

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. (House of Representatives, how and by whom chosen. Qualifications of a Representative, Representatives and direct taxes, how apportioned. Enumeration. Vacancies to be filled. Power of choosing officers, and of impeachment.)

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years; in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3; Massachusetts, 8; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1; Connecticut, 5; New York, 6; New Jersey, 4; Pennsylvania, 8; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.*

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. (Senators, how and by whom chosen. How classified. State Executive, when to make temporary appointments, in case, etc. Qualifications of a Senator. President of the Senate, his right to vote. President pro tem., and other officers of the Senate, how chosen. Power to try impeachments. When President is tried, Chief Justice to preside. Sentence.)

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointment until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment of cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 4. (Times, etc., of holding elections, how prescribed. One Session in each year.)

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5. (Membership. Quorum. Adjournments. Rules. Power to punish or expel. Journal. Time of adjournments, how limited, etc.)

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-

*See Article XIV., Amendments.

fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. (Compensation. Privileges. Disqualification in certain cases.)

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. (House to originate all revenue bills. Veto. Bill may be passed by two-thirds of each house, notwithstanding, etc. Bill, not returned in ten days, to become a law. Provisions as to orders, concurrent resolutions, etc.)

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. (Powers of Congress.)

1. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the U. S.

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the U. S.

7. To establish postoffices and post roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations.

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the U. S., reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusivve legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the U. S., and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dry-docks, and other needful buildings.

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the U. S., or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9—(Provision as to migration or importation of certain persons. Habeas Corpus. Bills of attainder, etc. Taxes, how apportioned. No export duty. No commercial preference. Money, how drawn from treasury, etc. No titular nobility. Officers not to receive presents, etc.)

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the U. S. And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sec. 10—(States prohibited from the exercise of certain powers.)

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the U. S.; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. Sec. 1—(President; his term of office. Electors of President; number and how appointed. Electors to vote on same day. Qualification of President. On whom his duties devolve in case of his removal, death, etc. President's compensation. His oath of office.)

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the U. S. of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the U. S. shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the U. S., directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote. A quorum, for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.*

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the U. S.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the U. S. at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the U. S.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the U. S., or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the U. S., and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Sec. 2. President to be Commander-in-

*This clause is superseded by Article XII., Amendments.

Chief. He may require opinions of Cabinet Officers, etc., may pardon. Treaty-making power. Nomination of certain officers. When President may fill vacancies.)

1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into the actual service of the U. S.; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the U. S. except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the U. S. whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3. (President shall communicate to Congress. He may convene and adjourn Congress, in case of disagreement, etc. Shall receive ambassadors, execute laws, and commission officers.)

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the U. S.

Sec. 4. (All civil offices forfeited for certain crimes.)

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the U. S. shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. Sec. 1. (Judicial powers. Tenure. Compensation.)

The judicial power of the U. S. shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. 2. (Judicial power; to what cases it extends. Original jurisdiction of Supreme Court. Appellate. Trial by Jury, etc. Trial, where.)

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the U. S., and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the U. S. shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. (Treason defined. Proof of. Punishment of.)

1. Treason against the U. S. shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV. Sec. 1. (Each state to give credit to the public acts, etc., of every other state.)

Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. (Privileges of citizens of each state. Fugitives from justice to de delivered up. Persons held to service having escaped, to be delivered up.)

1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 3. (Admission of new states. Power of Congress over territory and other property.)

1. New states may be admitted by the

Congress into this Union, but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the U. S.; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the U. S., or of any particular state.

Sec. 4. (Republican form of government guaranteed. Each state to be protected.)

The U. S. shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. (Constitution; how amended. Proviso.)

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the First Article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. (Certain debts, etc., declared valid. Supremacy of Constitution, treaties, and laws of the U. S. Oath to support Constitution, by whom taken. No religious test.)

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the U. S. under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution and the laws of the U. S. which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the U. S., shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the U. S. and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the U. S.

ARTICLE VII. (What ratification shall establish Constitution.)

The ratification of the Conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following amendments to the Constitution, Articles 1 to X inclusive, were proposed at the First Session of the First Congress, begun and held at the City of New York, on Wednesday, March 4, 1789, and were adopted by the necessary number of states. The original proposal of the ten amendments was preceded by this preamble and resolution:

"The conventions of a number of the states having, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added, and as extending the ground of public confidence in the government will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution:

"Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S. of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, as amendments to the Constitution of the U. S.; all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, namely:"

Article 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment of indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the U. S. than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X. The powers not delegated to the U. S. by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

The following amendment was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Third Congress on the 5th of March, 1794, and was declared to have been ratified in a message from the President to Congress, dated Jan. 8, 1798.

Article XI. The judicial power of the U. S. shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the U. S., by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

The following amendment was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Eighth Congress on the 12th of December, 1803, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated September 25, 1804. It was ratified by all the states except Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

Article XII. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the U. S., directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-Jresident; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the U. S.

The following amendment was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Thirty-eighth Congress on the 1st of February, 1865, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated December 18, 1865. It was rejected by Delaware and Kentucky; was conditionally ratified by Alabama and Mississippi; and Texas took no action.

Article XIII. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the U. S., or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The following, popularly known as the Reconstruction Amendment, was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Thirty-ninth Congress on the 16th of June, 1866, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated July 28, 1868. The amendmemnt got the support of 23 Northern states; it was rejected by Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and 10 Southern states. California took no action. Subsequently it was ratified by the 10 Southern states.

Article XIV. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the U. S., and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the U. S. and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the U. S.; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the U. S., Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such state, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the U. S., or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

3. No person shall be a Senator or Repre-

sentative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or holding any office, civil or military, under the U. S., or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the U. S., or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the U. S., shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. The validity of the public debt of the U. S., authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection and rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the U. S. nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the U. S., or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

The following amendment was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Fortieth Congress on the 27th of February, 1869, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870. It was not acted on by Tennessee; it was rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, and Orgon; ratified by the remaining 30 states. New York rescinded its ratification January 5, 1870.

Article XV. 1. The right of the citizens of the U. S. to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the U. S. or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

The following amendment was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Sixty-first Congress on the 12th day of July, 1909, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated February 25, 1913. The income tax amendment was ratified by all the states except Connecticut, Florida, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, and Virginia.

Article XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

The following amendment was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Sixty-second Congress on the 16th day of May, 1912, and was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated May 31, 1913. It got the vote of all the states except Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia.

Article XVII. 1. The Senate of the U. S. shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

WAR BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

Many representatives of labor were appointed on the government boards and commissions formed to aid in carrying on the war. They are:

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE—

Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., member Advisory Council and chairman of Committee on Labor.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR—

Frank Morrison, secretary A. F. of L.

James O'Connell, president Metal Trades Department A. F. of L.

W. H. Johnston, president International Association of Machinists.

John R. Alpine, president United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

J. E. McClory, president International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers.

William Diamond, United Mine Workers.

W. D. Mahon, president Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railroad Employes.

H. B. Perham, president Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Collis Lovely, vice president Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

D. D'Alessandro, president Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union.

J. J. Freel, president International Union of Stereotypers and Electrotypers.

S. E. Heberling, president Switchmen's Union of North America.

Stephen C. Hogan, president International Association of Marble Workers.

Thomas A. Rickert, president United Garment Workers.

Joseph F. Valentine, president International Molders' Union.

James Lord, president Mining Department A. F. of L.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON WAGES AND HOURS—
Frank Morrison, secretary A. F. of L.
John R. Alphine, president United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.
C. L. Baine, secretary-treasurer Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
W. E Bryan, president United Leather Workers.
W. S. Carter, president Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.
John Golden, United Textile Workers of America.
William L. Hutcheson, president Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
William H. Johnston, president International Association of Machinists.
Frank J. McNulty, president International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
T. V. O'Connor, president International Longshoremen's Association.
Thomas A. Rickert, president United Garment Workers.
Joseph F. Valentine, president International Molders' Union.
A. O. Wharton, president Railroad Employes' Department A. F. of L.
John Williams, President Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
A. J. Berres, secretary-treasurer, Metal Trades Department A. F. of L.
John Donlin, president Building Trades Department A. F. of L.
William Green, secretary-treasurer United Mine Workers.
W. D. Mahon, president Amalgamated Association Street and Electric Railroad Employes.
William J. Spencer, secretaryy Building Trades Department A. F. of L.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY—
Miss Anna Fitzgerald, president Woman's International Union Label League.
Miss Mary Anderson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
Miss Elizabeth Christman, secretary International Glove Workers' Union.
Mrs. Sara A. Conboy, secretary United Textile Workers.
Miss Mary Conroy, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.
Miss Margaret Daly, United Garment Workers.
Miss Margaret Haley, Chicago Teachers' Federation.
Miss Mary Hancy, United Garment Workers.
Miss Nell Hannan, Retail Clerks' National Protective Association.
Miss Agnes Johnson, Boot and Shoeworkers' Union.
Miss Mary J. McCauley, Commercial Telegraphers' International Union.
Miss Mary McEnerney, Bindery Women's Union.
Miss Gertrude N. McNally, Bureau of Engraving and Printing.
Mrs. Mary Moran, Laundry Workers' International Union.
Miss Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers' Union.
Miss Emma Steghagen, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
Miss Florence Thorne, assistant editor American Federationist.
Mrs. Lydia Trowbridge, High School Teachers' Federation.
Miss Emilia Weiss, Cigarmakers' International Union.
Miss Madaline King, Retail Clerks' National Protective Association.
Miss Melinda Scott.
Miss Ella R. Bloor.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY—
Frank Morrison, secretary A. F. of L.
Grant Hamilton, legislative agent A. F. of L.

ADVISORY COUNCIL DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—
John B. Lennon, Journeymen Taylors' Union of America.
John Casey, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.
Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers' Union.

RAILROAD WAGE COMMISSION—
W. S. Carter, director Division of Labor, president Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.
J. A. Franklin, assistant director, president Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.
A. O. Wharton, president Railroad Employes' Department A. F. of L.

WAR LABOR CONFERENCE BOARD AND NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD—
Frank J. Hayes, president United Mine Workers.
William L. Hutcheson, president United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
William H. Johnston, president International Association of Machinists. (Succeeded Thomas J. Savage, deceased.)
Thomas A. Rickert, president United Garment Workers.
Victor A. Olander, vice president Seamen's International Union.

ALTERNATES—
Adam Wilkinson, United Mineworkers of America (Hayes).
T. M. Guerin, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (Hutcheson).
Fred Hewitt, editor machinists' Journal (Johnston).
Matthew Woll, fourth vice president Union Label Department A. F.of L. (Olander).
John J. Manning, secretary-treasurer Union Label Trades Department A. F. of L. (Rickert).

WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD—
Hugh Frayne (Sheet Metal Worker), organizer A. F. of L.

RAILROAD WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS—
G. H. Sines, vice president Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
J. J. Dermody, vice president Order Railroad Telegraphers.
A. O. Wharton, president Railroad Employes' Department A. F. of L.

RAILROAD BOARD OF ADJUSTMENT—
F. A. Burgess, chairman, assistant grand chief engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
W. N. Doak, vice president Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
Albert Phillips, vice president Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.
W. F. Clark, vice president Order of Railroad Conductors.

RAILROAD BOARD OF ADJUSTMENT NO. 2—
F. J. McNulty, chairman, president International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
H. J. Carr, member executive board International Association of Machinists.
Otto E. Hoard, vice president Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.
F. H. Knight, assistant to president Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.
George W. Pring, vice president Railroad Employes' Department A. F. of L.
G. C. VanDornes, vice president International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

COMMITTEE ON COAL PRODUCTION—
John P. White, president United Mine Workers.
Frank J. Hayes, vice president United Mine Workers.
William Green, secretary United Mine Workers.
John L. Lewis, statistician United Mine Workers.
James Lord, president Mining Department A. F. of L.
John Mitchell, chairman Industrial Commission State of New York.

FUEL ADMINISTRATION—
John P. White, joint chairman, United Mine Workers.
Warren Pippen, assistant organizer United Mine Workers.

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN'S DEFENSE WORK—
Agnes Nestor, vice president Glove Workers' International Union.

WAR PRISON COMMITTEE—
John Manning, secretary Union Label Department A. F. of L.

EXCESS PROFITS—
T. W. McCullough, International Typographical Union, advisor to Treasury Department.

REHABILITATION OF SOLDIERS—
C. H. Winslow, Sawsmiths' National Union, member of committee to draw bill.

MISSION TO RUSSIA—
James Duncan, vice president of A. F. of L. and president Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION COMMISSION—
John H. Walker, president Illinois State Federation of Labor.
E. P. Marsh, International Typographical Union

U. S. SHIPPING BOARD, LABOR ADJUSTMENT BOARD—
A. J. Berres, secretary-treasurer Metal Trades Department A. F. of L.

CANTONMENT ADJUSTMENT BOARD—
John R. Alpine, president United Association Plumbers and Steamfitters.

HOUSING COMMISSION BOARD—
William J. Spencer, secretary-treasurer Building Trades Department A. F. of L.

WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD—
Hugh Frayne (sheet metal workers), organizer A. F. of L.

EMERGENCY CONTRACT AWARD COMMISSION—
John Donlin, president Building Trades Department A. F. of L.

ADVISORY COUNCIL TO EMERGENCY CONTRACT AWARD COMMISSION—
John R. Alpine, president United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

WAR SAVINGS CERTIFICATES COMMITTEE—
C. L. Baine, secretary-treasurer Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

HARNESS AND SADDLERY COMMISSION—
W. E. Bryan, president United Leather Workers' International Union.

FOOD COMMISSION—
J. W. Sullivan, International Typographical Union.

COMMITTEE TO FIX PRICE OF WHEAT AND MEAT—
J. W. Sullivan, International Typographical Union.
W. N. Doak, vice president Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

SPEECH BUREAU DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—
E. P. Marsh, International Typographical Union.

LONGSHOREMEN'S AGREEMENT—
T. V. O'Connor, president International Longshoremen's Association.

PRICE-FIXING COMMITTEE WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD—
Hugh Frayne (sheet metal workers), organizer A. F. of L.

APPEAL BOARD U. S. SHIPPING BOARD EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION—
James O'Connell, president Metal Trades Department A. F. of L.

ADVISER WAR LABOR POLICIES BOARD.
John R. Alpine, president United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

WORKING CONDITIONS SERVICE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—
Grant Hamilton, International Typographical Union.

LABOR MISSIONS TO AND FROM EUROPE.

When the great European war was at its height several missions were sent to Europe by the American Federation of Labor to acquaint the working people of the war ridden countries of the stand taken by Labor of the United States. The Federation had declared there could be "no peace without victory" and that organized labor of this country would fight until victory had been gained. These missions performed a wonderful duty and were congratulated by the government officials of all the allies. Great Britain sent missions to the United States after the war began to explain conditions in that country and the mistakes made, so that Labor in the United States could avoid them. After the armistice was signed the Executive Council sent five mem-

bers to the International Peace Conference in Paris. Those comprising this committee and the labor missions are:

International Peace Conference.

Samuel Gompers (who was elected chairman of the International Labor Legislation Committee of the Peace Conference), President A. F. of L.
James Duncan, president Granite Cutters' International Union.
Jorn R. Alpine, president United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the U. S. and Canada.
Frank Duffy, secretary United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
William Green, secretary-treasurer United Mineworkers of America.
Secretaries of the American Labor Delegation—Guy H. Oyster and James Mahan.

American Labor Mission to England.

James Wilson, president Patternmakers' League of North America.
John P. Frey, International Molders' Union of North America.
William Short, president Washington State Federation of Labor.
Miss Melinda Scott, president Straw Hat Trimmers and Operatives' Union.
Miss Agnes Nestor, vice president Glove Workers' International Union.
William H. Johnston, president International Association of Machinists.
George L. Berry, president International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.
Chester M. Wright, member International Typographical Union.
Martin F. Ryan, president Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Second American Labor Mission to Great Britain, France and Italy.

Samuel Gompers, president A. F. of L.
John P. Frey, International Molders' Union.
C. L. Baine, secretary Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
Edgar Wallace, United Mine Workers of America.
W. J. Bowen, president Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.
Guy H. Oyster, secretary of the mission.

Third American Mission to Italy and Great Britain.

James Wilson, president Patternmakers' League.
F. J. McNulty, president International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.
John Golden, president United Textile Workers of America.
Michael Green, president United Hatters of America.
Peter Josephine, Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

British Labor Missions to United States.

W. A. Appleton, secretary General Federation of Trade Unions.
Charles Duncan, M. P., secretary General Workers' Union.
Joshua Butterworth, Associated Shipwrights' Society.
William Mosses, Patternmakers' Association, Secretary Labor Advisory Board to the Munitions Board.
Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, privy councillor and member of British House of Commons and secretary British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.
James H. Thomas, member of Parliament and general secretary National Union of Railwaymen, Great Britain and Ireland.
Joseph Davies, member of the Secretariat of the Prime Minister.
H. W. Garrod, representing Labor, Department of Ministry of Munitions.

Canadian Mission to United States.

J. C. Waters, president Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
Giddeon D. Robertson, vice president National Association of Railway Telegraphers.

APPRENTICE RULES

CHICAGO carpenters have an agreement with the employers covering apprentices that provides for their schooling. It has proved of value and is as follows:

Each responsible party to this agreement shall have the right to teach his trade to apprentices and the said apprentices shall serve four years, as prescribed in the apprentice rules as agreed upon by the Joint Arbitration Board, and shall be subject to the control of the said Arbitration Board.

Apprentices shall be under the jurisdiction of the Joint Arbitration Board, which has the authority to control them and protect their interests subject to approved indentures entered into with their employers and the rules adopted by the Joint Board.

The applicant for apprenticeship shall not be more than 17 years of age at the time of making application, except under conditions satisfactory to the two Presidents. Applicants more than 17 years old must bring satisfactory proof of having worked at the trade.

The contractor taking an apprentice shall engage to keep him at work in the trade for nine consecutive months in each year, and see that during the remaining three months of the year the apprentice attends school during January, February and March, and a certificate of attendance from the principal of the school attended must be furnished the Joint Arbitration Board as a compliance with this requirement, before he is allowed to work during the coming year.

A contractor taking an apprentice shall keep him steadily at work or school; failing to do so, he shall pay him the same as though he had worked for him.

In case an apprentice at the end of his term of four years for want of proper instruction in the trade, is not a proficient workman, and if after a thorough investigation the Joint Arbitration Board finds the contractor to whom he was apprenticed did not give him proper instruction and an opportunity to learn his trade, he may be required to serve another year, with whom he and the Joint Arbitration Board may determine, and at a rate of wages (less than the minimum) in his trade they may determine, and the difference between that rate and the minimum scale in his trade shall be paid him through the Joint Arbitration Board by the contractor to whom he was apprenticed.

A contractor entitled to an apprentice may

take one on trial for two weeks, provided that applicant holds a permit from the Joint Arbitration Board, and if after said trial, conditions are satisfactory to both parties, they will be required to sign indentures agreeable to the Joint Arbitration Board. If not satisfactory, the contractor is not bound to indenture him, but he will be required to pay the boy $8 per week for the two weeks. No boy will be allowed a trial with more than two contractors, or a contractor with more than two boys consecutively.

The rate of wages of an apprentice at the date of indenture shall in no case be less than $416 for the first year, $494 for the second year, $572 for the third year and $728 for the fourth year, payable in lawful money of the United States, and shall be paid in fifty-two weekly installments at the following rate per week of $8 for the first year, $9.50 for the second, $11 for the third and $14 for the fourth year.

The issuing of permits for an apprentice to work for another contractor when the one to whom he is apprenticed has no work shall be left to the Joint Arbitration Board.

The contractor shall not have more than two apprentices at any one time.

Contractors shall be allowed apprentices on the following basis: Yearly average of four journeymen, one apprentice. Yearly average of ten journeymen, two apprentices.

The apprentice upon completing his indenture shall report to the Joint Arbitration Board and shall, after furnishing said board with satisfactory proof of his competence as a skillful mechanic in his trade, receive a certificate approved by the board which shall entitle him to a journeyman working-card

It is further agreed by and between the parties hereto that power shall be vested in the Joint Arbitration Board to interpret the spirit as well as the letter of this agreement, and in order to maintain justice and equity between the parties hereto, the Joint Arbitration Board is hereby given power to enforce the spirit as well as the letter of this agreement.

PER CAPITA TAX PAID 1881-1918.

1881—3 cents per member annually from each trade and labor union, trades assembly or council paid quarterly in advance.

1882—1 cent per member annually from national and international unions, trades assembly or council or district assembly K. of L. quarterly in advance. Local trade unions $10 per year and per capita over 500 members. State or provincial federations of trade unions shall pay $10 for each delegate.

1883—National and international unions, trades assembly or council or district assembly K. of L. shall pay: For 1,000 members or less, $10 per year; 1,000 to 4,000, $20; 4,000 to 8,000, $25; 8,000 to 12,000, $30; 12,000 to 20,000, $40; over 20,000, $50. Local trade unions, $10; state or provincial federations of trade unions, $10 for each delegate.

1884—National and international unions, trades assemblies or councils or district assemblies of the K. of L.: For 1,000 members or less, $10 per year; 1,000 to 4,000, $20; exceeding 1,000, 1 cent per member. Local or state trades assemblies or assemblies of K. of L., whose membership exceeds 1,000, 1 cent per member but not to exceed $25.

1885—Same as for 1884.

1886—1 cent per month from national, international, district and local unions.

1887—One-fourth cent per month per member from national, international, district or local unions; central labor unions or city and state federated bodies, $25.

1888—One-fourth cent per member per month from national and international unions, 1 cent per member per month from local and federal unions; city and state federated bodies, $25 per year.

1889—Same as 1888.

1890, 1891, 1892—Same.

1893—Same, except city and state federated bodies paid $6.25 quarterly.

1894—Same as 1893.

1895—Same.

1896—Same, except city and state federated bodies paid $2.50 quarterly and $10 extra if represented in convention.

1897—One-third cent per member per month from national and international unions, on full paid-up membership; 2 cents per member from local and federal unions; $2.50 quarterly and $10 extra if represented in convention from city and state federated bodies.

1898—One-third cent from national and international unions; 5 cents from local and federal unions; city and state federated bodies, $2.50 quarterly for 1,000 members or less, and over 1,000, $5.

1899—Same, except $10 for city and state federated bodies.

1900—Same.

1901—One-half cent per member per month from national and international unions, 10 cents per member per month from local and federal unions, 5 cents to be used only in case of strike or lockout; 2 cents per member per month from local unions, the majority of whose members are less than 18 years of age; $10 per year payable quarterly from city and state bodies.

1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910—Same.

1911—Two-thirds cent per member per month from national and international unions; others no change.

1912—Same, except local and federal unions 15 cents, 5 cents to be set aside and used only in strikes and lockouts.

1913—Same.

1914—Same.

1915—Same, except three-fourths cent per member per month from national and international unions on full paid-up membership.

1916—Same.

1917—Same, except seven-eighths cent per member per month from national and international unions on full paid-up membership.

1918—Same.

LABOR MEMBERS 65TH CONGRESS

Wm. J. Cary	Telegraphers' Union	Wisconsin	Republican.
John G. Cooper	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	Ohio	Republican.
John R. Farr	Typographical Union	Pennsylvania	Republican.
Mahlon Garland	Steel Workers' Union	Pennsylvania	Republican.
G. T. Helvering	Street Carmen's Union	Kansas	Democrat.
Albert Johnson	Typographical Union	Washington	Republican.
Edward Keating	Typographical Union	Colorado	Democrat.
John A. Key	Stenographers' Union	Ohio	Democrat.
James P. Maher	Hatters' Union	New York	Democrat.
John I. Nolan	Iron Molders' Union	California	Progressive
E. E. Roberts	Metal Miners' Union	Nevada	Republican.
Isaac R. Sherwood	Typographical Union	Ohio	Democrat.
Charles B. Smith	Commercial Telegrapher	New York	Democrat.
Carl C. Van Dyke	Railroad Mail Clerks	Minnesota	Democrat.
Frederick N. Zihlman	Flint Glass Workers	Maryland	Republican.

WHERE FUNDS ARE DEPOSITED

(1918, p. 136) The funds of the American Federation of Labor are disposed of as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind.		$65,000.00
On deposit in Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check of Treasurer Tobin		18,320.98
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison	$17,211.59	
Outstanding checks	15,211.59	
		2,000.00
Invested in Liberty Bonds		30,000.00
Invested in Canadian Victory Bonds		10,000.00
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building Fund		40,000.00
Total		$165,320.98

A. F. OF L. BUILDING FUND

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1917	$1,247.88
Received during the year	46,656.02
Total receipts	$47,903.90
Total expenses October 1, 1917, to April 30, 1918	47,838.80
Balance on hand April 30, 1918	$65.10
RECAPITULATION	
Total amount borrowed	$189,240.00
Total amount paid on loans	66,740.00
Balance owed	$122,500.00
TO WHOM OWED	
A. F. of L. Defense Fund	$40,000.00
American Security & Trust Co.	82,500.00
Total	$122,500.00

ASSESSMENTS LEVIED—1881-1918.

1889—10c—Boston Convention—Carpenters' 8-hour struggle.

1896—1c—Cincinnati—Eight-hour campaign.

1898—2c—Kansas City Mo., Conv.—To defray expenses organizers for Southern and Inter-Mountain states.

1900—2c—Executive Council—Cigarmakers' strike and lockout, New York.

1901—5c—Executive Council—International Association of Machinists' struggle—nine-hour day.

1904—3c—San Francisco Conv.—Textile Workers' Fall River strike.

1905—4c—Executive Council—Order of San Francisco (1904) Convention, for International Typographical Union—inauguration eight-hour day.

1908—1c—Executive Council—Instructions Norfolk (1907) Convention, to place organizers Los Angeles and other cities to combat Manufacturers' Alliance.

1908—1c—Executive Council—Instructions Norfolk (1907) Convention, for legal defense in injunction suit of Buck's Stove and Range Company.

1909—3c—Executive Council—Instructions Denver (1908) Convention, to assist hatters' strike against manufacturers refusing to use union label.

1910—2c—Executive Council—Take appeal from decision rendered against the hatters in favor of Loewe & Company.

1913—1c—Executive Council—For legal defense in hatters and Gompers, Mitchell, Morrison contempt cases.

1914—1c—Executive Council (order convention)—To organize women workers.

1914—1c—Executive Council (order convention)—Fees for legal defense hatters.

1916—1c—Executive Council—To organize women workers.

1918—1c—And $10 on State Federations and $5 on Central Labor bodies—To be used by Executive Council as an emergency war fund to more adequately prepare for the tremendous tasks ahead.

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

(1918, p. 135) Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m., and remain in sessions until 5:30 p. m., except Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30 p. m.

Rule 2. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to call to a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote for the convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty members to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll-call has been taken, and all delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 21. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Legislative Committeemen elected at conventions held in the years stated and served for the next year.

1895—Andrew Furuseth, Adolph Strasser.
1896—Andrew Furuseth.
1897—Andrew Furuseth.
Appointed by the Executive Council:
1898—Andrew Furuseth, George Chance.
1899—Andrew Furuseth, George Chance.
1900—Andrew Furuseth, George Chance (Died), Thomas F. Tracy.
1901—Andrew Furuseth, Thomas F. Tracy.
1902—Andrew Furuseth, Thomas F. Tracy, E. L. Tucker, Herman Gudstadt.
1903—Thomas F. Tracy, John A. Moffitt (appointed but did not serve).
1904—James F. Grimes, Charles L. Nelson.
1905—James F. Grimes.
1906—James F. Grimes (resigned), J. D. Pierce.
1907—Thomas F. Tracy, Arthur E. Holder.
1908—Thomas F. Tracy, Arthur E. Holder, M. Grant Hamilton, Jacob Tazelaar, J. D. Pierce, James B. Rosen, E. N. Nockels.
1909—Thomas F. Tracy (resigned), Arthur E. Holder.
1910—Arthur E. Holder.
1911—Arthur E. Holder.
1912—Arthur E. Holder, John A. Moffitt.
1913—Arthur E. Holder, John A. Moffitt, M. Grant Hamilton.
1914—Arthur E. Holder, M. Grant Hamilton.
1915—Arthur E. Holder, M. Grant Hamilton.
1916—Arthur E. Holder, M. Grant Hamilton.
1917—Arthur E. Holder (resigned) M. Grant Hamilton.
1918—M. Grant Hamilton (resigned), Rollo S. Sexton, Henry Sterling.

CONVENTION CITIES.

1881—Pittsburgh, Pa.	Dec.	15-18
1882—Cleveland, Ohio	Nov.	21-24
1883—New York, N. Y.	Aug.	21-24
1884—Chicago, Ill.	Oct.	7-10
1885—Washington, D. C.	Dec.	8-11
1886—Columbus, Ohio	Dec.	8-12
1887—Baltimore, Md.	Dec.	13-17
1888—St. Louis, Mo.	Dec.	11-15
1889—Boston, Mass.	Dec.	10-14
1890—Detroit, Mich.	Dec.	8-13
1891—Birmingham, Ala.	Dec.	14-19
1892—Philadelphia, Pa.	Dec.	12-17
1893—Chicago, Ill.	Dec.	11-19
1894—Denver, Colo.	Dec.	10-18
1895—New York, N. Y.	Dec.	9-17
1896—Cincinnati, Ohio	Dec.	14-21
1897—Nashville, Tenn.	Dec.	13-21
1898—Kansas City, Mo.	Dec.	12-20
1899—Detroit, Mich.	Dec	11-20
1900—Louisville, Ky.	Dec.	6-15
1901—Scranton, Pa.	Dec.	5-14
1902—New Orleans, La.	Nov.	13-22
1903—Boston, Mass.	Nov.	9-23
1904—San Francisco, Cal.	Nov.	14-26
1905—Pittsburgh, Pa.	Nov.	13-25
1906—Minneapolis, Minn.	Nov.	12-24
1907—Norfolk, Va.	Nov.	11-23
1908—Denver, Colo.	Nov.	9-21
1909—Toronto, Ont., Can.	Nov.	8-20
1910—St. Louis, Mo.	Nov.	14 26
1911—Atlanta, Ga.	Nov.	13-25
1912—Rochester, N. Y.	Nov.	11-23
1913—Seattle, Wash.	Nov.	10-22
1914—Philadelphia, Pa.	Nov.	9-21
1915—San Francisco, Cal.	Nov.	8-22
1916—Baltimore, Md.	Nov.	13-25
1917—Buffalo, N. Y.	Nov.	12-24
1918—St. Paul, Minn.	June	10-20

VOTING STRENGTH.

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1896 up to and including 1918. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

Organization.	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Amal. Asso. of Marine Water Tenders, etc.	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
American Agents' Association	13	11	7	9	....	....	....	....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	39	20	21	31	45	64	102	154	162	120	106	110	105	107	127	138	146	151	157	158	175	189	204
Barbers' International Union, Jour	18	22	30	40	69	116	160	208	236	227	231	241	255	255	265	285	299	318	343	341	359	398	384
Bill Posters	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	13	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	15	15	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	....	3	3	5	15	35	43	70	105	100	82	93	100	100	100	100	93	90	96	85	97	120	183
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	25	18	22	27	51	73	95	178	190	134	128	157	152	126	161	199	167	162	167	173	182	312	555
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	120	125	94	43	47	88	146	297	320	320	321	320	320	320	325	327	333	343	381	356	390	396	358
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	....	....	26	28	36	53	70	81	65	66	68	89	79	71	78	79	85	91	94	85	93	114	145
Brass and Composition Metal Workers	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Brewery Workmen, International Union	75	100	100	107	183	235	291	300	305	340	360	*	400	400	400	450	450	450	520	520	496	450	450
Brick and Clay Workers, etc	10	8	5	10	14	17	41	55	73	41	64	43	28	25	38	34	34	39	32	29	32	28	25
Bricklayers, Mas. & Plas. Intl. U. of A.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	700	700
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	1	1	1	3	4	8	9	11	11	10	10	9	8	8	6	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	7	5	5	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	††
Building Employes of America, Int. Union	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	16	16	16	18	20	26	32	45	50	48	43	58	81	73	71	78	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	200	200	200	200	200	400	800	1090	1554	1432	1637	1920	1796	1640	1904	1946	1923	2107	2128	1956	1977	2317	2673
Carriage & Wagon Workers	8	5	5	7	13	25	31	49	55	32	31	31	15	15	11	20	27	29	35	38	40	42	*l*
Carvers' Union, International Wood	....	....	9	12	18	20	23	24	21	16	16	16	13	13	12	12	10	10	11	10	11	12	12
Car Workers, International Association of	....	....	....	....	....	10	24	128	102	50	49	50	44	50	50	46	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cement Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	55	44	36	42	58	73	90	90	90	90	90	73	16	*g*	*g*	*g*
Chainmakers' National Union	....	....	....	....	2	4	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	3	2	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*
Cigarmakers' International Union	280	269	266	270	321	339	347	383	405	414	391	399	409	398	432	436	415	402	400	394	377	416	395
Clerks, Order of Railway	....	....	....	....	5	6	....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	56	50	50	50	50	50	50	51	68	172
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	20	27	*i*	*i*
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso. Retail	16	27	50	75	200	250	300	500	500	500	500	500	500	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	9	12	13	14	16	18	22	28	32	42	*i*	*i*
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	....	....	....	....	....	....	20	25	29	26	21	23	13	15	21	22	28	38	36	30	63	88	*m*
Clothingmakers, Special Order of	....	....	....	....	....	....	60	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Commercial Telegraphers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	20	20	20	35	19	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	12	13	13	13	8	6	6	6	8	10	12	14	16	*n*
Coopers' International Union	9	9	15	27	38	49	57	72	71	56	55	53	49	41	41	43	45	46	45	39	36	39	40
Coremakers' International Union	....	5	7	10	12	12	12	....	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*	*b*
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	13	17	20	20	48	73	115	183	210	210	210	302	321	138	160	189	196	227	308	362	362	415	544
Elevator Constructors	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	21	22	22	22	23	25	20	21	21	23	26	27	27	28	29	29
Engineers, B. A. of U. S. & C., Nat. Marine	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	79
Engineers, International Union of Steam	....	7	12	18	27	48	65	142	176	175	175	175	168	161	160	160	177	200	203	210	210	220	230
Engineers, Amalgamated Society of	....	....	19	18	18	18	19	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Engineers, National Bro. of Coal Hoisting	....	....	....	5	7	10	8	9	*o*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	††	††	††	††	††
Federal Employes, National Federation of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	81	109
Fire Fighters, International Association of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	....	....	....	11	24	41	62	143	180	122	123	125	173	107	81	80	114	160	160	160	170	170	171
Fishermen's National Prot. Asso., Lobster	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	6	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

Organization.	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	48	33	34	32	63	78	46	47	40	25	10	29	†	†	†	†
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	21	21	9	7	7	8	8	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	10	10	10	7	5	7	5	5	5	6	6	8	13	33
Furriers' Union of U. S. and Canada	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Fur Workers, International Association of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	4	4	4	4	2	2	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	37	57	81
Furnace Workers and Smelters of America	....	....	....	....	....	14	9	15	15	15	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Furniture Workers of America, Intl	11	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*
Garment Workers of America, United	53	40	43	42	74	154	243	457	457	319	240	334	439	534	542	525	464	585	607	422	430	449	459
Glass Bottle Blowers' A. U. S. & Canada	....	....	....	42	42	47	59	61	66	70	78	80	88	93	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal	....	....	....	....	2	3	7	20	17	17	16	14	12	11	12	12	11	13	12	11	*h*	*h*	*h*
Glass Workers, American Flint	....	78	70	75	80	72	71	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	91	99	94	94	98	99
Glass Workers', National Window	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7
Glass Flatteners' Asso. of N. A., Window	....	....	5	6	6	....	....	....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	....	....	8	8	....	....	....	....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Glass Workers of America, Amal. Window	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	58	61	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Glass House Employes' International Asso	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	6	2	2	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Glass Snappers, Window	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	9	11	12	10	6	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Glove Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	30	20	11	8	8	8	8	8	9	11	13	11	10	10	8	7
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National	....	5	5	5	....	....	3	3	3	3	3	5	5	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	†	†
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A	41	45	46	48	59	70	82	94	99	103	113	126	130	131	134	135	135	135	135	135	131	125	119
Hatters of North America, United	60	60	60	60	60	73	80	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	91
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	3	5	5	8	6	5	8	8	8	10	10	10	10	16
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	83	85	47	50	97	112	88	114	127	125	221	256	319	324	324	367
Horseshoers of United States and Canada	20	20	20	20	21	23	28	44	42	42	41	44	61	72	72	49	52	53	57	57	58	54	54
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc	13	15	25	20	48	103	191	391	494	387	345	363	386	368	370	430	476	539	590	606	590	646	652
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers Amal. Asso	80	80	80	80	80	80	150	150	135	100	100	100	100	60	80	45	45	55	64	65	67	110	161
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso	....	....	....	....	....	60	†	160	115	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	102	100	100	*j*	160
Jewelry Workers' International	....	....	....	....	9	9	10	24	24	7	4	6	4	3	4	3	2	††	††	††	53	43	48
Lace Operatives, Amal	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	5	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	9	10	11	12	12	11	12	12
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	....	....	....	....	....	20	21	30	22	18	13	23	16	18	187	668	584	788	699	653	851	823	895
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	....	....	....	....	6	14	23	44	59	43	40	40	58	50	50	50	50	50	55	60	60	60	60
Laundry Workers, International Union	....	....	....	....	....	21	42	80	63	46	55	31	40	35	29	26	26	26	28	41	43	46	55
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	1	1	4	10	21	32	42	48	46	40	40	40	40	40	37	26	20	19	18	18	18	*k*	*k*
Leather Workers of America, Amal	....	....	....	....	....	3	22	36	25	10	10	10	8	8	8	6	6	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*
Leather Workers Intl. Union, United	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	32	41
Letter Carriers, National Association of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	25	305
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	30	23	11	13	17	21	24	26	28	35	42	46	49
Lithographic Pressfeeders	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	9	9	9	10	†	†	†	†	†
Longshoremen's Association, International	40	50	80	130	200	250	347	400	500	478	340	320	315	213	208	250	235	220	250	250	250	255	260
Machinists, International Association of	140	140	100	136	225	325	355	488	557	485	500	560	621	484	569	671	598	710	754	719	1009	1125	1436
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Maintenance o Way Employes, Intl. Bro	....	....	....	....	....	....	46	87	123	120	120	132	135	100	87	100	91	80	65	81	89	97	56
Marble, etc., Intl. Association of	....	....	....	....	....	....	5	12	6	19	17	20	22	24	27	28	28	30	41	16	6	10	10
Masters, Mates and Pilots	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	40	43	48
Mattress, Spring, and Bedding Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	15	††	††	††	††	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

Organization.	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	....	11	10	17	32	55	84	253	344	62	50	53	63	63	54	31	40	54	62	61	73	96	291
Metal Mech. Int., Asso. of Allied	....	6	7	9	22	45	61	113	70	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*	*a*
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet	....	....	....	15	29	45	66	126	153	130	129	153	161	160	162	172	166	169	178	178	175	176	183
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.	35	36	42	48	50	56	84	128	128	103	109	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Metal Workers' International Union, United	....	....	....	....	10	21	43	87	96	†	†	†	†	†	†	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mine Workers of America, United	154	140	160	400	1010	1891	1854	2173	2577	2619	2379	2549	2525	2670	2337	2504	2670	3708	3345	3116	3180	3520	4134
Miners, Western Federation of	150	....	....	....	....	....	....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mine Mgrs. and Assts. Mutual Aid Asso	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	4	4	4	4	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mineral Mine Workers, United	35	28	7	6	5	4	3	7	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Intl. U	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	513	506	485	369	167	161	179	167
Molders' Union of North America, Intl	120	120	120	150	150	150	259	300	300	300	450	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of	40	46	60	60	62	81	97	140	220	308	354	375	275	394	400	500	500	546	600	600	600	604	650
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union, Intl	....	....	....	....	4	5	3	4	4	4	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	50	50	43	45	280	280	348	536	607	542	555	624	648	596	635	676	685	709	744	753	782	852	845
Paper Box Workers, International Union	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	9	7	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	....	1	1	1	4	18	41	107	88	50	35	31	43	10	16	24	28	40	44	45	52	64	60
Patternmakers' League of N. A	9	10	13	15	22	23	23	29	37	36	40	50	55	50	52	56	60	65	67	65	65	70	88
Pavers and Rammermen, Intl. Union of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	12	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	16	16	15	15	17
Paving Cutters' Union of U.S. of A. & Can	....	....	....	....	....	1	2	9	12	13	15	18	20	26	32	32	35	35	35	35	33	32	32
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17	22	22	28	29	32	35	37	40	44	47	48	51	51	51
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl	....	....	....	....	....	....	57	65	99	90	80	50	50	40	40	40	20	10	10	10	10	15	20
Pilots' Association	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pilots' Association of the Great Lakes, Lake	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U.S. & Can., Oper	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	145	152	147	157	173	180	183	184	190	190
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc	....	40	40	40	45	87	128	152	165	150	150	160	180	184	200	200	260	290	297	320	320	320	320
Postal Employes, National Federation of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	81	101
Potters, Stoneware	1	1	1	1	1	....	....	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Powder and High Explosive Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	7	7	5	6	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	....	....	....	13	22	29	49	61	58	56	56	58	59	59	58	59	65	65	77	78	77	76	78
Potters' National Union of America	1	2	2	....	....	....	....	....	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*
Printing Pressmen, International	34	50	58	72	91	100	119	144	160	170	166	166	172	178	186	190	190	190	193	227	290	330	340
Printers' Union of N.A., Intl. S. & C. Plate	....	....	4	4	6	7	7	9	10	11	12	12	12	12	13	13	12	13	13	13	12	13	12
Printer Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Printers, Machine Textile	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	4	4	4	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	7	28	35	31	35	43	44	65	80
Quarry Workers, International	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	26	36	38	41	45	45	50	35	40	40	40	36	35	35	31
Quarrymen's National Union	....	4	4	....	....	....	....	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Quarrymen's National Union, Slate	2	1	1	....	....	....	....	††	8	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Railway Clerks	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	6	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Railway Carmen of A., Bro	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	228	269	287	280	287	293	308	390	534
Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., St. & Elec.	40	28	30	30	35	43	98	256	300	300	300	320	320	333	367	393	402	457	545	589	646	737	786
Railway Expressmen	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14	3	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Railway Mail Association	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	94
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	10	10	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Rubber Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	2	1	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Sawsmith's National Union	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl	40	40	40	40	42	82	99	139	201	195	194	248	255	168	160	160	160	160	160	160	217	322	371
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	26	34	24	20	19	16	16	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

Organization.	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	8	9	8	9
Slate and Tile Roofers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5	7	6	5	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6
Slate Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	8	8	9	18	30	27	21	14	7	4	3	3	3	††	††	††
Spinners' Intl. Union	24	24	24	21	24	27	26	25	★	★	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers	....	....	....	20	18	15	15	★	★	★	54	55	56	56	56	56	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	27	20	29	37
Steel Plate Transferrers' Asso. of America	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of N. A.	....	....	....	....	....	....	18	21	24	28	28	29	31	35	40	42	43	45	45	49	49	52	53
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	85	83	89	80	86	89	66	60	44	43	41	42
Stove Mounters' International Union	20	7	6	6	9	13	16	16	17	15	15	15	14	10	9	11	11	11	11	12	17	19	
Switchmen's Union of North America	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	81	92	93	80	80	87	87	96	98	90	93	102	107
Tackmakers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	50	50	50	50	73	93	109	138	159	160	166	167	161	132	117	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
Teachers, Am. Fed. of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	27	21	10
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of	....	....	....	17	47	94	138	320	840	783	402	366	377	320	358	382	415	469	511	516	590	703	729
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	....	....	....	80	80	80	80	95	150	150	150	150	150	150	200	250	250	250	250	250	250	272	377
Textile Workers of America, United	36	27	25	22	34	27	106	150	105	100	100	114	129	100	100	100	109	162	180	189	255	371	459
Theatrical Stage Employes Intl., Alliance	20	20	23	30	30	38	44	45	50	55	60	60	62	80	91	98	110	132	150	180	181	186	186
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union	....	....	2	3	4	7	11	14	17	14	19	21	19	17	19	21	24	27	30	30	28	28	25
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	23
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective	....	....	....	17	21	20	21	18	16	14	14	14	14	15	8	3	3	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*
Tip Printers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	†	†	3	3	3	3
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America	35	41	46	41	60	43	41	52	56	54	55	51	46	43	41	40	37	36	37	39	34	32	33
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.	....	....	....	....	3	3	5	16	15	13	9	7	5	5	6	8	9	9	9	9	10	*k*	*k*
Tube Workers of United States and Can	....	....	....	....	....	....	5	15	15	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	17	18	19	17	15	27	34	24
Typographical Union, International	283	284	289	310	329	365	393	435	467	467	438	428	440	455	491	518	547	564	594	591	607	616	633
Upholsterers, International Union of	....	....	....	....	13	13	13	25	30	28	26	26	28	28	28	28	28	31	35	35	39	40	48
Watch Case Engravers, International	....	....	....	....	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*
Watch Case Makers, International	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*
Weavers, Elastic Goring	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	14	16	17	18	17	18	18	15	15	31	25	7	4	5	*o*
White Rats Actors' Union of A	....	....	....	....	....	3	5	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	66	110	110	110	87	90	47	30
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	....	....	....	....	....	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Wire Drawers of America, Fed. Asso. of	4	5	3	5	....	....	....	....	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	11	12	10	3	7	6	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Wood Workers, Amalgamated	26	33	51	68	121	151	184	273	283	200	150	93	40	41	32	31	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*
Centrals	61	78	81	117	218	324	425	549	569	601	538	574	606	594	632	631	560	621	647	673	717	762	781
State Branches	200	142	146	163	349	469	698	828	553	1046	750	713	616	608	39	38	41	42	43	44	45	45	45
Directly affiliated local unions	10	11	10	11	16	21	27	29	32	34	36	37	38	39	647	680	590	659	570	486	705	1016	1078
Total votes of affiliated unions	2806	2747	2881	3632	5737	8240	10705	15238	17363	16338	15621	16425	16892	15880	16737	18643	18499	20976	21185	20433	21906	24973	28375

* Charter revoked. ** Withdrew. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ††Disbanded.
a Merged with Machinists. *b* Merged with Molders. *c* Surrendered charter. *d* Not recognized. *e* Merged with Carpenters. *f* Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. *g* Merged with Operative Plasterers. *h* Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. *i* Bro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. *j* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. *k* Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. *l* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. Convention. *m* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of A. F. of L. *n* Merged with Hodcarriers. *o* Merged with Timber Workers.

READY-REFERENCE CALENDAR.

For ascertaining the Day of the Week for any given Time from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Year 2200.

RULE.—To the day of the Month, add Factors for Month, Century, and Year, and divide the total by 7.

If there is no remainder, the day is		Sunday.	Should the total be less than 7, it is to be taken as a remainder.
" 1 is the remainder	"	Monday.	
" 2 "	"	Tuesday.	
" 3 "	"	Wednesday.	
" 4 "	"	Thursday.	
" 5 "	"	Friday.	
" 6 "	"	Saturday.	

EXAMPLE:

Week-day of Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1913.

Factors for

Day. Month. Century. Year.

22 + 5 + 5 + 2 = 34

34 divided by 7 leaves 6 remainder, therefore the day will be *Saturday*.

MONTHS.

For Leap years figures in heavier type to be taken.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Factors.	2	5	5	1	3	6	1	4	0	2	5	0
	1	**4**										

CENTURIES (Cardinal Numbers).

The year 00 of Centuries in heavier type was, or will be, a Leap year.

Old Style, ended Sept. 2, 1752—a Wednesday.	2	1	0	6	5	4	3
	9	8	7	13	12	11	10
	16	15	14				17
New Style, began Sept. 14, 1752—a Thursday.	18		17		20	19	
	22		21		24	23	
	26		25		28	27	
	and every succeeding fourth Century.						
Factors.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

YEARS.

Leap years in heavier type.

00	1	2	3		**4**	5
6	7		**8**	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15		**16**
17	18	19		**20**	21	22
23		**24**	25	26	27	
28	29	30	31		**32**	33
34	35		**36**	37	38	39
	40	41	42	43		**44**
45	46	47		**48**	49	50
51		**52**	53	54	55	
56	57	58	59		**60**	61
62	63		**64**	65	66	67
	68	69	70	71		**72**
73	74	75		**76**	77	78
79		**80**	81	82	83	
84	85	86	87		**88**	89
90	91		**92**	93	94	95
	96	97	98	99		
0	1	2	3	4	5	6

READY-REFERENCE CALENDAR

YEARS 1753 TO 1952.

									Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1753g	1781g	1800e	1828q	1856q	1884q	1900g	1928h	a	4	7	7	3	5	1	3	6	2	4	7	2
1754d	1782d	1801a	1829a	1857a	1885a	1901d	1929d													
1755e	1783e	1802b	1830b	1858b	1886b	1902e	1930e	b	5	1	1	4	6	2	4	7	3	5	1	3
1756p	1784p	1803c	1831c	1859c	1887c	1903a	1931a													
1757c	1785c	1804h	1832h	1860h	1888h	1904k	1932k	c	6	2	2	5	7	3	5	1	4	6	2	4
1758f	1786f	1805d	1833d	1861d	1889d	1905f	1933f													
1759g	1787g	1806e	1834e	1862e	1890e	1906g	1934g	d	2	5	5	1	3	6	1	4	7	2	5	7
1760q	1788q	1807a	1835a	1863a	1891a	1907d	1935d													
1761a	1789a	1808k	1836k	1864k	1892k	1908 l	1936 l	e	3	6	6	2	4	7	2	5	1	3	6	1
1762b	1790b	1809f	1837f	1865f	1893f	1909b	1937b													
1763c	1791c	1810g	1838g	1866g	1894g	1910c	1938c	f	7	3	3	6	1	4	6	2	5	7	3	5
1764h	1792h	1811d	1839d	1867d	1895d	1911f	1939f													
1765d	1793d	1812 l	1840 l	1868 l	1896 l	1912m	1940m	g	1	4	4	7	2	5	7	3	6	1	4	6
1766e	1794e	1813b	1841b	1869b	1897b	1913e	1941e													
1767a	1795a	1814c	1842c	1870c	1898c	1914a	1942a	h	7	3	4	7	2	5	7	3	6	1	4	6
1768k	1796k	1815f	1843f	1871f	1899f	1915b	1943b													
1769f	1797f	1816m	1844m	1872m		1916n	1944n	k	5	1	2	5	7	3	5	1	4	6	2	4
1770g	1798g	1817e	1845e	1873e		1917g	1945g													
1771d	1799d	1818a	1846a	1874a		1918d	1946d	l	3	6	7	3	5	1	3	6	2	4	7	2
1772 l		1819b	1847b	1875b		1919e	1947e													
1773b		1820n	1848n	1876n		1920p	1948p	m	1	4	5	1	3	6	1	4	7	2	5	7
1774c		1821g	1849g	1877g		1921c	1949c													
1775f		1822d	1850d	1878d		1922f	1950f	n	6	2	3	6	1	4	6	2	5	7	3	5
1776m		1823e	1851e	1879e		1923g	1951g													
1777e		1824p	1852p	1880p		1924q	1952q	p	4	7	1	4	6	2	4	7	3	5	1	3
1778a		1825c	1853c	1881c		1925a														
1779b		1826f	1854f	1882f		1926b		q	2	5	6	2	4	7	2	5	1	3	6	1
1780n		1827g	1855g	1883g		1927c														

TABLE OF DAYS.

1		2		3		4		5		6		7	
Monday	1	Tuesday	1	Wednesday	1	Thursday	1	Friday	1	Saturday	1	SUNDAY	1
Tuesday	2	Wednesday	2	Thursday	2	Friday	2	Saturday	2	SUNDAY	2	Monday	2
Wednesday	3	Thursday	3	Friday	3	Saturday	3	SUNDAY	3	Monday	3	Tuesday	3
Thursday	4	Friday	4	Saturday	4	SUNDAY	4	Monday	4	Tuesday	4	Wednesday	4
Friday	5	Saturday	5	SUNDAY	5	Monday	5	Tuesday	5	Wednesday	5	Thursday	5
Saturday	6	SUNDAY	6	Monday	6	Tuesday	6	Wednesday	6	Thursday	6	Friday	6
SUNDAY	7	Monday	7	Tuesday	7	Wednesday	7	Thursday	7	Friday	7	Saturday	7
Monday	8	Tuesday	8	Wednesday	8	Thursday	8	Friday	8	Saturday	8	SUNDAY	8
Tuesday	9	Wednesday	9	Thursday	9	Friday	9	Saturday	9	SUNDAY	9	Monday	9
Wednesd.	10	Thursday	10	Friday	10	Saturday	10	SUNDAY	10	Monday	10	Tuesday	10
Thursday	11	Friday	11	Saturday	11	SUNDAY	11	Monday	11	Tuesday	11	Wednesday	11
Friday	12	Saturday	12	SUNDAY	12	Monday	12	Tuesday	12	Wednesday	12	Thursday	12
Saturday	13	SUNDAY	13	Monday	13	Tuesday	13	Wednesday	13	Thursday	13	Friday	13
SUNDAY	14	Monday	14	Tuesday	14	Wednesday	14	Thursday	14	Friday	14	Saturday	14
Monday	15	Tuesday	15	Wednesday	15	Thursday	15	Friday	15	Saturday	15	SUNDAY	15
Tuesday	16	Wednesday	16	Thursday	16	Friday	16	Saturday	16	SUNDAY	16	Monday	16
Wednesd.	17	Thursday	17	Friday	17	Saturday	17	SUNDAY	17	Monday	17	Tuesday	17
Thursday	18	Friday	18	Saturday	18	SUNDAY	18	Monday	18	Tuesday	18	Wednesday	18
Friday	19	Saturday	19	SUNDAY	19	Monday	19	Tuesday	19	Wednesday	19	Thursday	19
Saturday	20	SUNDAY	20	Monday	20	Tuesday	20	Wednesday	20	Thursday	20	Friday	20
SUNDAY	21	Monday	21	Tuesday	21	Wednesday	21	Thursday	21	Friday	21	Saturday	21
Monday	22	Tuesday	22	Wednesday	22	Thursday	22	Friday	22	Saturday	22	SUNDAY	22
Tuesday	23	Wednesday	23	Thursday	23	Friday	23	Saturday	23	SUNDAY	23	Monday	23
Wednesd.	24	Thursday	24	Friday	24	Saturday	24	SUNDAY	24	Monday	24	Tuesday	24
Thursday	25	Friday	25	Saturday	25	SUNDAY	25	Monday	25	Tuesday	25	Wednesday	25
Friday	26	Saturday	26	SUNDAY	26	Monday	26	Tuesday	26	Wednesday	26	Thursday	26
Saturday	27	SUNDAY	27	Monday	27	Tuesday	27	Wednesday	27	Thursday	27	Friday	27
SUNDAY	28	Monday	28	Tuesday	28	Wednesday	28	Thursday	28	Friday	28	Saturday	28
Monday	29	Tuesday	29	Wednesday	29	Thursday	29	Friday	29	Saturday	29	SUNDAY	29
Tuesday	30	Wednesday	30	Thursday	30	Friday	30	Saturday	30	SUNDAY	30	Monday	30
Wednesd.	31	Thursday	31	Friday	31	Saturday	31	SUNDAY	31	Monday	31	Tuesday	31

NOTE.—The letters in the list of "*Years* from 1753 to 1952," refer to the table headed with the *Months*, the figures in which refer to the same figures at the head of the table of *Days*. For example: To know on what day July 4, 1913, will fall look for 1913 in the table of *Years*. The letter "*e*" is attached. Look for the same letter in the table of *Months* and in a parallel line under July is the figure 2, which directs to column 2 in the table of *Days* below, in which it will be seen that July 4 falls on Friday.

VOTING STRENGTH IN CONVENTIONS.

Year.	Votes.	Year.	Votes.	Year.	Votes.	Year.	Votes.
1890.....	1,821	1898.....	2,881	1905.....	16,338	1912.....	18,499
1891.....	2,005	1899.....	2,632	1906.....	15,621	1913.....	20,976
1892.....	2,278	1900.....	5,737	1907.....	16,425	1914.....	21,185
1893.....	2,478	1901.....	8,240	1908.....	16,892	1915.....	20,433
1894.....	2,278	1902.....	10,705	1909.....	15,880	1916.....	21,906
1895.....	2,102	1903.....	15,238	1910.....	16,737	1917.....	24,973
1896.....	2,450	1904.....	17,363	1911.....	18,693	1918.....	28,375
1897.....	2,747						

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

UNITED STATES.

Apothecaries' Weight: 20 grains=1 scruple; 3 scruples=1 dram; 8 drams=1 ounce; 12 ounces=1 pound.

Avoirdupois Weight (short ton): 27 11-32 grains=1 dram; 16 drams=1 ounce; 16 ounces=1 pound; 25 pounds=1 quarter; 4 quarters=1 cwt.; 20 cwt.=1 ton.

Avoirdupois Weight (long ton): 27 11-32 grains=1 dram; 16 drams=1 ounce; 16 ounces=1 pound; 112 pounds=1 cwt.; 20 cwt=1 ton.

Troy Weight: 24 grains=1 pennyweight; 20 pennyweights=1 ounce; 12 ounces=1 pound.

Circular Measure: 60 seconds=1 minute; 60 minutes=1 degree; 30 degrees=1 sign; 12 signs= 1 circle or circumference.

Cubic Measure: 1,728 cubic inches=1 cubic foot; 27 cubic feet=1 cubic yard.

Dry Measure: 2 pints=1 quart; 8 quarts=1 peck; 4 pecks=1 bushel.

Liquid Measure: 4 gills=1 pint; 2 pints=1 quart; 4 quarts=1 gallon; 31½ gallons=1 barrel; 2 barrels= 1 hogshead.

Long Measure: 12 inches=1 foot; 3 feet=1 yard; 5½ yards=1 rod or pole; 40 rods=1 furlong; 8 furlongs=1 statute mile (1,760 yards or 5,280 feet); 3 miles=1 league.

Mariner's Measure: 6 feet=1 fathom; 120 fathoms=1 cable length; 7½ cable lengths=1 mile; 5,280 feet=1 statute mile; 6,085 feet=1 nautical mile.

Paper Measure: 24 sheets=1 quire; 20 quires=1 ream (480 sheets); 2 reams=1 bundle; 5 bundles= 1 bale.

Square Measure: 144 square inches=1 square foot; 9 square feet=1 square yard; 30¼ square yards= 1 square rod or perch; 40 square rods=1 rood; 4 roods=1 acre; 640 acres=1 square mile; 36 square miles (6 miles square)=1 township.

Time Measure: 60 seconds=1 minute; 60 minutes=1 hour; 24 hours=1 day; 7 days=1 week; 365 days=1 year; 366 days=1 leap year.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The English ton is 2,240 lbs, avoirdupois, the same as the long ton, or shipping ton of the United States. The English hundredweight is 112 lbs. avoirdupois, the same as the long hundredweight of the United States. The English stone is usually equal to one-eighth hundredweight of 112 lbs., or 14 lbs avoirdupois. The metre has been legalized at 39.37079 inches, but the length of 39.370432 inches, as adopted by France, Germany, Belgium and Russia, is frequently used.

The Imperial gallon, the basis of the system of capacity, involves an error of about 1 part in 1,836: 10 lbs. of water=277.123 cubic inches. (A late authority gives the weight of the imperial gallon as 10.017 pounds and of the United States gallon as 8.345 pounds.)

The English statute mile is 1,760 yards or 5,280 feet. Following are measures of capacity:

	Pounds of Water.		Cbuic Inches.	Litres.	United States Equivalents.
4 gills =1 pint.....	1.25		34.66	0.56793	1.20032 liquid pints.
2 pints =1 quart.....	2.5		69.32	1.13586	1.20032 " quarts.
2 quarts =1 pottle.....	5		138.64	2.27173	2.40064 " "
2 pottles =1 gallon.....	10		277.27	4.54346	1.20032 " gallons.
2 gallons =1 peck.....	20	Dry measure	554.55	9.08692	1.03152 dry pecks.
4 pecks =1 bushel....	80		2218.19	36.34766	1.03152 " bushels.
4 bushels=1 coomb....	320		8872.77	145.39062	4.12606 " "
2 coombs=1 quarter...	640		17745.54	290.7813	8.2521 " "

Weight of metals by cubic foot: Pure gold, 1,210 pounds; pure silver, 655 pounds; cast iron, 450 pounds; cooper, 550 pounds; lead, 710 pounds; pure platinum, 1,220 pounds; tin, 456 pounds; aluminum, 163 pounds.

WEIGHTS OF PRODUCE.

Laws of the United States fix these minimum weights for the following products:

	Per Bushel.		Per Bushel.		Per Bushel
White Potatoes	60 lbs.	Wheat	60 lbs.	Hungarian Grass Seed	50 lbs.
Sweet Potatoes	55 "	Corn, in the ear	70 "	Timothy Seed	45 "
Onions	57 "	Corn, shelled	56 "	Blue Grass Seed	44 "
Turnips	55 "	Rye	56 "	Hemp Seed	44 "
Dried Peaches	33 "	Buckwheat	48 "	Corn Meal	48 "
Dried Apples	26 "	Barley	48 "	Ground Peas	24 "
Clover Seed	60 "	Oats	32 "	Malt	34 "
Flax Seed	56 "	White Beans	60 "	Bran	20 "
Millet Seed	50 "	Castor Beans	46 "		

SPECIFIC GRAVITY.*

Liquids.		*Timber.*		*Sundries.*		*Metals and Stones.*	
Water	100	Cork	24	Indigo	77	Granite	278
Sea-water	103	Poplar	38	Ice	92	Diamond	353
Dead Sea	124	Fir	55	Gunpowder	93	Cast iron	721
Alcohol	84	Cedar	61	Butter	94	Tin	729
Turpentine	99	Pear	66	Clay	120	Bar iron	779
Wine	100	Walnut	67	Coal	130	Steel	783
Urine	101	Cherry	72	Opium	134	Brass	840
Cider	102	Maple	75	Honey	145	Copper	895
Beer	102	Ash	84	Ivory	183	Silver	1,047
Woman's milk	102	Beech	85	Sulphur	203	Lead	1,135
Cow's "	103	Mahogany	106	Marble	270	Mercury	1,357
Goat's "	104	Oak	117	Chalk	279	Gold	1,926
Porter	104	Ebony	133	Glass	289	Platina	2,150

The weight of a cubic foot of distilled water at a temperature of 60° F. is 1,000 ounces Avoirdupois' *very nearly*, therefore the weight (in ounces, Avoirdupois) of a cubic foot of any of the substances in the above table is found by mutiplying the specific gravities by 10, thus:—one cubic foot of oak weighs 1,170 ounces; one cubic foot of marble 2,700 ounces, and so on.

*Compared with water.

FREEZING, FUSING, AND BOILING POINTS.

Substances.	Reaumur.	Centigrade.	Fahrenheit.	Substances.	Reaumur.	Centigrade.	Fahrenheit.
Bromine freezes at	—17.6°	—22°	—7.6°	Silver fuses at	800°	1,000°	1,832°
Olive oil freezes at	8	10	50	Sodium fuses at	76.5	95.6	204
Quicksilver freezes at	—31.5	—39.4	—39	Sulphur fuses at	92	115	239
Water freezes at	0	0	32	Tin fuses at	182	228	442
Bismuth metal fuses at	211	264	507	Zinc fuses at	329.6	412	773
Copper fuses at	963	1,204	2,200	Alcohol boils at	63	74.4	167
Gold fuses at	1,105	1,380	2,518	Bromine boils at	50	63	145
Iron fuses at	1,230	1,538	2,800	Ether boils at	28.4	35.5	96
Lead fuses at	260	325	617	Iodine boils at	140	175	347
Potassium fuses at	50	62.5	144.5	Water boils at	80	100	212

Authorities vary on some of these points. The best are given.

KNOTS AND MILES.

The **Statute Mile** is 5,280 feet.

The **British Admiralty Knot or Nautical Mile** is 6,080 feet.

The **Statute Knot** is 6,082.66 feet, and is generally considered the standard. The number of feet in a statute knot is arrived at thus: the circumference of the earth is divided into 360 degrees, each degree containing 60 knots or (360x60), 21,600 knots to the circumference, 21,600 divided into 131,385,456—the number of feet in the earth's circumference—gives 6,082.66 feet—the length of a standard mile.

1 knot	=1.151 miles	4 knots	= 4.606 miles	20 knots	=23.030 miles	600 feet	=1 cable
2 knots	=2.303 miles	5 knots	= 5.757 miles	25 knots	=28.787 miles	10 cables	=1 knot
3 knots	=3.454 miles	10 knots	=11.515 miles	6 feet	=1 fathom		

ELECTRICAL UNITS.

Name.	Symbol	Unit of	How Obtained.	CGS*	Equivalent.
Ohm	R	Resistance	The electrical resistance of a column of mercury 106 centimetres long and of 1 square millimetre section.	10^9	1 true ohm=1.0112 British Association ohms.
Ampere	C	Current	Is that current of electricity that decomposes .00009324 gramme of water per second.	10^1	Deposits 1.118 milligrams of silver per second.
Volt	E	Electromotive force.	One ampere of current passing through a substance having 1 ohm of resistance=1 volt.	10^8	.926 of a standard Daniel cell.
Coulomb	Q	Quantity	A current of 1 ampere during 1 second of time.	10^1	Deposits 1.118 milligrams of silver.
Farad	K	Capacity	The capacity that a current of 1 ampere for 1 second (=1 coulomb) charges it to potential of 1 volt.	10^9	2.5 knots of D. U. S. cable.
Microfarad	"		1 millionth of farad.	10^{15}	
Watt	Pw.	Power	Power of 1 ampere current passing through resistance of 1 ohm.	10^7	.0013405 $\left(\text{or } \frac{1}{746}\right)$ of a horse power.
Jou	W.j.	Work	Is the work done by 1 watt of electrical power in 1 second.	10^7	.238 unit of heat (Therm).

*C. G. S.=Electro-magnetic units.

WATER MEASURES.

WEIGHT OF WATER.

1	cubic inch	.03617	pound.	1	cylindrical foot	6.0	U. S. gals.
12	cubic inches	.434	pound.	2.282	cylindrical feet	112.0	pounds.
1	cubic foot	62.5	pounds.	45.64	cylindrical feet	2240.0	pounds.
1	cubic foot	7.48052	U. S. gals.	1	imperial gallon	10.0	pounds.
1.8	cubic feet	112.0	pounds.	11.2	imperial gallons	112.0	pounds.
35.84	cubic feet	2240.0	pounds.	224	imperial gallons	2240.0	pounds.
1	cylindrical inch	.02842	pound.	1	U. S. gallon	8.355	pounds.
12	cylindrical inches	.341	pound.	13.44	U. S. gallons	112 0	pounds.
1	cylindrical foot	49.10	pounds.	268.8	U. S. gallons	2240.0	pounds.

NOTE—The centre of pressure of water against the side of the containing vessel or reservoir is at two-thirds the depth from the surface. One cubic foot salt water weighs 64.3 pounds.

THEORETICAL VELOCITY OF WATER IN FEET PER SECOND.

HEAD, FEET.	Velocity, Feet per Second.	HEAD, FEET.	Velocity, Feet per Second.	HEAD, FEET.	Velocity, Feet per Second.	HEAD, FEET.	Velocity, Feet per Second.
10	25.4	25	40.1	55	59.5	85	74.0
12	27.8	30	43.9	60	62.1	90	76.1
15	31.1	35	47.4	65	64.7	95	78.2
18	34.0	40	50.7	70	67.1	100	80.3
20	35.9	45	53.8	75	69.5	125	89.7
22	37.6	50	56.7	80	71.8	150	98.3

PRESSURE OF WATER PER SQUARE INCH AT DIFFERENT DEPTHS.

DEPTH IN FEET.	Pressure (lbs.)	DEPTH IN FEET.	Pressure (lbs.)	DEPTH IN FEET.	Pressure (lbs.)	DEPTH IN FEET.	Pressure (lbs.)
6	2.60	35	15.16	90	38.98	160	69.31
8	3.40	40	17.32	100	43.31	170	73.64
10	4.33	45	19.49	110	47.64	180	77.97
15	6.49	50	21.65	120	51.98	190	82.30
20	8.66	60	25.99	130	56.31	200	86.63
25	10.82	70	30.32	140	60.64	215	93.14
30	12.99	80	34.65	150	64.97	230	99.63

TENSILE STRENGTH OF MATERIALS.

EXPRESSED IN POUNDS PER SQUARE INCH.

MATERIALS.	Lbs.	MATERIALS.	Lbs.	MATERIALS.	Lbs.	MATERIALS.	Lbs.
METALS.		METALS.		METALS.		WOODS.	
Aluminum castings	15,000	Cast iron	20,000	Nickel vanadium steel	99,700	Poplar	7,000
" sheets	24,000	Cast " steel	60,000	Chrome nickel vanadium steel	129,100	Redwood	8,500
" wire	50,000	Wrought iron	50,000	Manganese steel (cast)	90,000	Spruce	14,500
" bars	28,000	Soft steel	58,000	Manganese steel (rolled)	140,000	White pine	15,000
Nickel aluminum	40,000	Carbon steel (not annealed)	75,000	WOODS.		Yellow "	11,000
Aluminum bronze	70,000	Carbon steel (annealed)	80,000	Ash	14,000	Red fir	10,000
Manganese "	60,000	Carbon steel oil tempered	85,000	Black walnut	12,000	Yellow fir	12,000
Phosphor "	46,000	Nickel steel (annealed)	80,000	Beech	14,500	Teak	14,000
Tobin "	66,000	Nickel steel oil tempered	90,000	Cedar	10,000	MISCELLANEOUS.	
Bronze gun metal	35,000	Rivet steel	53,000	Chestnut	10,000	Blue Stone	1,400
Platinum wire (annealed)	32,000	Steel for bridges	60,000	Elm	13,400	Granite	600
Platinum wire (not annealed)	56,000	Medium steel	65,000	Hemlock	8,700	Limestone	1,000
Tin	3,500	Steel for boilers (cast)	70,000	Hickory	15,000	Marble	700
Gold (cast)	20,000	Chromium nickel steel	81,400	Locust	22,000	Sandstone	100
Silver (cast)	40,000	Chromium vanadium steel	100,000	Lignum vitae	11,000	Bricks (common)	200
Lead	2,000			Maple	10,500	" (best hand pressed)	400
Zinc	5,400			White Oak	14,500	Ordinary single leather belting	3,000
Brass (cast)	24,000			Live oak	13,000	Ordinary double leather belting	6,000
Copper (cast)	24,000					Cotton belting	6,000
Soft copper wire	35,000						
Hard " "	60,000						

Tensile Strength is resistance to separation. The fibres of wood are strongest near the centre of the trunk or limb.

TEMPERATURE OF STEAM

ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE 14.7 LBS. DEGREES IN FAHRENHEIT SCALE.

Pressure per sq. inch.	Degrees of temperature.	Pressure per sq. inch.	Degrees of temperature.	Pressure per sq. inch.	Degrees of temperature.	Pressure per sq. inch.	Degrees of temperature.
1	216.3	12	244.3	32	277.0	80	323.9
2	219.4	14	248.3	34	279.6	85	327.6
3	222.4	16	252.1	40	286.9	90	331.1
4	225.2	18	255.7	45	292.5	95	334.5
5	227.9	20	259.2	50	297.8	100	337.8
6	230.5	22	262.5	55	302.7	105	341.0
7	233.0	24	265.6	60	307.4	110	344.0
8	235.4	26	268.6	65	311.8	115	347.0
9	237.7	28	271.5	70	316.0	120	350.0
10	240.0	30	274.3	75	320.0	125	352.8

Steam flows into atmosphere at the rate of 650 feet per second.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES USED IN THE UNITED STATES.

LONG MEASURE.

12 inches =1 foot.
3 feet =1 yard =36 inches.
5½ yards =1 rod =16½ feet.
40 rods =1 furlong=660 feet.
8 furlongs=1 mile =5,280 feet.

MARINERS' MEASURE.

6 feet =1 fathom.
120 fathoms =1 cable length.
7½ cable lengths=1 mile.
5280 feet =1 statute mile.
6085 feet =1 nautical mile.
3 marine miles =1 marine league.

LIQUID MEASURE.

4 gills =1 pint.
2 pints =1 quart.
4 quarts =1 gallon.
31½ gallons=1 barrel.
2 barrels=1 hogshead.

SQUARE MEASURE.

144 square inches=1 square foot.
9 square feet =1 square yard.
30¼ square yards =1 square rod.
160 square rods =1 acre.
640 acres =1 square mile.
36 square miles =1 township.

CUBIC MEASURE.

1,728 cubic inches=1 cubic foot.
27 cubic feet =1 cubic yard.
128 cubic feet =1 cord of wood or stone.
1 gallon contains 231 cubic inches.
1 bushel contains 2,150.4 cubic inches.
A cord of wood is 8 ft. long, 4 ft. wide & 4 ft. high.

DRY MEASURE.

2 pints =1 quart.
8 quarts=1 peck.
4 pecks =1 bushel.

CIRCULAR MEASURE.

60 seconds =1 minute.
60 minutes =1 degree.
360 degrees =1 circle.
1 degree =60 geographic miles.
1 geographic mile=1.1527 statute miles.
1 degree of the equator=69.124 statute miles.

APOTHECARIES' WEIGHT.

20 grains =1 scruple
3 scruples=1 dram.
8 drams =1 ounce.
12 ounces =1 pound.

AVOIRDUPOIS WEIGHT.

27 11-32 grs. =1 dram.
16 drams =1 ounce.
16 ounces =1 pound.
2,000 lbs. =1 short ton
2,240 lbs. =1 long ton.

TROY WEIGHT.

24 grains =1 pennyweight.
20 pennyw's=1 ounce.
12 ounces =1 pound.

TIME MEASURE.

60 seconds =1 minute.
60 minutes=1 hour.
24 hours =1 day.
365 days =1 year.
100 years =1 century.

STATIONERS' TABLE.

24 sheets =1 quire.
20 quires =1 ream.
2 reams =1 bundle
5 bundles =1 bale.

COUNTING.

12 things=1 dozen.
12 dozen=1 gross.
12 gross =1 great gross.
20 things=1 score.

CLOTH MEASURE.

2¼ inches =1 nail.
4 nails =1 quarter.
4 quarters=1 yard.

MISCELLANEOUS.

3 inches=1 palm.
4 inches=1 hand.
6 inches=1 span.
18 inches=1 cubit.
21.8 inches=1 bible cubit.
2½ feet =1 military pace.

SURVEYORS' MEASURE.

7.92 inches =1 link.
25 links =1 rod.
4 rods =1 chain.
10 square chains=1 acre.

THE METRIC SYSTEM.

The metric system is in general use in all the principal nations of Europe and America with the exception of Great Britain, Russia and the United States, where it is authorized but not compulsory. Its use for scientific purposes is common throughout the world.

WEIGHTS.

Milligram (.001 gram)	=	.0154 grain.
Centigram (.01 gram)	=	.1543 grain.
Decigram (.1 gram)	=	1.5432 grains.
Gram	=	15.432 grains.
Decagram (10 grams)	=	.3527 ounce.
Hectogram (100 grams)	=	3.5274 ounces.
Kilogram (1,000 grams)	=	2.2046 pounds.
Myriagram (10,000 grams)	=	22.046 pounds.
Quintal (100,000 grams)	=	220.46 pounds.
Millier or tonneau—ton(1,000,000 grams)	=	2,204.6 lbs

DRY.

Milliliter (.001 liter)	=	.061 cubic inch.
Centiliter (.01 liter)	=	.6102 cubic inch.
Deciliter (.1 liter)	=	6.1022 cubic inches.
Liter	=	.908 quart.
Decaliter (10 liters)	=	9.08 quarts.
Hectoliter (100 liters)	=	2.838 bushels.
Kiloliter (1,000 liters)	=	1.308 cubic yards.

LIQUID.

Milliliter (.001 liter)	=	.0388 fluid ounce.
Centiliter (.01 liter)	=	.338 fluid ounce.
Deciliter (.1 liter)	=	.845 gill.
Liter	=	1.0567 quarts.
Decaliter (10 liters)	=	2.6418 gallons.
Hectoliter (100 liters)	=	26.417 gallons.
Kiloliter (1,000 liters)	=	264.18 gallons.

LENGTH.

Millimeter (.001 meter)	=	.0394 inch.
Centimeter (.01 meter)	=	.3937 inch.
Decimeter (.1 meter)	=	3.937 inches.
Meter	=	39.37 inches.
Decameter (10 meters)	=	393.7 inches.
Hectometer (100 meters)	=	328. feet 1 inch.
Kilometer (1,000 meters)	=	.62137 mile (3.280 feet 10 inches).
Myriameter (10,000 meters)	=	6.2137 miles.

SURFACE.

Centare (1 square meter)	=	1.550 sq. inches.
Are (100 square meters)	=	119.6 sq. yards.
Hectare (10,000 sq. meters)	=	2.471 acres.

METRIC CONVERSION TABLES

Centimeters.	Inches.
1	0.393
2	0.787
3	1.181
4	1.574
5	1.968
6	2.362
7	2.755
8	3.149
9	3.543
10	3.937

Inches.	Centimeters.
1	2.540
2	5.080
3	7.620
4	10.160
5	12.700
6	15.240
7	17.780
8	20.320
9	22.860
10	25.400

Meters.	Feet.
1	3.280
2	6.561
3	9.842
4	13.123
5	16.404
6	19.684
7	22.965
8	26.246
9	29.527
10	32.808

Feet.	Meters.
1	0.304
2	0.609
3	0.914
4	1.219
5	1.524
6	1.828
7	2.133
8	2.436
9	2.742
10	3.048

Meters.	Yards.
1	1.093
2	2.187
3	3.280
4	4.374
5	5.463
6	6.561
7	7.655
8	8.749
9	9.842
10	10.936

Yards.	Meters.
1	0.914
2	1.829
3	2.743
4	3.657
5	4.571
6	5.486
7	6.400
8	7.315
9	8.229
10	9.143

Kilometers.	Miles.
1	0.621
2	1.243
3	1.864
4	2.486
5	3.106
6	3.728
7	4.349
8	4.971
9	5.592
10	6.213

Miles.	Kilometers.
1	1.609
2	3.218
3	4.827
4	6.437
5	8.046
6	9.655
7	11.265
8	12.874
9	14.483
10	16.093

Square centimeters.	Square inches.
1	0.155
2	0.310
3	0.465
4	0.620
5	0.775
6	0.930
7	1.085
8	1.240
9	1.395
10	1.650

Square inches.	Square centimeters.
1	6.452
2	12.903
3	19.354
4	25.806
5	32.257
6	38.709
7	45.160
8	51.612
9	58.063
10	64.514

Square meters.	Square feet.
1	10.764
2	21.528
3	32.292
4	43.055
5	53.819
6	64.583
7	75.347
8	86.111
9	96.874
10	107.638

Square feet.	Square meters.
1	0.092
2	0.185
3	0.278
4	0.371
5	0.464
6	0.557
7	0.650
8	0.742
9	0.836
10	0.928

Centigrams.	Grains.
1	0.154
2	0.308
3	0.463
4	0.617
5	0.771

Centigrams.	Grains.
6	0.925
7	1.080
8	1.234
9	1.388
10	1.542

Square meters.	Square yards.
1	1.196
2	2.392
3	3.588
4	4.784
5	5.980
6	7.176
7	8.372
8	9.568
9	10.764
10	11.960

Square yards.	Square meters.
1	0.836
2	1.672
3	2.508
4	3.344
5	4.181
6	5.017
7	5.853
8	6.689
9	7.525
10	8.362

Square kilometers.	Square miles.
1	0.386
2	0.772
3	1.158
4	1.544
5	1.930
6	2.316
7	2.702
8	3.088
9	3.474
10	3.860

Square miles.	Square kilometers.
1	2.592
2	5.184
3	7.776
4	10.368
5	12.960
6	15.552
7	18.144
8	20.736
9	23.328
10	25.920

Hectares.	Acres
1	2.471
2	4.942
3	7.413
4	9.884
5	12.355
6	15.552
7	17.297
8	19.769
9	22.240
10	24.711

Acres.	Hectares.
1	0.404
2	0.809
3	1.214
4	1.618
5	2.023
6	2.428
7	2.832
8	3.237
9	3.642
10	4.046

Cubic meters.	Cubic yards.
1	1.307
2	2.615
3	3.923
4	5.231
5	6.539
6	7.847
7	9.155
8	10.463
9	11.771
10	13.079

Cubic yards.	Cubic meters.
1	0.764
2	1.529
3	2.293
4	3.058
5	3.822
6	4.587
7	5.351
8	6.116
9	6.881
10	7.645

Grains.	Centigrams.
1	6.479
2	12.959
3	19.439
4	25.919
5	32.399
6	38.879
7	45.359
8	51.839
9	58.319
10	64.798

Grams.	Ounces (av.)
1	0.035
2	0.070
3	0.105
4	0.140
5	0.176
6	0.211
7	0.246
8	0.282
9	0.317
10	0.352

Ounces (av.)	Grams.
1	28.349
2	56.699
3	85.048
4	113.398
5	141.747

Ounces (av.)	Grams
6	170.097
7	198.446
8	226.796
9	255.145
10	282.796

Kilograms.	Pounds.
1	2.204
2	4.409
3	6.613
4	8.818
5	11.023
6	13.227
7	15.432
8	17.636
9	19.841
10	22.046

Pounds.	Kilograms.
1	0.453
2	0.907
3	1.360
4	1.814
5	2.267
6	2.721
7	3.175
8	3.628
9	4.082
10	4.534

Metric tons.	Long tons.	Long tons.	Metric tons.
1	0.984	1	1.016
2	1.968	2	2.032
3	2.952	3	3.048
4	3.936	4	4.064
5	4.921	5	5.080
6	5.905	6	6.096
7	6.889	7	7.112
8	7.873	8	8.128
9	8.857	9	9.144
10	9.842	10	10.160

Cubic yards.	Cubic meters.	Cubic meters.	Cubic feet.
1	0.764	1	35.314
2	1.529	2	70.629
3	2.293	3	105.943
4	3.058	4	141.258
5	3.822	5	176.572
6	4.587	6	211.887
7	5.351	7	247.201
8	6.116	8	282.516
9	6.881	9	317.830
10	7.645	10	353.144

Liters. (liquid)	Quarts (liquid)	Quarts. (liquid)	Liters. (liquid)
1	1.056	1	0.946
2	2.113	2	1.892
3	3.170	3	2.839
4	4.226	4	3.785
5	5.283	5	4.731
6	6.341	6	5.678
7	7.396	7	6.624
8	8.453	8	7.570
9	9.510	9	8.572
10	10.566	10	9.463

Hectoliters.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Hectoliters.
1	2.837	1	0.352
2	5.675	2	0.704
3	8.513	3	1.057
4	11.350	4	1.409
5	14 188	5	1.761
6	17.026	6	2.114
7	19.864	7	2.466
8	22.701	8	2.819
9	25.396	9	3.171
10	28.376	10	3.523

METRIC EQUIVALENTS.

1 grain	=	0.06480 gram.
1 ounce	=	28.3495 grams.
1 pound	=	0.45359 kilogram.
1 dram (apoth.)	=	3.6967 grams.
1 scruple (apoth.)	=	1.2322 grams.
1 quart (dry)	=	1.1012 liters.
1 peck (dry)	=	8.8098 liters.
1 bushel	=	0.35239 hectoliter.
1 quart (liq.)	=	0.94636 liter.
1 gallon	=	3.78543 liters.
1 inch	=	25.4001 millimeters.
1 inch	=	2.54001 centimeters.
1 inch	=	0.0254 meter.
1 foot	=	0.3048 meter.
1 yard	=	0.9144 meter.
1 mile	=	1.6093 kilometers.
1 sq. inch	=	645.16 sq. millimeters.
1 sq. foot.	=	0.0929 sq. meter.
1 sq. yard	=	0.8361 sq. meter.
1 sq. mile	=	2.5900 sq. kilometers.
1 acre	=	0.4017 hectare.
1 cubic inch	=	16.387 cu. millimeters.
1 cubic foot	=	0.02832 cubic meter.
1 cubic yard	=	0.7645 cubic meter.

CONVERSION FIGURES.

To reduce	Multiply by
Millimeters to inches	.04
Centimeters to inches	.4
Meters to feet	3.3
Meters to yards	1.1
Kilometers to yards	1093.6
Kilometers to miles	.62
Inches to millimeters	25.4
Inches to centimeters	2.54
Feet to meters	.3
Yards to meters	.9
Yards to kilometers	.0009
Miles to meters	.1609
Miles to kilometers	1.6
Square millimeters to sq. inches	.0015
Square centimeters to sq. inches	.155
Square meters to square feet	10.76
Square meters to square yards	1.2
Square inches to sq. millimeters	645.
Square inches to sq. centimeters	6.45
Square feet to square meters	.09
Square yards to square meters	.83
Cubic centimeters to cubic inches	.06
Cubic meters to cubic feet	35.3
Cubic meters to cubic yards	1.3
Cubic meters to gallons	220.
Liters to gallons	.22
Liters to cubic feet	.035
Liters of water to pounds	2.2
Cubic inches to cubic centimeters	16.4
Cubic feet to liters	28.3
Cubic feet to cubic meters	.03
Cubic feet to gallons	6.2
Cubic feet of water to pounds	62.27
Cubic yards to cubic meters	.76
Gallons to liters	4.5
Gallons to cubic meters	.0045
Gallons to cubic feet	.16
Gallons of water to pounds	10.
Pounds of water to gallons	.1
Pounds of water to cubic feet	.016
Pounds of water to liters	.454
Milligrams to grains	.015
Grams to grains	15.4
Grams to ounces	.035
Kilograms to ounces	35.3
Kilograms to pounds	2.2
Kilograms to cwt	.02
Kilograms to tons	.001
Grains to milligrams	64.8
Grains to grams	.65
Ounces to grams	28.35
Pounds to grams	453.6
Pounds to grains troy	7000.
Pounds to kilograms	.45
Cwt. to kilograms	50.8
Tons to kilograms	1016.
Grams per sq. cm. to pounds per sq. in	.014
Kilograms per sq. mm. to pounds per sq. in	1422.
Kilograms per sq. cm. to pounds per sq. in	14.2
Kilograms per sq. cm. to tons per sq. ft	.9
Pounds per sq. in. to grams per sq. cm	70.3
Pounds per sq. in. to kilograms per sq. cm	.07
Tons per sq. ft. to kilograms per sq. cm	1.09
Pounds per sq. in. to tons per sq. ft	.064

To reduce	Multiply by
Tons per sq. ft. to pounds per sq. in	15.5
Pounds per sq. in. to head of water (meters)	.7
Pounds per sq. in. to head of water (feet)	2.3
Tons per sq. ft. to head of water (meters)	10.7
Tons per sq. ft. to head of water (feet)	86.
Head of water (meters) to pounds per sq. in	1.4
Head of water (meters) to tons per sq. ft	.09
Head of water (feet) to pounds per sq. in	.43
Head of water (feet) to tons per sq. ft	.027
Atmosphere to pounds per sq. in.	14.7
Atmosphere to tons per sq. ft	.94
Pounds per sq. in. to atmospheres	.07
Tons per sq. ft. to atmospheres	1.06
Dynes per sq. cm. to grains per sq. in	.1

To reduce	Multiply by
Grains per sq. in. to dynes per sq. cm	9.8
Foot pounds to joules	1.35
Foot pounds to kilogrammeters	.14
Kilogrammeters to foot pounds	7.2
Kilogrammeters to pounds deg. F.	.009
Kilogrammeters to joules	9.8
Kilogrammeters to calories	2.34
Calories to kilogrammeters	.42
Calories to joules	4.158
Horsepower to kilogrammeters per second	76.
Horsepower to foot pounds per minute	33000.
Horsepower to watts	746.
Watts to foot pounds per minute	44.
Watts to kilogrammeters per second	.1
Meters per second to feet per minute	197.
Feet per minute to meters per second	.005
Feet per minute to miles per hour	.0113
Miles per hour to feet per minute	88.

APPROXIMATE VALUE OF FOREIGN COINS.

Coin.	Country	U. S. equivalent
Archefri (gold)	Persia	$.095
Argentina (gold)	Argentine Republic.	4.820
Balboa (gold)	Panama	1.000
Bolivar (silver)	Venezuela	.193
Boliviano (silver)	Bolivia	.389
Cash (copper)	China	.006
Cent	China	.005
Centavo (copper)	Mexico	.005
Centime (coper)	France	.002
Colon (gold)	Costa Rica	.465
Condor (gold)	Colombia	10.000
Condor (gold)	Chile	7.300
Condor (gold)	Ecuador	4.900
Cordova (gold)	Nicaragua	1.000
Crown (silver)	Austria	.203
Crown (silver)	Denmark	.268
Crown (silver)	Great Britain	1.220
Crown (silver)	Norway	.268
Crown (silver)	Sweden	.268
Dinar (gold)	Serbia	.193
Dinero (silver)	Peru	.050
Dollar (gold)	British Honduras	1.000
Dollar (gold)	Newfoundland	1.014
Dollar (gold)	British possessions.	1.000
Dollar (gold)	Colombia	1.000
Dollar (gold)	Liberia	1.000
Dollar (gold)	Straits Settlements.	.567
Dollar (silver)	China	.475
Dollar (gold)	Santo Domingo	1.000
Drachma (silver)	Greece	.193
Escudo (gold)	Portugal	1.080
Farthing (copper)	Great Britain	.005
Florin (silver)	Austria	.400
Florin (silver)	Great Britain	.490
Florin (gold)	Netherlands	.402
Franc (silver)	France	.193
Franc (gold)	Belgium	.193
Franc (gold)	Switzerland	.193
Gourde (silver)	Haiti	.965
Guinea (gold)	Great Britain	5.040
Gulden (silver)	Austria	.480
Heller (silver)	Austria	.004
Kopeck (copper)	Russia	.005
Kran (silver)	Persia	.091
Krone (see crown)		
Leu (silver)	Roumania	.193

Coin	Country	U. S. equivalent
Libra (gold)	Peru	4.865
Lira (silver)	Italy	.193
Lira (gold)	Turkey	4.400
Mark (silver)	Germany	.238
Mark (gold)	Finland	.193
Medjidie (gold)	Turkey	.880
Milreis (gold)	Brazil	.546
Milreis (gold)	Portugal	1.080
Napoleon (gold)	France	3.860
Onlik (silver)	Turkey	.400
Ore (copper)	Scandinavia	.0025
Para (silver)	Turkey	.001
Penny (copper)	Great Britain	.020
Perper (gold)	Montenegro	.203
Peseta (silver)	Spain	.193
Peso (gold)	Argentine Republic	.965
Peso (gold)	Chile	.365
Peso (gold)	Colombia	1.000
Peso (gold)	Cuba	.910
Peso (silver)	Guatemala	.398
Peso (silver)	Honduras	.398
Peso (silver)	Salvador	.398
Peso (silver)	Mexico	.498
Peso (silver)	Paraguay	.398
Peso (gold)	Philippines	.500
Peso (gold)	Uruguay	1.034
Pfennig (copper)	Germany	.0025
Piaster (silver)	Cochin China	.550
Piaster (silver)	Cyprus	.030
Piaster (silver)	Turkey	.044
Pound (gold)	Egypt	4.943
Pound (gold)	Great Britain	4.865
Ruble (gold)	Russia	.515
Rupee (silver)	India	.324
Scudo (gold, sil'r)	Italy	.950
Sen (copper)	Japan	.005
Shilling (silver)	Great Britain	.240
Sixpence (silver)	Great Britain	.120
Sol (silver)	Peru	.490
Soldo (copper)	Italy	.010
Sovereign (gold)	Great Britain	4.866
Sucre (gold)	Ecuador	.487
Tael (cus., sil.)	China	.828
Tical (silver)	Siam	.370
Yen (silver)	Japan	.498

STATUTORY WEIGHTS OF THE BUSHEL.

State or Territory.	Wheat.	Rye.	Oats.	Barley.	Buckwheat.	Shelled corn.	Corn on cob.	Cornmeal.	Bran.	Potatoes, Irish.	Potatoes, sweet.	Carrots.	Onions.	Turnips.	Beets.	Beans.	Peas.	Apples.	Dried apples.	Dried peaches.	Castor beans.	Flax seed.	Hemp seed.	Millet.	Timothy seed.	Blue grass seed.	Hungarian gr. seed.	Clover seed.
United States	60	56	32	48	42	..	..	48	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	50	56	..	..	..	..	..	..
Alabama	60	56	32	47	..	56	70	46	..	60	55	..	..	55	..	60	60	..	24	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona	60	56	32	45	..	54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	60	56	32	48	52	56	70	48	20	60	50	..	57	57	..	60	60	50	24	33	..	56	..	50	60	14	..	60
California	60	54	32	50	40	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado	60	56	32	48	52	56	70	50	..	60	..	..	57	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	..	45	14	..	60
Connecticut	60	56	32	48	48	56	..	..	20	60	54	50	52	50	60	60	60	48	25	33	..	55	..	..	45	..	..	60
Delaware	60	..	..	..	..	56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia	..	..	32	..	..	56	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida	60	56	32	48	..	56	70	48	20	60	60	..	56	54	..	60	..	48	24	33	48	..	..	50	..	..	..	..
Georgia	60	56	32	47	52	56	70	48	20	60	55	..	57	55	..	60	60	..	24	33	..	56	44	..	45	14	..	60
Hawaii	60	56	32	48	..	56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho	60	56	36	48	42	56	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	28	28	..	56	..	..	..	..	..	60
Illinois	60	56	32	48	52	56	70	48	20	60	50	..	57	55	..	60	..	..	24	33	46	56	44	..	45	14	..	60
Indiana	60	56	32	48	50	56	68	50	..	60	55	..	48	55	..	60	..	..	25	33	46	..	44	50	45	14	..	60
Iowa	60	56	32	48	52	56	70	..	20	60	46	..	57	..	..	60	..	48	24	33	46	56	44	50	45	14	50	60
Kansas	60	56	32	48	50	56	70	50	20	60	50	..	57	55	..	60	..	48	24	33	50	56	44	50	45	14	50	60
Kentucky	60	56	32	47	56	56	70	50	20	60	55	..	57	60	..	60	60	..	24	39	45	56	44	50	45	14	50	66
Louisiana	60	56	32	48	..	56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maine	60	50	32	48	48	56	..	50	..	60	..	50	52	50	60	60	60	44	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	..	..	..
Maryland	..	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	60	56	32	48	48	56	..	50	20	60	54	50	52	..	..	60	60	48	25	33	..	55	..	..	45	..	..	60
Michigan	60	56	32	48	48	56	70	50	..	60	56	..	54	58	..	60	60	48	22	28	46	56	44	50	45	14	50	60
Minnesota	60	56	32	48	50	56	70	..	..	60	55	45	52	..	50	60	60	50	28	28	..	..	50	48	45	14	48	60
Mississippi	60	56	32	48	48	56	72	48	20	60	60	..	57	55	..	60	60	..	26	33	46	56	44	50	45	14	50	60
Missouri	60	56	32	48	52	56	70	50	20	60	56	50	57	42	..	60	60	48	24	33	46	56	44	50	45	14	48	60
Montana	60	56	32	48	52	56	70	50	20	60	..	50	57	50	50	60	60	45	..	..	..	56	44	..	45	14	50	60
Nebraska	60	56	32	48	52	56	70	50	20	60	50	..	57	55	..	60	60	..	24	33	46	56	44	50	45	14	50	60
New Hampshire	60	56	32	..	..	56	..	50	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	62	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	60	56	30	48	50	56	..	..	..	60	54	..	57	..	..	60	60	50	25	33	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	64
New York	60	56	32	48	48	56	..	50	20	60	54	50	57	..	..	60	60	48	25	33	..	55	..	..	45	..	..	60
North Carolina	60	56	32	48	50	56	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	60
North Dakota	60	56	32	48	42	56	70	..	20	60	46	..	52	60	60	60	60	..	..	..	..	56	..	50	45	..	..	60
Ohio	60	56	32	48	50	56	68	..	..	60	50	50	55	60	56	60	60	50	24	33	..	56	44	50	45	..	50	60
Oklahoma	60	56	32	48	42	56	70	..	20	60	46	..	52	60	60	60	60	..	..	..	..	56	..	..	42	..	..	60
Oregon	60	56	32	46	42	56	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	28	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Pennsylvania	60	56	32	47	48	56	..	..	..	56	..	..	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Rhode Island	60	56	32	48	48	56	70	50	20	60	54	50	50	50	50	60	60	48	25	33	46	56	44	50	45	..	50	60
South Carolina	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Dakota	60	56	32	48	42	56	70	..	20	60	46	..	52	60	60	60	60	..	..	..	..	56	..	..	42	..	..	60
Tennessee	60	56	32	48	50	56	70	..	20	60	50	50	56	50	50	60	60	50	24	26	46	56	44	50	45	14	48	60
Texas	60	36	32	48	42	56	70	..	20	60	55	..	57	55	..	60	..	45	28	28	..	56	44	50	45	..	48	60
Vermont	60	56	32	48	48	56	..	..	..	60	..	50	52	60	60	62	60	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	..	..	60
Virginia	60	56	30	48	52	56	70	50	..	56	56	..	57	55	..	60	60	..	28	40	..	56	44	50	45	14	48	60
Washington	60	56	32	48	42	56	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	28	28	..	56	..	..	..	..	..	60
West Virginia	60	56	32	48	52	56	..	..	..	60	..	..	..	..	..	60	..	..	25	33	..	56	..	..	45	..	..	60
Wisconsin	60	56	32	48	50	56	70	50	20	60	54	50	57	42	50	60	60	50	25	33	..	56	44	50	45	..	48	60

Note.—Rye meal takes 48 pounds to the bushel in the District of Columbia and 50 in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island and Wisconsin. The metric system is used in the Philippines and Porto Rico.

THERMOMETERS COMPARED.

There are three kinds of thermometers, with varying scales, in general use throughout the world—the Fahrenheit, Reaumur and centigrade. The freezing and boiling points on their scales compare as follows:

Thermometer.	Freezing point.	Boiling point.
Fahrenheit	32 degrees	212 degrees
Reaumur	zero	80 degrees
Centigrade	zero	100 degrees

The degrees on one scale are reduced to their equivalents on another by these formulas:
Fahrenheit to Reaumur—Subtract 32, multiply by four-ninths.
Fahrenheit to Centigrade—Subtract 32, multiply by five-ninths.
Reaumur to Fahrenheit—Multiply by nine-fourths, add 32.
Reaumur to Centigrade—Multiply by five-fourths.
Centigrade to Fahrenheit—Multiply by nine-fifths, add 32.
Centigrade to Reaumur—Multiply by four-fifths.

WEIGHT AND HEIGHT OF MAN.

Height.	Age. 15-24	Age. 25-29	Age. 30-34	Age. 35-39	Age. 40-44	Age. 45-49	Age. 50-54	Age. 55-59	Age. 60-64	Age. 65-69
	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.
5 feet	120	125	128	131	133	134	134	134	131	...
5 feet 1 inch	122	126	129	131	134	136	136	136	134	...
5 feet 2 inches	124	128	131	133	136	138	138	138	137	...
5 feet 3 inches	127	131	134	136	139	141	141	141	140	140
5 feet 4 inches	131	135	138	140	143	144	145	145	144	143
5 feet 5 inches	134	138	141	143	146	147	149	149	148	147
5 feet 6 inches	138	142	145	147	150	151	153	153	153	151
5 feet 7 inches	142	147	150	152	155	156	158	158	158	156
5 feet 8 inches	146	151	154	157	160	161	163	163	163	162
5 feet 9 inches	150	155	159	162	165	166	167	168	168	168
5 feet 10 inches	154	159	164	167	170	171	172	173	174	174
5 feet 11 inches	159	164	169	173	175	177	177	178	180	180
6 feet	165	170	175	179	180	183	182	183	185	185
6 feet 1 inch	170	177	181	185	186	189	188	189	189	189
6 feet 2 inches	176	184	188	192	194	196	194	194	192	192
6 feet 3 inches	181	190	195	200	203	204	201	198	...	...

HEIGHT AND WEIGHT OF WOMEN.

Weight of ordinary clothing is included:

Height.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Height.	Average.	Minimum.	Maximum.
5 feet	115	98	132	5 feet 7 inches	145	123	167
5 feet 1 inch	120	102	138	5 feet 8 inches	148	126	170
5 feet 2 inches	125	106	144	5 feet 9 inches	155	131	179
5 feet 3 inches	130	111	150	5 feet 10 inches	160	136	184
5 feet 4 inches	135	115	155	5 feet 11 inches	165	138	190
5 feet 5 inches	140	119	161	6 feet	170	141	196
5 feet 6 inches	143	121	165				

NUMBER OF DAYS BETWEEN TWO DATES

Day Mo.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	June.	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Day Mo.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec
1	1	32	60	91	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335	1	366	397	425	456	486	517	547	578	609	639	670	700
2	2	33	61	92	122	153	183	214	245	275	306	336	2	367	398	426	457	487	518	548	579	610	640	671	701
3	3	34	62	93	123	154	184	215	246	276	307	337	3	368	399	427	458	488	519	549	580	611	641	672	702
4	4	35	63	94	124	155	185	216	247	277	308	338	4	369	400	428	459	489	520	550	581	612	642	673	703
5	5	36	64	95	125	156	186	217	248	278	309	339	5	370	401	429	460	490	521	551	582	613	643	674	704
6	6	37	65	96	126	157	187	218	249	279	310	340	6	371	402	430	461	491	522	552	583	614	644	675	705
7	7	38	66	97	127	158	188	219	250	280	311	341	7	372	403	431	462	492	523	553	584	615	645	676	706
8	8	39	67	98	128	159	189	220	251	281	312	342	8	373	404	432	463	493	524	554	585	616	646	677	707
9	9	40	68	99	129	160	190	221	252	282	313	343	9	374	405	433	464	494	525	555	586	617	647	678	708
10	10	41	69	100	130	161	191	222	253	283	314	344	10	375	406	434	465	495	526	556	587	618	648	679	709
11	11	42	70	101	131	162	192	223	254	284	315	345	11	376	407	435	466	496	527	557	588	619	649	680	710
12	12	43	71	102	132	163	193	224	255	285	316	346	12	377	408	436	467	497	528	558	589	620	650	681	711
13	13	44	72	103	133	164	194	225	256	286	317	347	13	378	409	437	468	498	529	559	590	621	651	682	712
14	14	45	73	104	134	165	195	226	257	287	318	348	14	379	410	438	469	499	530	560	591	622	652	683	713
15	15	46	74	105	135	166	196	227	258	288	319	349	15	380	411	439	470	500	531	561	592	623	653	684	714
16	16	47	75	106	136	167	197	228	259	289	320	350	16	381	412	440	471	501	532	562	593	624	654	685	715
17	17	48	76	107	137	168	198	229	260	290	321	351	17	382	413	441	472	502	533	563	594	625	655	686	716
18	18	49	77	108	138	169	199	230	261	291	322	352	18	383	414	442	473	503	534	564	595	626	656	687	717
19	19	50	78	109	139	170	200	231	262	292	323	353	19	384	415	443	474	504	535	565	596	627	657	688	718
20	20	51	79	110	140	171	201	232	263	293	324	354	20	385	416	444	475	505	536	566	597	628	658	689	719
21	21	52	80	111	141	172	202	233	264	294	325	355	21	386	417	445	476	506	537	567	598	629	659	690	720
22	22	53	81	112	142	173	203	234	265	295	326	356	22	387	418	446	477	507	538	568	599	630	660	691	721
23	23	54	82	113	143	174	204	235	266	296	327	357	23	388	419	447	478	508	539	569	600	631	661	692	722
24	24	55	83	114	144	175	205	236	267	297	328	358	24	389	420	448	479	509	540	570	601	632	662	693	723
25	25	56	84	115	145	176	206	237	268	298	329	359	25	390	421	449	480	510	541	571	602	633	663	694	724
26	26	57	85	116	146	177	207	238	269	299	330	360	26	391	422	450	481	511	542	572	603	634	664	695	725
27	27	58	86	117	147	178	208	239	270	300	331	361	27	392	423	451	482	512	543	573	604	635	665	696	726
28	28	59	87	118	148	179	209	240	271	301	332	362	28	393	424	452	483	513	544	574	605	636	666	697	727
29	29	...	88	119	149	180	210	241	272	302	333	363	29	394	...	453	484	514	545	575	606	637	667	698	728
30	30	...	89	120	150	181	211	242	273	303	334	364	30	395	...	454	485	515	546	576	607	638	668	699	729
31	31	...	90	...	151	...	212	243	...	304	...	365	31	396	...	455	...	516	...	577	608	...	669	...	730

The above table applies to ordinary years only. For leap year, one day must be added to each number of days after February 28.

EXAMPLE.—To find the number of days between June 3, 1900, and February 16, 1901: The figures opposite the third day in the first June column are 154; those opposite the sixteenth day in the second February column are 412. Subtract the first from the second product—i. e., 154 from 412 and the result is 258, the number of days between the two dates.

DISTANCES BETWEEN AMERICAN CITIES.

FROM ☞ TO	New York.	Chicago.	Philadelphia.	St. Louis.	Boston.	Baltimore	Cleveland	Buffalo.	San Francisco.	Pittsburgh.	Cincinnati.	Milwaukee.	New Orleans.	Washington.	Minneapolis.
	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.
Albany	145	832	236	1,028	202	333	480	297	3,106	567	724	917	1,517	368	1,252
Atlanta	876	733	785	611	1,106	688	736	919	2,805	805	492	818	496	648	1,153
Baltimore	188	802	97	934	418	....	474	398	3,076	334	593	887	1,184	40	1,222
Boston	217	1,034	321	1,230	....	418	682	499	3,308	674	926	1,119	1,602	458	1,454
Buffalo	442	525	416	731	499	398	183	....	2,799	270	427	610	1,256	438	945
Chicago	912	....	821	284	1,034	802	357	525	2,274	468	298	85	912	790	420
Cincinnati	757	298	666	341	926	593	244	427	2,572	313	....	383	829	553	718
Cleveland	584	357	493	548	682	474	....	183	2,631	135	244	442	1,073	437	777
Columbus, O	637	314	546	428	820	511	138	321	2,588	193	116	399	935	471	734
Denver	1,934	1,022	1,843	916	2,056	1,850	1,379	1,537	1,371	1,490	1,257	1,107	1,347	1,810	884
Detroit	693	272	669	488	750	649	173	251	2,546	321	263	357	1,092	655	692
Duluth	1,391	479	1,300	728	1,513	1,281	701	1,004	2,238	947	777	422	1,447	1,269	162
El Paso	2,310	1,465	2,219	1,245	2,414	2,179	1,703	1,915	1,287	1,866	1,586	1,550	1,195	2,139	1,521
Galveston	1,792	1,144	1,691	860	2,012	1,594	1,408	1,591	2,157	1,481	1,157	1,229	410	1,554	1,340
G'd Rapids, Mich	821	178	815	462	878	796	332	379	2,452	462	308	263	1,090	764	598
Helena	2,452	1,540	2,361	1,549	2,574	2,342	1,897	2,065	1,250	2,008	1,838	1,455	2,152	2,320	1,119
Indianapolis	825	183	734	240	965	704	283	466	2,457	381	111	268	888	664	603
Jacksonville, Fla.	983	1,097	892	975	1,213	795	1,085	1,193	3,098	1,057	841	1,182	616	755	1,517
Kansas City	1,342	458	1,251	277	1,466	1,211	755	967	1,981	898	618	543	880	1,171	573
Los Angeles	3,149	2,265	3,058	2,084	3,273	3,018	2,562	2,774	475	2,705	2,425	2,350	2,007	2,978	2,301
Louisville	871	304	780	274	1,040	703	358	541	2,468	427	114	389	778	663	724
Memphis	1,157	527	1,066	311	1,387	969	738	921	2,439	807	494	612	396	929	897
Milwaukee	997	85	906	369	1,119	887	442	610	2,359	553	383	....	997	875	335
Minneapolis	1,332	420	1,241	586	1,454	1,222	777	945	2,096	888	718	335	1,285	1,210	....
Mobile	1,231	929	1,140	647	1,461	1,043	1,029	1,212	2,623	1,098	785	1,014	141	1,003	1,233
Montreal	386	841	477	1,051	330	574	623	434	3,115	704	826	926	1,655	614	1,125
Newark, N. J.	9	903	82	1,056	226	179	575	405	3,177	435	748	988	1,363	219	1,323
New Haven	76	980	167	1,141	140	264	628	445	3,254	520	833	1,065	1,448	304	1,400
New Orleans	1,372	912	1,281	699	1,602	1,184	1,073	1,256	2,482	1,142	829	997	....	1,144	1,285
New York	....	912	91	1,065	217	188	584	442	3,186	444	757	997	1,372	228	1,332
Ogden	2,496	1,494	2,315	1,414	2,528	2,296	1,851	2,019	780	1,962	1,792	1,579	1,891	2,284	1,316
Omaha	1,405	493	1,314	413	1,527	1,295	1,750	1,018	1,781	961	791	578	1,080	1,283	381
Philadelphia	91	821	....	974	321	97	493	416	3,095	353	666	906	1,281	137	1,241
Pittsburgh	444	468	353	621	674	334	135	270	2,742	....	313	553	1,142	302	888
Portland, Me.	332	1,149	436	1,345	115	533	797	614	3,423	789	1,041	1,234	1,717	573	1,569
Portland, Ore.	3,204	2,292	3,113	2,212	3,326	3,094	2,649	2,817	772	2,760	2,590	2,378	2,746	3,082	2,042
Providence	190	1,034	281	1,230	45	378	682	499	3,308	634	926	1,119	1,562	418	1,454
Quebec	530	1,013	621	1,343	402	718	795	612	3,287	876	1,039	1,098	1,827	786	1,433
Richmond, Va.	343	879	252	918	573	155	553	553	3,153	417	581	964	1,046	115	1,299
Rochester, N. Y.	373	603	361	799	430	354	251	68	2,877	338	495	688	1,324	394	1,023
St. Joseph, Mo.	1,392	470	1,301	327	1,474	1,261	875	1,058	1,867	948	668	555	941	1,221	485
St. Louis	1,065	284	974	....	1,230	934	548	731	2,194	621	341	369	699	894	586
St. Paul	1,322	410	1,231	576	1,444	1,212	767	935	2,086	878	708	325	1,275	1,200	10
San Antonio	1,943	1,204	1,852	920	2,150	1,755	1,468	1,651	1,911	1,541	1,217	1,289	571	1,715	1,320
San Francisco	3,186	2,274	3,095	2,194	3,308	3,076	2,631	2,799	....	2,742	2,572	2,359	2,482	3,064	2,096
Seattle	3,151	2,239	3,060	2,332	3,273	2,941	2,596	2,764	957	2,707	2,537	2,154	2,931	3,029	1,818
Spokane	2,812	1,900	2,721	1,932	2,934	2,702	2,257	2,425	1,205	2,368	2,198	1,815	2,535	2,690	1,479
Springfield, Mass.	139	935	230	1,131	99	327	583	400	3,209	583	827	1,020	1,511	367	1,355
Tampa, Fla.	1,195	1,309	1,104	1,187	1,425	1,007	1,297	1,405	3,310	1,269	1,053	1,394	828	967	1,729
Toledo	705	244	615	437	795	595	113	296	2,518	261	203	329	1,032	595	664
Washington	228	790	137	894	458	40	437	438	3,064	302	553	875	1,144	....	1,210

LARGEST CITIES OF THE WORLD.

Cities.	Pop'lat'n	Cities.	Pop'lat'n	Cities.	Pop'lat'n
New York (1917)	5,737,492	Hankow, China	900,000	Madrid, Spain (1910)	598,000
London	4,522,964	Budapest, Hung. (1910).	880,000	Munich, Bavaria (1910).	596,000
Paris, France (1911)	2,888,000	Pientsin, China	850,000	Melbourne, Vic. (1911)	594,000
Tokio, Japan (1908)	2,186,000	Birmingham, Eng.(1911)	840,000	Leipzig, Saxony (1910)	590,000
Chicago, U. S. A. (1910)	2,185,000	Glasgow, Scotland (1911)	785,000	Barcelona, Spain (1910)	587,000
Berlin, Prussia (1910)	2,071,000	Warsaw, Poland (1909)	781,000	Amsterdam, Neth.(1909)	568,000
Vienna, Austria (1910)	2,031,000	Liverpool, Eng. (1911)	748,000	Cleveland, U. S. A.(1910)	561,000
Petrograd, Russia (1910)	1,908,000	Naples, Italy (1911)	723,000	Copenhagen, Den. (1911)	559,000
Philad'ia, U. S. A. (1910)	1,550,000	Manchester, Eng. (1911)	716,000	Baltimore, U. S. A.(1910)	558,000
Moscow, Russia (1909)	1,481,000	St. Louis, U. S. A. (1910)	687,000	Marseilles, France (1911)	551,000
Canton, China	1,250,000	Boston, U. S. A. (1910)	671,000	Dresden, Saxony (1910)	548,000
Osaka, Japan (1908)	1,227,000	Cairo, Egypt (1907)	654,000	Rome, Italy (1911)	539,000
Rio De Janeiro, Brazil (1910)	1,130,000	Montreal, Canada	650,000	Pittsburgh, U.S.A.(1910)	534,000
		Fuchow, China	650,000	Lyons, France (1911)	524.000
Buenos Ayres (1905)	1,026,000	Sydney, N.S. Wales (1911)	641,000	Madras, India (1911)	520,000
Calcutta, India (1911)	1,222,000	Shanghai, China	639,000	Cologne, Prussia (1910)	517,000
Peking, China	1,000,000	Bangkok, Siam (1909)	630,000	Breslau, Prussia (1910)	512,000
Bombay, India (1911)	980,000	Chungking, China	600,000	Hyderabad, India (1911)	500,000
Hamburg, Ger. (1910)	931,000	Milan, Italy (1911)	599,000	Suchow, China	500,000

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, A. F. OF L.

Receipts and expenditures of the American Federation of Labor from 1881 to February 28, 1919, thirty-eight years and ten months, are:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881	$174 00	$154 00
1882	268 20	252 25
1883	690 19	352 32
1884	357 42	543 20
1885	584 03	450 58
1886	474 11	635 08
1887	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908	207,655 23	196,937 36
1909	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912	207,373 60	277,479 23
1913	244,292 04	258,702 92
1914	263,166 97	265,737 21
1915	271,625 53	303,985 95†
1916	334,275 41*	315,047 32††
1917	412,047 76**	402,440 40
1918 (7 months)	303,463 71***	277,110 57
1919 (10 months)	518,882 94****	488,066 27
Total	$4,985,796 77	$4,829,659 12

† Includes $40,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.
†† Includes $9,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.
* Includes $5,000 returned to Defense Fund.
** Includes $2,500 returned to Defense Fund.
*** Includes $2,500 returned to Defense Fund.
**** Includes $15,000 returned to Defense Fund.

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	$4,985,796 77
Expenses	4,829,659 12
Cash balance on hand February 28, 1919	$156,137 65
Loan to Trustees for A. F. of L. Building Fund from Defense Fund	25,000 00
Balance on hand February 28, 1919, including building loan	$181,137 65

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

No.	President.	Politics.	Inaug.	Age.	Years Served.	Religious Connection.	Time of Death.	Age.
1..	Washington.	Federalist....	1789	57	7 y. 10 mo. 4 d.	Episcopalian....	December 14, 1799.	67
2..	J. Adams...	Federalist....	1797	61	4	Unitarian.....	July 4, 1826.....	90
3..	Jefferson...	Republican (a)	1801	57	8	Liberal (c).....	July 4, 1826.....	83
4..	Madison....	Republican...	1809	57	8	Episcopalian....	June 28, 1836.....	85
5..	Monroe....	Republican...	1817	58	8	Episcopalian....	July 4, 1831.....	73
6..	J. Q. Adams.	Republican (b)	1825	57	4	Unitarian.....	February 23, 1848..	80
7..	Jackson....	Democrat....	1829	61	8	Presbyterian....	June 8, 1845.....	78
8..	Van Buren..	Democrat....	1837	54	4	Reformed Dutch	July 24, 1862.....	79
9..	Harrison...	Whig.....	1841	68	1 mo.	Episcopalian....	April 4, 1841.....	68
10..	Tyler.....	Democrat....	1841	51	3 y. 11 mo.	Episcopalian....	January 17, 1862..	71
11..	Polk.....	Democrat....	1845	49	4	Presbyterian....	June 15, 1849.....	53
12..	Taylor.....	Whig.....	1849	64	1 y. 4 mo. 5 d.	Episcopalian....	July 9, 1850.....	65
13..	Filmore....	Whig.....	1850	50	2 y. 7 mo. 26 d.	Unitarian.....	March 8, 1874....	74
14..	Pierce.....	Democrat....	1853	48	4	Episcopalian....	October 8, 1869...	64
15..	Buchanan..	Democrat....	1857	65	4	Presbyterian....	June 1, 1868.....	77
16..	Lincoln....	Republican...	1861	52	4 y. 1 mo. 11 d.	Presbyterian....	April 15, 1865.....	56
17..	Johnson....	Republican...	1865	56	3 y. 10 mo. 19 d.	Methodist (d)...	July 31, 1875.....	66
18..	Grant.....	Republican...	1869	46	8	Methodist.....	July 23, 1885.....	63
19..	Hayes.....	Republican...	1877	54	4	Methodist.....	January 17, 1893..	70
20..	Garfield....	Republican...	1881	49	6½ mo.	Disciples.....	September 19, 1881	49
21..	Arthur.....	Republican...	1881	50	3 y. 5½ mo.	Episcopalian....	November 18, 1886	56
22..	Cleveland...	Democrat....	1885	47	4	Presbyterian....	June 24, 1908.....	71
23..	B. Harrison.	Republican...	1889	55	4	Presbyterian....	March 13, 1901...	67
24..	Cleveland...	Democrat....	1893	55	4	Presbyterian....	June 24, 1908.....	71
25..	McKinley..	Republican...	1897	54	4 y. 6 mo. 10 d.	Methodist.....	September 14, 1901	58
26..	Roosevelt...	Republican...	1901	42	7 y. 5 mo. 18 d.	Reformed Dutch	February 6, 1919...	58
27..	Taft.....	Republican...	1909	51	4	Unitarian.....	.....	....
28..	Wilson.....	Democrat....	1913	56	.....	Presbyterian....	.....	....

BENEFITS PAID 1903 TO 1918.

Benefits paid to members by affiliated national and international unions and A. F. of L. local unions since 1903 to 1918, inclusive.

Year	Death benefits	Death benefits, members' wives	Sick benefits	Traveling benefits	Tool insurance	Unemployed benefits
1903.....	$580,015 67	$47,201 00	$437,058 58	$84,891 58	$1,064 70	$79,538 37
1904.....	782,382 08	43,305 00	756,762 83	73,441 90	5,872 76	78,073 25
1905.....	742,421 23	24,800 00	582,874 13	62,989 71	5,180 41	85,050 72
1906.....	994,974 79	37,900 00	663,436 61	57,340 93	5,771 09	79,582 70
1907.....	1,076,060 22	42,575 00	712,536 02	3,535 00	10,926 86	26,984 29
1908.....	1,257,244 29	31,390 00	593,541 34	51,093 86	5,871 63	205,254 31
1909.....	1,187,043 51	49,200 00	731,955 15	51,967 87	5,063 02	484,028 49
1910.....	1,320,664 52	53,492 00	719,165 66	42,999 55	6,945 41	197,808 00
1911.....	1,471,381 37	49,925 00	818,556 88	58,784 71	5,648 70	218,742 71
1912.....	1,649,184 03	56,550 00	793,255 61	40,571 02	2,203 36	215,398 60
1913.....	1,958,892 83	58,420 00	816,336 41	33,693 10	2,875 24	69,445 70
1914.....	2,157,241 27	57,275 00	1,031,098 13	54,404 90	3,278 07	99,024 88
1915.....	2,190,718 55	70,150 00	965,971 75	70,346 70	2,120 78	256,002 29
1916.....	2,264,610 66	63,662 00	1,068,609 43	26,283 90	1,886 77	120,770 60
1917.....	3,034,586 36	77,423 50	838,606 91	3,921 46	215 25	30,316 43
1918.....	1,989,632 16	45,670 00	668,782 96	3,725 01	2,189 44	57,751 63
Totals.....	$24,657,053 54	$808,938 50	$12,198,548 40	$719,991 20	$67,113 49	$2,303,772 97

EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

By George E. McNeil.

From the eastland, where Atlantic
Hurls her water 'gainst the granite
Of her stubborn guarded shore;
To the westland, where the sun sets
On an empire proud in beauty;
To the southland, where the Gulf stream
Laves the seashore and the lowlands,
Labor's forces, grand and mighty,
Marching forward, armed in justice,
Sound the war cry, "Higher Wages,"
"Greater comforts, shorter hours!"
This the cry of labor forces
In the union of their powers,
From the ship yard and the factory,
Strike together for eight hours.

What Is a Lockout?

Many versions of the term "lockout" have been suggested. The most generally accepted definition is that of the Cigarmakers' International Union, whose constitution declares when lockout benefits should be paid, as follows:

"A declaration on the part of an employer or a combination of employers to the effect that their employes must coase their connection with the union or cease work, or any combination entered into by a number of employers for the purpose of throwing their employers out of employment without any cause or action on their part, shall be deemed a lockout. This section does not apply to a reduction of wages."

The clause was written by the president and first vice president of the Cigarmakers' International Union and adopted by its convention more than twenty years ago.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING, BY STATES.

State.	Previous Resid. Required.				Which Sex May Vote.			Special Qualifications Required (Other Than Citizenship).	Persons Disqualified (Other Than Felons, Idiots and Insane).
	State.	C'nty.	Town or City.	Elec. D. Pre. or Ward.	Con. & Nat'l Elects.	State Elections.	At School or Other Local Elections.		
Ala.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	3 mos.	3 mos.	Male.	Male.	Male	Property or ability to read and write and employment.	Bribery, malfeasance, election crimes, vagrants, tramps (convicted).
									Persons under guardianship.
Ariz.	1 yr.	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Both	Both	Both		
Ark.	1 yr.	6 mos.	1 mo.	1 mo.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at primaries.	Poll tax	
Cal.	1 yr.	90 dys.	.....	30 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both	Ability to read Constitution and write name.	Bribery, malfeasance, dueling, Chinese.
									Persons under guardianship.
Colo.	1 yr.	90 dys.	30 dys.	10 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both		Bribery, dueling.
Ct.	1 yr.	.....	6 mos.	.....	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school elections.	Good moral character, ability to read Constitution.	
									Bribery, paupers.
Del.	1 yr.	3 mos.	.....	30 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school and city charter elections.		
Fla.	1 yr.	6 mos.	.....	30 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at city charter elections.	Ability to read Constitution and write name.	Bettors on election, bribery dueling, under guardianship, malfeasance.
								Ability to read	Delinquent taxpayers.
Ga.	1 yr.	6 mos.	.....	.....	Male.	Male.	Male	Must be registered	Election crimes, teachers of polygamy, persons having guardians.
Idaho	6 mos.	30 dys.	3 mos.	10 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both		
									Penitentiary convicts.
Ill.	1 yr.	90 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at Presidential and local elections.		
Ind.	6 mos.	60 dys.	60 dys.	30 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at Presid'tial(?)	Declarants.	Soldiers and sailors.
Iowa	6 mos.	60 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women property owners may vote on tax questions.		
Kans.	6 mos.	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both	Declarants	Bribery, persons under guardianship, duelists, dishonorably discharged officials, ex-Confederates.
									Bribery.
Ky.	1 yr.	6 mos.	60 dys.	60 dys.	Male.	Male.	Both at school		
La.	2 yrs.	1 yr. in	Parish	6 mos.	Male.	Male.	Women property owners may vote on tax questions.	Property or ability to read and write.	Inmates of charitable institutions, except soldiers' homes, interdicted persons.
Me.	3 mos.	3 mos.	3 mos.	3 mos.	Male.	Male.	Male	Ability to read Constitution and write name.	Bribery, paupers, persons under guardianship, Indians not taxed.
Md.	1 yr.	6 mos.	6 mos.	1 day	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at city charter elections.	Citizens who can read	Bribery, election crimes.
Mass.	1 yr.	6 mos.	6 mos.	6 mos.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school elections.	Ability to read Constitution and write name. Poll tax.	Election crimes, paupers, persons under guardianship.
								Civilized Indians may vote	Duelists, tribal Indians.
Mich.	6 mos.	20 dys.	20 dys.	20 dys.	Male.	Both.		Civilized Indians may vote	Persons under guardianship, uncivilized Indians.
Minn.	6 mos.	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Male.	Male.	Both		
Miss.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	1 yr.	1 yr.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school elections.	Ability to read or explain Constitution. Poll tax.	Bribery, dueling, delinquent taxpayers.
									Soldiers and sailors, paupers.
o.	1 yr.	60 dys.	60 dys.	60 dys.	Male.	Male.	Male		

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING, BY STATES.

State.	Previous Resid. Required.				Which Sex May Vote.			Special Qualifications Required (Other Than Citizenship).	Persons Disqualified (Other Than Felons, Idiots and Insane).
	State.	C'nty.	Town or City.	Elec. D. Pre. or Ward.	Con. & Nat'l Elects.	State Elections.	At School or Other Local Elections.		
Mont	1 yr.	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both		Indians.
Neb	6 mos.	40 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at Presidential and local elections.	Declarants	U. S. soldiers and sailors.
Nev	6 mos.	30 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both	Poll tax	Dueling, Indians, Chinese.
N. H	6 mos.	6 mos.	6 mos.	6 mos.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school elections.	Ability to read Constitution and write name.	Paupers, non-taxpayers.
N. J	1 yr.	5 mos.	.....	.....	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school elections.		Paupers.
N. M	1 yr.	90 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Male.	Male.	Both		Untaxed Indians.
N. Y	1 yr.	4 mos.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both		Bettors on elections, bribery.
N. C	2 yrs.	6 mos.	.....	4 mos.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at city charter elections.	Ability to read and write. Poll tax	Atheists, malfeasance in office.
N. Dak.	1 yr.	6 mos.	.....	90 dys.	Male.	Male.	Both	Declarants. Civilized Indians may vote.	Persons under guardianship, U. S. soldiers and sailors.
Ohio	1 yr.	30 dys.	20 dys.	20 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school and city charter elections.		U. S. soldiers and sailors.
Okla	1 yr.	6 mos.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Male.	Both.	Both		Non-native Indians, persons kept in poor houses, except Federal and Confederate soldiers.
Ore	6 mos.	No specified time			Both.	Both.	Both	30 days in district required in school elections. Property.	Soldiers and sailors, Chinese. Registration required.
Penna	1 yr.	.....	.....	2 mos.	Male.	Male.	Male		Bribery, election crimes, non-taxpayers.
R. I	2 yrs.	.....	6 mos.	.....	Male.	Male.	Women may vote for Presidential Electors.	Property, $134 or $7 per annum.	Bribery, paupers, persons under guardianship, Indians of Narragansett tribe.
S. C	2 yrs.	1yr	4 mos.	4 mos.	Male.	Male.	Male	Ability to read and write for persons not registered before Jan. 1, 1898. Poll tax.	Bribery, election crimes, paupers, duelists.
S. Dak.	6 mos.	30 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Male.	Both.	Both		Persons under guardianship.
Tenn	1 yr.	6 mos.	.....	.....	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at city charter elections.	Poll tax.	.....
Tex	1 yr.	6 mos.	6 mos.	6 mos.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at primaries	Declarants. Poll tax	Bribery, dueling, paupers, U. S. soldiers and sailors.
Utah	1 yr.	4 mos.	.....	60 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both		Election crimes.
Vt	1 yr.	3 mos.	3 mos.	3 mos.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at municipal and school elections.	Good behavior	Bribery, deserters, ex-Confederates.
Va	2 yrs.	1 yr.	1 yr.	30 dys.	Male.	Male.	Male	Poll tax	Bribery, dueling, paupers.
Wash	1 yr.	90 dys.	30 dys.	30 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both	Ability to read and write English.	Untaxed Indians.
W. Va	1 yr.	60 dys.	10 dys.	.....	Male.	Male.	Male		Bribery, paupers, U. S. soldiers and sailors.
Wis	1 yr.	10 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Male.	Male.	Women may vote at school elections.	Civilized Indians may vote	Bettors on election, dueling, persons under guardianship.
Wyo	1 yr.	60 dys.	10 dys.	10 dys.	Both.	Both.	Both	Ability to read Constitution, unless physically disabled.	.....

ORGANIZERS OF A. F. OF L.

General organizers..... 329
District organizers..... 1,678

Total..... 2,007

*Special for the trade.
†Salaried organizers, home address.
‡Colored.

List of organizers for the A. F. of L., corrected March 12, 1919.

ALABAMA.
Anniston—Arthur Golling, Box 458.
Bessemer—B. H. Tillman, 441 Owen Av.
Birmingham—Herman I. Ross, 8305 Underwood Av., E. L.
Henry C. West, Birmingham News.
J. H. F. Moseley, T. G. Building.
Andy Marx, 1724½ First Av.
W. B. Humphries, Room 304, 308 N. 21st St.
B. W. King, Box 180.
Gadsden—Sam. Silvay, 112 Mill St.
Mobile—John E. Winstanley, Bascombe and Kentucky Sts.
P. J. Doherty, Box 818.
Montgomery—A. H. Liston, 31½ Commerce St.
New Decatur—C. E. Sittason, 1324 4th Av.
West Blocton—James H. Deason.

ALASKA.
Nome—A. W. Orland, Box 132.
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ARIZONA.
Bisbee—Fred W. Brown.
Clifton—C. J. Brooke, Box 735.
Douglas—Charles T. Francis, 669 18th St.
Flagstaff—L. B. Lanahan, Box 115.
Phoenix—C. E. Tracy, 518 N. 3d St.
Tucson—Folsom Moore, Box 723.

ARKANSAS.
Argenta—W. E. Faverty.
Corning—Henry Gilbert.
Fort Smith—Carter Ford, 20 N. 7th St.
William F. Merk, 1810 S. N St.
C. H. Miller, 20 N. 7th St.
Hot Springs—P. L. Hensley, Box 226
Jonesboro—C. W. Lofferty, 900 Culberhouse St.
Little Rock—L. H. Moore, 512 E. 8th St.
L. E. Lowry, 112 E. Capitol Av.
Paragould—C. T. Cutrell, R. R. 3.
T. J. Cupp, Beech Grove.
Spadra—E. W. Abston, Montana.
Texarkana—F. H. Gibson, Huckins House.
West Hartford—E. O. Holden.

CALIFORNIA.
Bakersfield—F. L. Gribble, Box 597.
William L. Henderson, 610 Robinson St., East Bakersfield.
J. C. Harter, Box 187.
Dinuba—L. F. Hamnan, 527 El Monte Way.
Eureka—J. True Woods, 1138 E. Miner Av.
B. L. Dennis, 2518 Harrison Av.
Fresno—Chance Scott, care of 1139 I St.
Hanford—A. Gufstafson, 316 E. Ivy St.
Jackson—James Giambruno, Box 132.
J. D. Williams.
Long Beach—George J. Cooke, 56 Lime Av.
Los Angeles—W. J. Yarrow, March Strong Bldg.
Marysville—George E. Gee.
Frank Booth, 7th St.
Menlo Park—J. J. Doyle.
Merced—H. J. Snell.
Monterey—A. L. Matthis, Box 616.
Oakland—W. A. Spooner, 510 11th St.
W. E. Castro, 4523 Brookdale St.
Oroville—J. M. Keifer.
Pasadena—T. J. Johnson, 52 E. Walnut St.
Petaluma—Harry Harding, 27 Main St.
Point Richmond—W. A. Kramer, 426 N. 8th St., Richmond.
Redwood City—John Hall.
Richmond—E. M. Miner, 31 7th St.
Fred W. Heckman, 560 9th St.
R. H. Cunningham, 520 Ohio St.
Rocklin—E. Escola.
Sacramento—William C. Eddy, Labor Temple.
San Bernardino—Samuel C. Taylor, care 294 E. St.
San Bruno—J. F. Beckner.
San Diego—S. C. Kelly, Box 64.
San Francisco—John O. Walsh, 117 Fair Oaks St.
Walter MacArthur, 77 Appraisers Bldg.
James Himmel, 53 Scott St
San Jose—F. J. Hepp, Labor Temple.
San Mateo—P. Keary, care 42 N. E St.
J. B. Falvey, 219 Griffith Av.
San Pedro—J. I. Van Zandt, 544 2nd St.
San Rafael—D. F. Foley, 94 Shaver St.
Santa Cruz—J. Tondorf, Box 49.
Stockton—George A. Dean, 1415 E. Oak St.
Taft—P. E. Gilmore.
Vallejo—L. B. Leavitt, 416 Butte St.
†J. B. Dale, 1224 Napa St.
Visalia—F. C. Hunt, 604 S. Garden St.

CANADA, DOMINION OF.

Alberta—
Edmonton—A. Farmilo, Box 1493.
Lethbridge—J. M. Richie.

British Columbia—
Fernie—Thomas Biggs, Box 365.
Kamloops—E. S. Duncan, Sentinel.
New Westminster—R. A. Stoney, Box 1024.
Prince Rupert—W. E. Thompson, Box 694.
Vancouver—R. P. Pettipiece, Labor Temple.
Vivtor R. Midgley, Room 210, Labor Temple.
Vernon—Burt R. Campbell, Box 806.

Manitoba—
Brandon—C. Page, 451 Franklin St.

New Brunswick—
Moncton—Charles W. Bleakney, care of W. R. Rogers, 344 Cameron St.
J. A. Robinson, 352 Lutz St.
St. John—John Kemp, care 92 St. James St.

Nova Scotia—
Halifax—W. H. Johns.
New Glasgow—Clifford C. Dane, G. D.
Sydney—P. McC. Nicholson, 64 Douglas St.
J. R. Martin, 11 Victoria road.
Westville—Daniel Wynn.

Ontario—
Carleton Place—Wallace J. Hammond.
Collingwood—E. Johnston, 6th St.
Galt—Arthur L. Philip, 53 Center St.

Guelph—Chas. P. Doughty, 43 Huskisson St.
Hamilton—Hugh Robinson, 3 Kent St.
Walter R. Rollo, 13 Spring St.
E. W. A. O'Dell, 221 Stinson St.
Kingston—William Baxter, 154 Rideau St.
Kitchener—Fred Ackerknecht, 36 Frederick St.
London—E. Ingles, 85 Clarence St.
Chester Scoyne, 80 Pipe Line Rd.
Merritton—Richard Thompson, Box 92.
Niagara Falls—J. F. Marsh, 20 Jepson St.
Thos. Moore, Box 419, S. Niagara Falls.
Ottawa—William Lodge, 21 Creighton St.
P. M. Draper, Drawer 515.
J. Cameron, 265 Parkdale Av.
Port Arthur—H. Barker, 29 Ruttan St.
Port Colborne—Levis White, Humberstone.
Port Hope—Charles A. McIlroy, Box 505.
Preston—Edgar Drage, Box 573.
Sault Ste. Marie—F. A. Cole, 108 Albert St.
St. Catharines—James Wiley, care 29 Dacotah St.
St. Thomas—John Lane, 10 Erie St.
Toronto—Thomas Stevenson, Labor Temple.
Thomas E. Black, 8 Sulley Crescent.
A. A. Woodward, 761 Markham St.
Wm. V. Todd, 93 Moore Av., Moore Pk.
Valleyfield—Phillippe Leduc.
Windsor—A. H. Carroll, 45 Gayeau St.

Quebec—
Jonquiere—J. F. Gauthier.
Limoilou—George Phillippon dit Picard, 155 1st St.
Montreal—M. T. Alarie, 102 Suzanne St.
George S. Warren, 54-A Chambord St.
Alphonse Verville, 2026 Sanguinet St.
J. A. Laflamme, 276 Amherst St.
Joseph Ainey, 226 St. Elizabeth St.
Joe Wall, care of 2, St. Paul St.
Quebec—W. Walsh, Room 26, Orkens Bldg.
E. Dion, 110 Bridge St.
Edward Little, 21 St. Real St.

Saskatchewan—
Moose Jaw—John C. Clark, The Times.
Regina—J. A. Regan, 1348 Cornwall St.

COLORADO.
Alamosa—Charles Darling.
Boulder—W. A. Cass, 645 Dewey Av.
James E. Gustafson, 1231 Walnut St.
Colorado Springs—Nels Jenson, 612 N. Prospect St.
R. C. Wright, 732 Hayes Av.
W. S. Walton, Box 908.
Denver—R. E. Croskey, Room 412, 1731 Arapahoe St.
F. W. Hamilton, 1421 California St.
John McLennan, Box 206.
Frank Spiegl, 1270 Cherokee St.
Alice McCabe, 3203 Arapahoe St.
W. C. Thornton, 1224 Foster Bldg.
Earl R. Hoage, P. O. Box 1408.
Bessie Miller, Box 1408.
Miss Sadie Adney, Box 1408.
Ed. Anderson, Box 1408.
Edgewater—Frank J. Pulver, R. R. 2.
Fort Collins—J. W. Sturdivan, 430 Whedbee St.
Grand Junction—W. E. Meders, 138 Rood Av.
Lafayette—Lewis Webb, Box 236.
La Junta—James W. Hanby, Box 3.
Leadville—Alfred Pomeroy, 217 W. 5th St.
Pueblo—W. H. Young, 121 E. 8th St.
M. H. Alexander, care Box 462.
John Gross, Labor Temple.
Earl M. Kouns.
E. R. Walker, 115 W. 14th St.
Salida—Steve Olmsted, 227 Sackett Av.
Silverton—M. J. Sullivan.
Trinidad—Frank T. Miner, 1009 Ariz. Av.
Walsenburg—Thomas West brook, Picton.

CONNECTICUT.
Bridgeport—John J. O'Neil, Box 625.
Bristol—John W. Greeno, 86 Grove St.
Danbury—John H. Riley, Box 68.
Greenwich—George Chandler, 125 Greenwich Av.
Hartford—William H. Partridge, 11 Earl St.
Sol. Sontheimer, 36 Charter Oak Av.
Manchester—Frank M. Northrop, 55 Main St.
Meriden—William J. Wedlake, Box 341.
James W. Manning, Jr., 42½ W. Main St.
Henry C. Stanley, 65 Arch St.
Naugatuck—Hugh Burns, 11 Church St.
New Britain—Lorenz Kopf, 253 Beaver St.
John Quinn, 86 Francis St.
New Canaan—Charles M. Betts, N. Main St.
New Haven—Thos. A. Thompson, 58 Wilson St.
James F. Plunkett, 227 Howard Av.
New London—William J. Buckley, 195 Bank St.
Norwalk—J. E. Gormley, 2 Prospect Av.
Norwich—William J. Fitzgerald, 165 N. Main St.
Rockville—Emil Hallcher, 39 Mountain St.
Stamford—E. M. Scott, Box 216.
Thompsonville—John J. Sheehan, 145 Enfield St.
Torrington—Max Wyssenbach, 87 Workman Av.
Waterbury—Louis J. Cote, Box 229.
Charles Mulholland, 15 Simsburg St.

DELAWARE.
Wilmington—John H. Hickey, 1225 W. 4th St.
William Seward, 910 W. 9th St.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
Washington—J. E. Toone, 425 G St. N.W.
L. A. Sterne, 608 A. F. of L. Bldg.

FLORIDA.
Apalachicola—R. Stewart.
Daytona—George M. Hull.
Deland—William J. Keown, 121 Wisconsin Av.
Fort Myers—C. J. Raby.
Jacksonville—J. C. Privett, Box 271.
B. M. Jewell, Route A, Box 328.
John Oaks, 216 Stonewall St.
S. J. Butler, 501 E. 2nd St.
Key West—Ralph R. Russell, Russell Lane.
Miami—W. R. Robbins, R. D. Box 328-A.
B. Sutton, 1003 Av. N.
W. E. Graves, care 331 11th St
Pensacola—H. S. Kieley, Alacaniz and Zaragossa Sts.
M. R. King, care Box 88.
St. Augustine—F. J. Crimble, 59 Orange St.
St. Petersburg—G. G. Cooper, 655 8th St. N.
Sarasota—M. L. Wread.
Tallahassee—Thomas E. Andrews, Box 77.
Tampa—W. C. Bartlett, 2307 Highland Av.
M. Rodriguez, 913 Spruce St.
Tarpon Springs—Henry M. Grammar.
West Palm Beach—J. B. O'Hara.
S. L. Metcalfe.

GEORGIA.
Americus—W. H. Harrold, 564 Jefferson St.
Athens—D. B. St. John, 149 Lumpkin St.
Atlanta—Jerome Jones, 311 Central Bldg.
T. E. Whitaker, 112 Trinity Av.
L. P. Marquardt, 82 Gordon St.
Augusta—B. F. McIntyre, 1529 Fenwick St.
J. M. Holland, R. F. D. 2.
F. W. Bills, 1550 Hicks St.
Brunswick—M. J. Redmond, 1627 Reynolds St.
J. B. Bankston, Box 75.
Cedartown—J. A. Hunter.
Columbus—C. H. Ray, 1308 2nd Av.
Douglas—J. J. DuBose.
George Crowder.
Gainesville—G. Roper, 110 Spring St.
La Grange—R. R. Cone, Box 14.
Macon—Frank Hobbs, Industrial Journal.
W. A. McKenna, Box 612.
L. J. Kilburn, 204 Tatnall St.
Savannah—J. J. Keane, 547 Bolton St. E.
George Black, 321 Barnard St.
Tifton—T. C. Sauls.
Thomasville—J. C. Clemons.
Waycross—C. T. Miller, 26 Quarterman St.

HAWAII.
Hilo—David Ewaliko.

IDAHO.
Boise—R. H. Park, 2509 Ada St.
J. D. Brown, 1102 Idaho St.
Burley—C. R. Grady.
Gooding—William Knight.
Idaho Falls—William Coleman.
June Young, 456 N. Capitol St.
Lewiston—E. A. Rowley, 1121 Idaho St.
Julius Hansen, 206 18th St.
Pocatello—A. W. Muir, 710 E. Center St.
Rexburg—O. S. Lee, Box 445.
Rupert—Charles Little.
Soda Springs—U. J. Davis.
Wallace—H. O. Voss, Box 411.
W. A. Smith.

ILLINOIS.
Alton—Roland Adams, 203 E. Broadway.
T. H. Whitehead, 292 Jefferson Av.
W. A. Schanafelt, Box 223, Wood River.
Aurora—O. N. Ament, 234 Evans Av.
George Battenschlag, 516 N. Av.
Geo. W. Stafford, Warrenville.
P. J. Hickey, 354 Seminary Av.
Belleville—Al. Nebgen, A and Spring Sts.
Le Roy Metcalf.
Alvin Teel, 409 North Spring St.
Benton—B. J. Finch, 10 W. Main St.
Bloomington—O. E. Hoeller, 613 W. Chestnut St.
Frank Donovan, 812 N. Mason St.
L. J. Salch, 1004 Summit St.
Anton A. Monfort, 929 W. Moulton St.
Frank Morgan, 704 N. Western Av.
Breese—Charles Blake.
Bushnell—John W. Hunt.
Cairo—G. J. Gilmore, 510 Walnut St.
Cambria—S. E. Storme.
Canton—John H. Scott, 27 S. Main St.
Carbondale—A. C. Butcher.
Carlinville—J. F. Kiefer, Burgdorff Bldg.
Carlyle—Charles E. Crause.
Carmi—Frank Cross.
Carrier Mills—E. T. Davis.
Carthage—W. E. Troute, 228 Adams St.
Centralia—M. R. Cunningham.
I. N. Williams.
Champaign—J. E. Harding, 508 E. Healey St.
Charleston—Jackson Walker.
Chicago—†John J. Fitzpatrick, 166 W. Washington St.
Jerry Kain, 46 N. 15th Av.
Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington St.
Harvey W. Raven, 7958 Constance Av.
Frank D. Palzkill, 1212 Burling St. S
John Dohney, 7926 Peoria St., Auburn Park Station.
James J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington St.
Chicago Heights—William H. Beckman, 1331 Park Av.
John Wilson, 11 E. 29th St.
Christopher—Noah Keel.
Coal City—David J. Farley, Toluca.
Collinsville—Ed. Franck, 520 Burrough Av.
Danville—O. H. Harden, 7 Fremont St.
Decatur—U. S. Potter, 518 S. Oakland Av.
Emil Reinhold, cor. Locust and Charles Sts.
R. P. Tickell, 1430 E. Eldorado St.
Dixon—Fred Trouth, 216 E. 7th St.
Downers Grove—Richard D. Blakey.
Dunning—Mrs. Kathryn Thomas.
Duquoin—George Stotz, 321 N. Division St.
East Peoria—William Caldwell, 1046 Washington St.
East St. Louis—M. J. Whalen, 513 N. 7th St.
Edward F. Mason, 805 N. 8th St.
Herman Ziegler, 1135 St. Louis Av.
Harry Kerr, 1111 St. Louis Av.
Edwardsville—John Wentz, 1006 N. Main St.
Effingham—Lou Lecrone.
Eldorado—Joseph Mongel.
Elgin—A. B. Winnie, 814 Prospect St.
Farmington—Samuel Pascoe.
Galesburg—Charles House, R. D. No. 2.
H. W. Lohmar, 1405 N. Seminary St.
T. C. Tibbet, 452 Monmouth Blvd.
Geneseo—J. F. Hughes, Box 293.
Georgetown—William Capas.
Charles Royce.
Gillespie—William Willard, Box 414.
Granite City—Fred W. Heeley, 2059 C St.
Harrisburg—C. W. Wright, 209 W. Raymond Av.
W. T. Lacy, 17 W. Sloan St.
Herrin—E. D. Cotton.
J. W. Newcomb, 310 S 17th St.
Hugh Willis, 612 S. 22nd St.
Frank Legan, 809 S. 14th St.
Abe Hicks, 320 N. 11th St.
Hillsboro—Claude Jones, 330 School St.
James McNulty, 647 Eccles St.
J. W. Van Houten.
Jacksonville—W. F. Tiff, 902 Doolin Av.
Jerseyville—C. H. Easthaw, 610 S. Spruce St.
Johnson City—W. E. Moore.
Charlie Duncan.
Joliet—Fred T. Murphy, 825 Liberty St.
Philip Mock, 115 S. Hickory St.
William Bell, 742 Summit St
Raymond V. Allen, 716 S. Ottawa St.
T. F. Pell, 742 Summit St.
Ben. Brugge, 539 Marble St.
William Le May, 719 S. Joliet St.
Mrs. Madge Argo, care 209 Iowa Av.
Kankakee—Edgar Sippel, 587 S. Myrtle Av.

Kensington—Herman C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard Av., Chicago.
Charles Dexter, 10731 Michigan Av., Chicago.
Kewanee—Archie Maze, 316 N. Main St.
J. E. Stacy, 209 S. Boss St.
La Salle—James P. Trench, 327 Tonti St.
Lincoln—R. C. Dickson, 529 N. Sangamon St.
Macomb—Ora L. Hebble.
Marion—W. H. Rix, 706 W. Central St.
Marissa—Josh. Skinner.
Marseilles—O. E. Covell.
Mascoutah—John M. Reuster.
Mattoon—John N. Gowdy, 111½ S. 17th St.
R. F. Craddick, 2517 Shelby Av.
Metropolis—E. A. Speckman, 507 E. 7th St.
Charles C. Munal.
H. J. Schroeder, 1200 Market St.
Monmouth—M. A. Yates.
Monticello—W. W. Griffith.
Mount Morris—U. B. Pittenger, Box 94.
Mount Olive—T. W. Dinerson.
Moweaqua—R. E. Roberts.
Mt. Vernon—C. T. Wicks, 2025 Collidge St.
Murphysboro—J. M. Moran, 518 N. 16th St.
Thomas Murphy, 215 S. 9th St.
New Athens—Ed. Krupp.
Nokomis—C. D. Wright.
Oakwood—Henry Wright.
O'Fallon—F. M. Evans, Jr.
Oglesby—Richard Whennen, Box 379.
Pana—Charles H. Pierson, 7 S. Clark St.
Paris—Edward Lowe, 304 E. Monroe St.
Pekin—Earl Meixsell, 423 South St.
Peoria—Willis K. Brown, 920 Bigelow St.
John M. Irish, Hotel Fey Bar.
J. W. Gentry, 613 Lincoln Av.
B. L. Cottrell, 303 Morton St.
L. T. McArArthur, 704 Ravine St.
Peru—J. L. Meisenbach, 1815 1st St.
Pinckneyville—William Schwetzler.
Princeton—Frank Castner.
Quincy—J. J. Kearney, 1013 Jersey St.
Roanoke—Henry Priller.
Rockford—M. McGurk, 950 N. Horseman St.
A. C. Johnson, 608 Chestnut St.
Rock Island—Harry Strom, 507 Clinton St., East Moline.
Chas. MacGowan, 2104 3rd Av.
P. J. Carlson, 1320 38th St.
Royalton—J. E. Hicks.
St. Charles—W. L. Ayers.
Salem—S. M. Marshall, Box 7, E. Main St.
Savanna—George W. Ashford, Box 118.
Sesser—J. W. Smith.
Shelbyville—William Edgar, 1512 Charles St.
South Chicago—John C. Grantham, 7750 Bond Av.
Springfield—J. H. Walker, 304 Pierik Bldg.
J. F. Morris, State Mining Board.
William M. Chiles, 530 S. 6th St.
Frank Farrington, Farmers' Bank Bldg.
R. E. Woodmansee, Box 15.
Steve Young, 411 N. 5th St.
Staunton—Joseph W. Rizzie, 313 E. Main St.
Tilden Bozarth.
Streator—Thomas Kelly, 720 S. Park St.
William Topham, 521 S. Illinois St.
Thayer—James R. Roady.
Troy—Robert A. Thompson.
Urbana—George Hankins.
West Frankfort—Samuel Winston.
Westville—William Moyer, Box 261.
Wheaton—Wm. G. Laier, Glen Ellyn.

INDIANA.
Alexandria—John Armstrong, 99 W. Washington St.
Anderson—David H. Hottinger, 738 Main St.
Charles M. Hall, 530 W. 3rd St.
Bicknell—O. E. Bell, 609 Maple St.
Boonville—James Priest.
Brazil—John E. Frew, 103 N. Franklin St.
Thomas Powell, 803 N. Indiana St.
Clinton—Joseph Belshaw, 110 S. 10th St.
Columbus—George Kollmeyer, 707 Cottage Av.
Dunkirk—William Fogleson.
East Chicago—James I. Day, 4929 Magirin Av.
Elkhart—Charles Hackman, 125½ S. Main St.
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J. O. Vance, 112 Pacific St.
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Evansville—Emil Levy, 525 Line St.
August G. Eltonhead, 1117 Cherry St.
Fred Hohenberger, 304 4th Av.
Ft. Wayne—H. C. Hoeltje, 1220 Michigan Av.
J. J. Perrey, 1110 Oak St.
P. R. Bell, Oak Knoll, R. F. D. No. 8.
E. T. Drew, 604 Barr St.
J. C. Werkman, 2440 Thompson Av.
Frankfort—J. A. Harrell, 2 Main St.
Gary—George Sheehan, Box 227.
F. H. Detrick, 560 Broadway.
Hammond—Thomas Harle.
J. H. Lock, 523 145th St., East Chicago.
Indianapolis—John Gallivan, 225 E. Washington St.
William E. Neu, 515 Woodlawn Av.
Adolph J. Fritz, 31 United Bldg.
Clarence Gaumer, 433 Lemcke Bldg.
Jasonville—W. M. Lee.
Kokomo—P. L. Haughtington, 1370 E. Jefferson St.
La Fayette—Arthur Lahr, 1723 Charles St.
Lebanon—Charles Williams, 812 E. Superior St.
Linton—J. L. Sims, Box 161.
Logansport—Harry W. Thomson, 1116 W. Wabash Av.
Mrs. O. P. Smith, 409 North St.
Marion—Frank Barr, 614 S. Race St.
Harry K. Oatis, 320 W. 7th St.
Michigan City—John Fogarty, 610 Pine St.
Carl Schacuffle, 707 E. 10th St.
Muncie—W. S. Porter, 210 N. Madison St.
Harvey Hickman, 907 S. Macedonia Av.
William Heath, 1723 S. Elm St.
New Albany—Louis P. Lamke, 1907 Oak St.
Peru—David Mohr, 376 W. 5th St.
George Doolittle.
Albert F. Lapp, 82 W. 5th St.
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William Whitten, 714 N. Hart St.
Richmond—William Idlenan, 218 S. 5th St.
William C. Keplinger, 119 Kinsey St.
R. E. Graham, 532 Main St.
South Bend—Charles E. Miller, 601 N. Mill St.
Terre Haute—J. N. Taylor, 830 N. 13th St.
Phillip K. Reinbold, 816 Wabash Av.
Vincennes—John C. Mayes.
Washington—H. E. Teufel, care Democrat.

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Albert Ullrich, 1514 S. 13th St.
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R. G. Stewart, 108 2nd Av.
Thomas Avery, 630 C Av., W.
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Fort Madison—B. Slutz, 1111 5th St.
Grinnell—O. D. Harris, 1314 3rd Av.
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W. L. Woodward, 218 6th St. Sw.
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J. J. O'Brien, 611 Iowa Av.
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F. Parker.
Oelwein—F. H. Munger.
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Earl C. Willey, The Journal.
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Charles C. McKay, 111 Beck Av.
J. W. Rickert, 642 Walnut St.
Whiteburg—B. M. Vance.

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W. N. Tate.
Arma—John Gore.
Atchison—A. L. Fleming, 526 Conil St.
Samuel A. Cunningham, 926 S. 5th St.
C. D. Monger, 510 S. 4th St.
Caney—A. S. Long.
Chanute—Leonard Wilane, 1209 S. Highland Av.
Coffeyville—H. O'Brien, 1530 S. Willon St.
Croweburg—Charles Harvey.
Emporia—J. P. Cowen, 315 S. Mechanic St.
G. E. Blakeley, 22 S. Commercial St.
Fort Scott—G. B. Davis, 1408 S. Main St.
Girard—M. V. Tubbs, 115 N. Cherokee St.
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Mulberry—Fred Stanton.
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Neodesha—S. A. Hostetter.
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S. B. Weaver, 196 Grattan St.
Frank B. Brown, 1010 Quincy St.
Clyde O. Tresner, 320 E. 6th St.
Weir—John Craddock.
Wichita—L. A. Creed, 1021 Hiram St.
William Talbert, 611 E. Central St.
Charles Hoover, 1601 E. 21st St.
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C. N. Jacques, 2422 St. Xavier St.
J. C. Lehman, 405 Garden St.
John Doyle, 322 W. Jefferson St.
John R. Fox, 528 S. 6th St.
John D. Wilson, 733 W. Chestnut St.
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Patrick E. Gorman, 112 S. Shelby St.
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H. F. Sutton.
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‡Frank C. Blundon, Live Oak School.
Lake Charles—T. C. Price.
Monroe—L. M. Hudnall, Box 437.
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R. C. Sutton, 435 Carondelett St.
James Leonard, 618 Commercial Place.
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E. H. Zwally, 702 Market St.
J. A. Overcash, care Box 1003.

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East Millinocket—Paul Marcou.
Charles Barker.
Lisbon Falls—S. A. Dickinson, Box 3.
W. C. Winn.
Livermore Falls—Archie McCaffery.
Millinocket—Wallace McKinney.
Orono—G. C. Russell.
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Waterville—J. F. Partridge, 9 Western Av.
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Thomas Murray, Box 1232 or North St.
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Williamstown—James Donovon.
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Worcester—Rose Yates, 40 Belmont St.

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Francis McCauley, 319 N. Fannie St.
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John A. C. Menton, 1316 Liberty St.
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Houghton—Frank Lorenz, 259 Edwards St.
Jackson—Charles Shulters, 131 Hollis St.
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James G. Henley, 145 W. Pearl St.
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William Warner, 620 Stone St.
D. M. Fitzgerald, 614 N. Porter St.
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Cyrelle Belair, 293 Jenks St.
Robert Earl, 1638 Middleton Av.
P. H. Waters, 475 Superior St.
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Lexington—Frank Lauchner.
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H. W. Nelson, 502 E. 34th St.
Bozeman—H. B. Clack, 318 N. 3rd St.
Butte—M. M. Donoghue, Box 31.
Frank J. Glenn, Box 585.
F. A. Bigelow, Box 1257.
Glendive—Walter J. Wrighht, Box 175.
Great Falls—Louis J. Dilno, Box 167.
Lee Nelson, care Box 560.
Hamilton—R. H. Coucher.
Havre—Don McLeod, 920 2nd St.
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Ed. Langley, care Box 483.
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Livingston—Claude C. Sheak, Box 1044.
Miles City—Floyd Smith, Box 164.
Missoula—C. A. English, Gibson Block.
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S. C. Jackson, Box 570.
C. J. Warren, Labor Temple.
Plattsmouth—M. Bojeck.
South Omaha—Henry J. Beal, Jr., 4811½ S. 24th St.

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Reno—C. W. Farrington, 236½ Elm St.

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Earl C. Lane.
Concord—Thomas A. Foley, 171 Rumford St.

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Nashua—Daniel J. Sullivan, 99 Chestnut St.
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Richard Weston, 885 State St.
Herbert Thompson, 7 Dennett St.
Robert Rossley, Box 569, Kittery.
Harry L. Hartford, York Beach, Me.
Milton B. Clarke, 102 State St.
Somersworth—David W. Clay, 15 Maple St.

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Bridgeton—J. Howell Reeves, 76 W. Commerce St.
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A. J. McGuire, 430 Pine St.
Carlstadt—William J. Reinhardt, 714 7th St.
Dover—William Beck, 27 Myrtle Av.
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Karl Kenerin, 711 4th St.
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Charles H. Felten, 66 Palisade Av., W. Hoboken.
John J. Jennings, 76 Montgomery St.
Louise Hofmire, 576 Newark Av.
Mazdalen Haussmann, 576 Newark Av.
William Kavanagh, 14 Garrison Av.
Kearney—Thomas Crouthers, Jr., 213 Windsor St., Arlington.
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Madison—George Blazier.
Millville—John Adams, N. 2nd St.
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Paterson—James Matthews, 359 Van Hauten St.
Henry Vanderveld, 121 Paterson Av.
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Salem—E. S. Calhoun.
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Frank Drobny, Gazette Office.
T. W. Niles, Gazette Office.
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Trenton—Luke B. Travers, 70 Lamberton St.
John Remele, 47 Arlington Av.
Anthony Spair, 1006 Chestnut Av.
Reuben Forker, Box 529.
Vineland—A. J. Dean, West Park Av.
E. E. Howe, R. F. D. No. 3.
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W. C. McCourt, 421 Edith St.
Edward R. Benedick, 421 S. Edith St.

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Binghamton—Jeremiah Ryan, 77 State St.
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Owen McElroy, 496 Jefferson St.
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William Strauss, 1030 Gates Av.
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Julius Alf, 60 Erickson St.
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Frank A. Andrea, 14 Factory St.
Corning—Sylvanus Clark.
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Henry Fick, 227 King St.
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Joseph P. Torney, care 19 Mechanic St.
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H. L. Robinson, 20 Fulton St.
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Martin Wall, Marshall Av., Mohawk.
Islip—Edward Howell.
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Jamestown—L. B. Walker, 838 Spring St.
Kingston—Peter J. Halloran, 44 Clifton St.
Patrick McDermott, 129 Hasbrouck Av.
Lancaster—Edward F. Link, 10 Newell Av.
Little Falls—Joseph Shawcross, 57 Alexander St.
Lockport—William McGregor.
Mamaroneck—Oscar T. Bowman.
Mount Kisco—J. L. Fisbaugh.
Mount Morris—Valentine Hoffman.
Mt. Vernon—Wm. Hamilton, 470 S. 4th Av.

Newburg—Charles Hanstein, 19 Wisner Av.
John Rothery, 7 Washington place.
New York—Joseph Dehan, 811 Kelly St., Bronx.
G. W. Whitford, 1517 3rd Av.
Thomas J. Curtis, 3067 Hall Av.
James P. Holland, 211 E. 45th St.
George T. McGuire, 2250 Bassford AAv., Bronx.
Niagara Falls—David Sauber, 2220 Grand Av.
North Tarrytown—Andrew McElwain, Jr., 178 Beekman Av.
North Tonawanda—John Ackers, 22 Minerva St., Tonawanda.
Ogdensburg—Edward L. Emmert, 119 Morris St.
Wm. D. Cummings, 527½ N. Union St.
Olean—T. L. Petts, 822 Crown St.
J. C. Miller, 133 N. 10th St.
Oneida—Devern Bender, P. O. Box 282.
Oswego—Albert J. Thompson, 236 E 11th St.
Owego—John Elower, 114 Chestnut St.
Peekskill—Charles Rolfe, 120 Nassau Pl.
Sam Levy.
Robert Cross, 1018 Main St.
Plattsburg—John M. Derby, 41 Rugar St.
Port Chester—Wm. Rander, 562 Willett Av.
Port Henry—Harry B. Wykes, Mineville.
Port Jervis—Charles E. Dailey, 58 Orange St.
Poughkeepsie—Charles J. Zeil, 65 Taylor Av.
Rochester—C. B. McLoughlin.
Thomas J. Hoctor, 16 Holmes St.
M. J. O'Brien, 155 Seyle Terrace.
Rome—Frank Ferguson, 507 Robert Av.
Daniel J. Connell, 200 E. Embargo St.
Saranac Lake—Edward Britt, 16 Prospect Av.
Saugerties—Michael Fitzgerald, Livingston St.
Schenectady—Harry A. Engle, Gleason Apartments, Jay St.
Fred W. Burman, 203 Hulett St.
J. McConville, 511 Av. A.
Milo Carroll, 414 Summit Av.
Michael J. Fanning, 720 Eastern Av.
John I. Wickham, 35 Springfield Av.
William Keith, 740 Eastern Av.
Sidney—H. J. Atwell.
Silver Springs—A. Gelina.
Suffern—Richard Burnard, Box 573.
Syracuse—Charles A. Yates, 221 City Hall.
Nellie Kelly, 25 Otisco St.
H. N. Woodard, 476 S. Salina St.
Tarrytown—J. Hopkinson, 143 Beekman Av.
Ticonderoga—Forest Munger, Box 228.
Troy—Thos. J. Purcell, 73 Albany Av., Green Island.
T. M. Guerin, 290 2nd Av.
Utica—Alex. Rosenthal, 429 Cooper St.
Sidney A. Dobbins, 1647 Miller St.
Edward A. Bates, Room 14, Jones Bldg.
Walden—Nathaniel Nutt, 83 Main St.
Warsaw—Charles Olds.
Watertown—Earl Dempster, 507 Binsse St.
George M. Gibbs.
Westbrookville—Dewitt E. Tarket.
White Plains—John R. Lynch, 45 Main St.
Yonkers—J. T. Windell, Box 277.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Asheville—James F. Barrett, Box 652.
O. R. Jarrett, 18 Olive St.
Mt. Airy—James Ward.
Salisbury—Alonzo Rowe, 526 E. Inniss St.
Spencer—J. P. Scott, Box 288.
J. B. Donevant, Spencer Av.
Wilmington—G. H. Stone, Box 952.
Winston-Salem — Charles W. O'Daniel, 1421 English St.
R. D. Bailey, Box 16, R. F. D. 7.
George B. Peddycord, 309 S. Liberty St.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Bismarck—Frank Milhollan.
Fargo—A. W. Bowman, 807 5th St., S., Moorehead, Minn.
Grand Forks—Peter Morgan, Box 751.
Minot—L. O. Gilmore.
Lee C. Brundage, 102 4th Av. N.W.

OHIO.

Akron—Peter Smith, 321 Wheeler St.
G. H. Shaw, 216 Parkway.
C. L. Gaskins.
Alliance—J. T. Beall, 245 W. Columbia St.
Thomas H. Nichols, 636 E. Main St.
Barnhill—Frederick Helle.
Bellaire—William Kennedy, 1744 Belmont St.
Bowling Green—C. W. Ordway, 214 Haskins St.
Brilliant—J. H. Chadwell.
Bucyrus—Charles H. Messner.
Byesville—G. H. Grabham.
Caldwell—A. J. Thompson, N. Main St., Belle Valley.
Cambridge—Charles F. Baughman, Box 203.
Canaanville—Peter B. Seal.
Canton—T. T. O'Malley, 104 4th St. S.E.
Bert Every, 1703 Shivver Av. N.E.
John Mercer, 415 Gilmore Av.
Chillicothe—Henry Imhoff, 204 N. Sugar St.
Charles Miller, 284 E. Main St.
Cincinnati—Henry Ott, 1009 Findlay St.
Harry Von Bokern, 535 Slack St.
Charles H. Wirmel, 2031 Baltimore Av.
Cleveland—Peter Hassenpflue, 310 Prospect Av. S.E.
Thomas Griffin, 1402 E. 120th St.
Michael Goldsmith, 716 Vincent Av.
John G. Owens, 310 Prospect Av. S.E.
Columbus—J. C. Dougherty, 1835 Parson Av.
A. S. Rowe, 188 Jackson St.
Arthur L. Leavitt, 471 Starr St.
Jos. A. Armstrong, 337 Collins Av.
Conneaut—E. H. Martin, 419 Mill St.
Coshocton—Earl Lockard, 526 Locust St.
Crooksville—S. R. Frazee, Box 6, Route 2.
Dayton—Valentine Dooley, 21 S. Terry St.
George Richardson, 330 E. 5th St.
Grant Fink, 120½ S. Jefferson St.
J. L. McKittrick, 104 Lonie St.
East Liverpool—Charles Kontnier, East End.
John P. Duffy, 314 Jackson St.
George Kilmer.
East Palestine—G. H. Allcorn.
Elyria—Joseph Otten, Topleff Hotel, Barber Shop.
Findlay—Rufus M. Todd, 120 Shinkle St.
Fostoria—Charles Scharf, 353 W. High St.
Fremont—Otto Heppner, 743 Ohio Av.
August Mischke, 235 Herbster St.
Glen Roy—Albert Deck.
Hamilton—Charles E. Vaughn, 310 S. 2nd St.
Hollister—Dan W. Wallace.
Ironton—John H. Hortel, 828 6th St.
Jackson—William J. Lamb, Jr., 85 Center St.
Lancaster—Claude A. Dale, 651 E. Main St.
Lebanon—Ed. Nixon, R. R. No. 1.

Lima—Edwin Blank, Bellefontaine Av.
Logan—C. E. Brehm.
Lorain—C. A. Miller, 321 Lake St.
Mansfield—Ed. S. Nagle, 98½ N. Main St.
Emil Aderman, 116 Lida St.
Marietta—William F. Debold, 614 8th St.
Marion—Ira C. Moser, 656 Irey Av.
C. A. Bolin, 235 Thew Av.
Leo C. Guthrie, 324 S. Main St.
Martin's Ferry—William Hixenbaugh.
Massillon—Nelson P. Maier, 1512 George St.
Middletown—T. A. Scully, 442 E. 2nd St.
Montpelier—Christie Schelb, 130 Bungalow Court.
Mt. Vernon—Samuel R. Barton, 667 N. Sandusky St.
Newark—John Bush, 405 E. Indiana St.
George Hamilton, 418 Eastern Av.
C. Joseph Baker, R. R. No. 4.
New Philadelphia—Albert McMillen, 609 S. 3rd St.
Norwalk—W. Earl Mack, 99 Milan Av.
Piqua—Joseph J. Welsh, 733 S. Main St.
Pomeroy—John W. McIntosh, R 4, Box 6.
Portsmouth—James Jackman, 1308 McConnell Av.
Salem—Peter Ferguson, 122 S. Union St.
Sandusky—Frank William Kleinfelder, 1336 Putnam St.
Springfield—C. W. Rich, Labor Temple.
Steubenville—A. C. Johnson, 500 Adam St.
Norval J. White, 707 Highland Av.
Tiffin—James C. Craniger, 70 S. Washington St.
Charles H. Trimmer, 173½ S. Washington St.
Toledo—E. E. Smith, 3729 Lockwood St.
Thomas Rumsey, 526 Jackson Av.
J. J. Quinlivan, 314 Cherry St.
Van Wert—W. S. Shaw.
Warren—William H. Crawford, 63 York St.
Wellsville—Frank Smurthewaite, 1011 Clover St.
Westerville—William R. Stephens, Box 156.
Willoughby—E. J. Stoks, Lock Box 561.
Youngstown—Joseph M. Murphy, 23 Halls Heights Av.
John Graney, 309 W. Federal St.
Zanesville—Fred A. Kline, 1025 Putnam Av.
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OKLAHOMA.
Ardmore—D. N. Ferguson, 801 E. Broadway.
Bartlesville—C. W. Cousins, 404 N. 11th St.
Blackwell—F. W. Wines.
Chant—Tally Brazel, McCurtain.
Chickasha—A. W. Bennett, 820 Minnesota Av.
Clinton—E. B. Medlock.
Coalgate—Simon Phillips.
Drumright—Ruby Ballard, Box 352.
Gerald Hildebrand, Box 573.
El Reno—H. E. Hart, Box 624.
Enid—S. D. Patrick, 115 W. Main St.
Frank Feger.
Guthrie—H. N. Condict, 723 W. Harrison Av.
Henryetta—M. M. Morgan, 311 N. 12th St.
McAlester—R. O. Jaggers.
McCurtain—W. A. Cheshier, R. 1, Box 4.
Miami—A. H. Beighley, Box 472.
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Ed. Thayer, 321 Okmulgee St.
Edwin Deming, 1311 E. Broadway.
J. J. Hollingsworth, 236 N. S St.
Oklahoma City—T. T. Harvey, 802 N. Everest St.
E. H. Stanton.
Ollie S. Wilson, 207-8 Patterson Bldg.
Edgar Fenton, 207-8 Patterson Bldg.
G. E. Connally, Room 9, State House.
Okmulgee—J. F. Grisom.
Pawhuska—Orten Taylor, Box 534.
Phillips—Lee Payne.
Sapulpa—E. L. Mathewson, 20 S. Poplar St.
Joseph T. Wray.
Richard Parker.
Shawnee—Oscar E. Heath, 624 S. Broadway.
Samuel Atkins, Box 303.
H. C. Myers, 422 N. Kickapoo St.
Tahlequah—R. B. Bean, Box 5.
Tulsa—P. B. Parr, R. R. 5, Box 153 A.
W. T. Maxwell, 1339 Admiral Blvd.
G. E. Warren, Box 672.
Wilburton—S. M. Boydston, Box 233.

OREGON.
Albany—A. J. Steele, R. R. 5.
Astoria—H. M. Lornsten, Box 138.
Joseph L. Moore, 474 Commercial St.
Bandon—H. N. Brown.
Bend—Ray Conterbery.
Marshfield—Andrew Landles, 169 2nd St. north.
North Bend—B. E. Evans.
L. E. King.
Richreall—J. F. Wisner, R. D. 2.
Salem—Harry H. Hill, 132 E. Miller St.

PANAMA.
Christobal, C. Z.—F. W. Hallin, Box 88.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Akron—D. S. Smith, Lock Box 21.
Allentown—Henry Steinacker, 645½ N. 9th St.
Clarence J. Moser, 23 S. Brook St.
William Deitz, 1324 Gordon St.
Altoona—J. M. Imler, 609 W. 26th St.
Wm. H. McKee.
John W. Yeager, 1211½ 7th St.
Ashland—George W. E. Keller, 1326 Market St.
Ashley—Thomas Moran, 145 Manhatan St.
Avella—Henry Koucha, Box 56.
Avoca—Wm. J. Sammon, Hawthorne St.
Beaverdale—Michael Nelson.
Bellefonte—Frank Gross, Axe Mann.
Bentleyville—Thomas R. Metcalf.
Berwick—H. W. Cope, 1604 Walnut St.
Berwyn—Jean Stroh.
Bethlehem—H. F. Detweiler, 115 N. High St.
Harry Unger, 923 N. High St.
Howard Ellis, 130 S. 7th St., Allentown.
Bradford—John W. Grady, 42 Clarence St.
H. A. Cooney, 9 Burnside Av.
James W. Plummer, 7 Janes Place.
Brownsville—H. R. Norman, West Brownsville.
Harry Delbarre, California.
Canonsburg—Cleve Murray.
Carbondale—J. B. Walsh, 104 Terrace St.
Daniel D. Kelly, 58 Woodlawn St.
Benjamin Sampson.
Andrew Whitlock, Cemetery St., Jermyn.
Harold H. Masters, 26 Cemetery St.
Carnegie—C. Curry, 817 4th Av.
Chambersburg—W. J. Gettel.
Charleroi—Freeman Johnson, 717 8th St.
John Stephenson, 1102 Meadow St.
C. G. Collins.
Chester—E. J. Reinhart, 516 Parker St.

Clarence—Mike Koshko, Box No. 0.
Columbia—William A. Preston, 552 N. 2nd St.
Connellsville—Elmer L. McNutt, 116 W. Gibson Av.
D. S. Trimble, Arch St.
R. M. Vaughn, 110 S. 4th St., W. side.
J. J. Brady.
Dagus Mines—Frank Mosier, Kersey.
Danville—John A. Mowrey, 19 Vine St.
Dunlo—Paul Miller.
East Greenville—Harry C. Rutter.
Easton—William Sleybecker, 305 Nesquehoning St.
Jules Bloch.
Ellwood City—James McCartney.
Erie—Theodore Eichhorn, 1146 Brown Av.
Charles Emmert.
John O'Connell.
James D. Tracey, 160 W. 5th St.
J. A. Woodridge.
Federal—Michael Quinn, Presto.
Forest City—F. A. Burdick, 736 Delaware St.
Gallitzin—William Kent, Box 5, Tunnell Hill.
Glenlyon—John R. Stevens, Box 151.
Harrisburg—H. M. Brooks, 211 Locust St.
Hardwick—Edward Prohosko, Cheswick.
Hastings—Steve Janchura.
Hazleton—Albert Walck, 619 Alter St.
Hickman—Jacob Hill, Jr.
Homestead—William H. Shaffer, 303 McClure St.
Jeannette—John McAdams, Box 452, Greensburg.
John F. Meyer, 401 Seventh St.
Jenkintown—James J. Butcher, 2208 N. Van Pelt.
Johnstown—James Williamson, 1141 Franklin St.
Charles A. McKeown, 646 Main St.
Kittanning—T. J. Munford, 900 Orr Av.
Lancaster—M. G. Evans, 759 Marietta Av.
Lilly—William Currie.
Lykens—John Hasgood, Box 83, Wiconisco.
E. L. Rowe, Pine St.
Mahonoy City—R. C. Fowler, 222 W. Pine St.
McAdoo—W. S. Pugh, 213 Grant St.
McKeesport—George Sloane, 609½ Walnut St.
William Gannon, 9th and Jenny Lind St.
William Murphy, 450 Atlantic Av.
McSherrystown—S. H. Weaver, Box 32.
Meadville—E. J. Peters, 658 Jefferson St.
Monongahela—Albert Welsh, Courtney.
Morgan—Carlisle E. Walcott.
Mount Carmel—John V. Carroll, 42 S. Orange St.
Munson—William Jenneys.
Nanticoke—William Chesny.
New Brighton—D. S. Leighty, 422 3rd St., Beaver.
S. S. Bowser, 466 College Av., Beaver.
New Castle—Fred W. Pennington, Trades Assembly Hall.
New Kensington—Peter Haser, Arnold.
Norristown—Wallace C. Arnold, 715 Arch St.
Oil City—George A. Ingham, 23 W. 6th St.
W. P. Hughes, 234 Hone Ave.
John O'Donnell, Box 11.
C. W. Ross, Box 526.
Olyphant—F. A. Kelly.
Philadelphia—W. J. Boyle, 208 N. 58th St.
J. C. De Kraft, 411 S. Broad St.
W. C. Hahn, 1105 Louden St., Logan
E. E. Greenawalt, 5852 Catharine St.
Harry M. Tarr, 2741 N. Front St.
Pittsburgh—W. J. Kelly, Union Labor Temple.
M. P. Gordon, 607 McGreagh Bldg., Uptown Station.
George Webb, 13 Market St.
Pittston—Thomas T. Flanagen, 109 Butler St.
Portage—John R. Dodds.
Pottsville—S. M. F. Glover, 606 Sanderson St.
G. Edward Ossman, 632 Edwards Av.
Jere Brennan, Heckscherville P. O.
Presto—Hendry Goldbach, Box 54.
Punxsutawney—Edward C. Black, 207 Rockland Av.
Puritan—George Cowan.
Quakertown—Allen Grant, 42 Ansbler St.
Ravine—A. J. Zimmerman.
Reading—Jesse George, 131 Reed St.
A. P. Bower, 111 N. 6th St.
J. Henry Stump, 820 Douglas St.
Richland Center—John Besch.
Renovo—Victor B. Reese.
Ridgway—John L. Park.
F. C. Killoffer.
Rothsville—Wilson Erick, Box 21.
St. Benedict—J. P. Duffy.
Sayre—T. E. Falsey, 42 Williams St., Waverley, N. Y.
Scranton—M. E. Kane, 423 Larch St.
S. J. McDonald, 817 Richmont St.
William La Fontaine, 829 Columbia Av.
Shamokin—Albert Earl Frederick, 720 N. Shamokin St.
Francis Gillespie, care 1010 E. Commerce St.
Sharon—David Nevin, Box 424.
Sharpsburg—H. L. Brandis, Box 73, Glenshaw.
Shawmut—F. E. Waite.
Shenandoah—Killian O'Neill, 110 West Penn. St.
Spring City—Henry J. Diehl.
Stroudsburg—Frank O. Philips, 43 Broad St.
Sunbury—M. E. Smith, 330 S. 4th St.
Suterville—Michael Egan.
Tamaqua—C. C. Boner.
Tyre—John P. Busarello.
Uniontown—Jeff D. Kerfoot.
Warren—Frank McClellan, 106½ Carver St.
Washington—John V. Joyce, 80 W. Beau St.
Waynesboro—Charles C. Hayes, Arcade Bldg.
Wilkesbarre—John J. Yonhon, 51 Sturdvant St.
William J. Kromelbein, 314 S. Main St.
Wilkinsburg—John W. Rankin, 146 W. 10th Av., Homestead.
Williamstown—Martin J. Doyle.
York—Alfred H. Billet, 572 W. Philadelphia St.
John B. Aumen, 717 Jessop Place.

PORTO RICO.
Arecibo—Nicomedes Rivera, Box 67.
Nemesio Morales, Box 37.
Bayamon—Sandalio Sanchez.
Cirilo Aviles, Box 163.
Cabo Rojo—Luiz Irizzarry Segarra.
Caguas—Jose Ferrer Ferrer.
Humacao—Juan B. Delgado, Duffressne St.
Juncos—Jose Maria Pereira, 31 Boldorioti St.
Ponce—Sandalio E. Alonso, Box 626.

Jose Ma. Torres, 89 Union St.
Emilio Fariza.
San Juan—Julio Aybar, Puerto de Tierra.
Rafael Alonzo, Luna 60.
San Lorenzo—Jose G. Garcia.
Yauco—Leonardo Pacheco, Palma 22.

RHODE ISLAND.
Centerville—George P. Phipps, Main St.
Newport—James B. Edward, 2 Robinson St.
Marcus C. Papa, 9 Toura St.
John Ganz, 18 Meeting St.
G. A. Spooner, 18 Meeting St.
John J. Reavey, 21 Merton Rd.
Richard B. Scott, 35 Newport Av.
Pawtucket—Henry Frasier, 1 Wilmarsh Ct.
Albert E. Hohler, 330 Glenwood Av.
Pawtuxet—James M. Reynolds, Allen St., Box 49, Riverpoint.
Providence—R. A. McGarry, Room 10, 72 Weybosset St.
Woonsocket—Martin V. Cass, 367 Prospect St.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
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Andrews—S. S. Skipper.
Charleston—E. M. Barry, 58 King St.
A. Flynn, Box 35, Navy Yard.
H. B. Hogg, 87 Sheppard St.
Columbia—John B. McCrary, 1645 Main St.
Thos. B. Cooper, 612 Main St.
S. B. Kirby, 321 Pickins St.
John Lee Davis, care Record.
George Nafey, Box 222.
Florence—James H. Jackson, 4 S. Gaillard St.
Georgetown—John C. Gibbs, care Crowleys
Greenville—A. S. Gabriel, 307 E. Stone Av
C. H. Greene, Box 245.
Spartansburg—John W. Tinsley, 112 S Walker St.
J. B. Woolbright, 120 Langdon Av.
H. S. Beck, Lee St.
C. E. Diltz.
Perow Swain, 157 Walker St.
C. B. Brooks, 344 Farley Av.

SOUTH DAKOTA.
Aberdeen—Fred B. Johnson, 920 4th Av. S.W.
Lead—W. E. Scroggan, 307 Miners Av.
Sioux Falls—M. J. McCaffrey, 739 W. 10th St.
Watertown—H. H. Housen, Box 335.

TENNESSEE.
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Chattanooga—Matt Robinson, 106½ E. 8th St.
‡R. B. Buckner.
Clarkesville—John Rosser.
Graysville—T. J. Smith.
Jackson—W. H. Mainord, 216 McCowat St.
Johnson City—B. B. Britton.
Knoxville—George W. Ford, 718 Gay St.
Memphis—Charles B. Sowers, 584 S. Cooper St.
I. M. Levi, 1991 Oliver St.
C. W. Merker, Lock Box 101.
Nashville—W. C. Birthright, 316 3d Av. N.
Albert E. Hill, 335½ 3rd Av., N.
Soddy—P. P. Lynch.

TEXAS.
Amarillo—S. W. Hammer, Box 1355.
Austin—Joe Amstead, 1502 Lavaca St.
C. F. Kirk, 602 W. Av.
V. H. Pannell, 411 E 7th St.
T. C. Jennings, 1211 Rio Grand Av.
C. W. Woodman, Bureau of Labor Statistics.
D. S. Harper, 1017 E. 6th St.
Bay City—A. W. Benedict, Box 474.
Beaumont—R. S. Greer, Box 527.
Jack Cox, Box 617.
C. A. Weber, Box 932.
Mack Cantin, 369 Pearl St.
I. Ross, 167 Jackson St.
A. E. Fisher, 260 Crockett St.
Beeville—D. H. Hardeman, Box 282.
Big Springs—Clyde Hathaway.
Brownwood—C. A. Perkins, 401 Wilson St.
Childress—J. M. Blakeley, Gen. Del.
B. H. Dennison, Y. M. C. A. Bldg.
Cleburne—W. H. Gramling, 921 N. Border St.
Corpus Christi—Geo. P. Blevins, Box 454.
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Myrtle Berry, 1611 Royal St.
David Lynch, 2025 Jackson St.
S. C. Tucker, Room 2, Labor Temple.
Denison—Herman Kachel, 116 W. Morton St.
Denton—T. W. McCormick.
Electra—S. Johnson, Box 577.
El Paso—J. R. Redman, 911 N. Stanton St.
F. C. Standish, care Box 301.
Ennis—R. A. McCullough, 300 S. Main St.
Ft. Worth—Edward Cunningham, Box 802.
Mrs. Della Davis, 1300 E. Front St.
Thos. F. Bays, Station A.
Geo. W. Fisher, 2614 Travis Av.
H. O. Gossett, care of City Hall.
M. W. Alexander, 515 W. 4th St.
‡T. W. Updack, 1510 W. Petersmith St.
Victor Wood, 940 Bessie St.
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Galveston—O. A. Anderson, 4415 Av. I.
George H. Slater, 2911 Av. N½.
James P. Walsh, 3601 Av. O.
J. H. Fricke, 1223 Av. K.
E. W. Bock, 1806 M. ½ Av.
‡J. S. Lewis, 315½ 26th St.
Gilmer—W. F. Glass.
Houston—L. M. Andler, 4411 Wood St.
Neal Cully.
R. L. Johnson, 1818 Live Oak St.
Kingsville—S. H. Bishop.
Longview—W. T. McDuffie.
Marshall—Al. Freeman.
J. C. Schmitzer, 707 Texas St.
J. A. Schnorbus, 406 Lafayette St.
R. J. Cross, 1401 East Fannen St.
J. L. C. Berry, 1013 State St.
Mart—J. J. Sansom, Box 94.
McKinney—George B. Hughes.
Newcastle—W. W. Youngman.
Orange—E. G. Davis, Lock Box 845.
J. E. Crain.
Palestine—A. M. Cohen, 103 Lacy St.
Paris—Floyd E. Griffis, 373 Polk St.
A. W. Neville, 159 N. 16th St.
Plainvew—W. O. Wellborn, Box 303.
Port Arthur—J. H. Silliman, 204 3rd St.
F. S. Laurentz, 2148 6th St.
I. T. Saunders, 700 6th St.
San Angelo—R. E. Hughs, 117 Chadbaure St.
Ben H. Griffin, 167 Chadbourne St.
San Antonio—W. L. Hoefgen, Box 1113.
H. H. Hodge, R. 1. Box 276.
Jeff. Forehand, Maryland & Walters Sts.
Frank J. Hopkins, Jr., 233 Barara St.
J. T. Horner, 205 Tilden St.
Joseph J. Tucker, Jr., 119 Nevada St.
Paul Steffler, 626 Victoria St.
San Marcos—W. S. Haynes, Box 277.
Seymour—J. A. Baccus.

Sherman—A. Meredith, 1023 E. Houston St.
G. M. Cointepas, 223 E. Cherry St.
Smithville—Perry P. Young.
Sour Lake—R. D. Carter, Gen. Del.
Strawn—Henry De Busk, Box 285.
Teague—T. F. Hamilton, Box 315.
Temple—Robert McKinley, Box 393.
Stuart Shaw, Box 133.
H. S. Newland, 506 S. 11th St.
Terrell—W. H. Hoylman, 914 S. Francis St.
Texas City—Joseph E. J. Rogers, Box 435.
Thurber—M. D. Lasater.
Ed. T. Patterson, Box 265.
F. S. Caro.
Earl Ferguson, Box 361.
Tyler—‡Henderson McChavers.
Waco—John S. Tennison, 2001 Summer St.
S. E. Stewart, 1220 S. Twelfth St.
J. R. Spencer, Labor Hall.
E. A. Harrell, Box 699.
Mrs. Ruth Walker, 323 N. 7th St.
J. B. Strother, 2105 Cleveland St.
J. C. Hill, 1124 N. 9th St.
Eaton Williams, Union Standard.
‡L. R. Roberts.
‡B. F. Shearod, 112 Bridge St.
Walnut Springs—C. C. Buckingham.
Waxahachie—Norris Homer Krohne, 705 E. Kaufman St.
Wichita Falls—J. B. Pickett, 805 Lamar St.
Jack Prather, 806 11th St.
Philip Lver, 18th St.
Charles G. Storm.

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COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION.

THE Commission on International Labor Legislation, appointed by the Supreme Allied Council and of which Samuel Gompers was chosen President, adopted a plan for a permanent organization and also what is known as "Labor's Charter." The proceedings follow:

Labor's Article in the Covenant of the League of Nations is as follows:

"ARTICLE XX.—The High Contracting Parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organizations of the League a permanent Bureau of Labor."

To give effect to this article, on January 25, 1919, The Supreme Allied Council at Paris created the Commission on International Labor Legislation to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affecting conditions of employment, and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration in cooperation with and under the direction of the League of Nations. The following delegates were appointed by their respective governments:

United States of America—
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.
Mr. E. N. Hurley, President of the American Shipping Board.

British Empire—
The Right Honourable George N. Barnes, M. P., Member of the War Cabinet.
Sir Malcolm Delevingue, K. C. B., Assistant Under Secretary of State Home Office.

France—
M. Colliard Minister of Labor.
M. Loucheur, Minister of Industrial Reconstruction.

Italy—
Baron Mayor des Planches, Commissioner General for Immigration.
Mr. Carbrini, Deputy.

Japan—
Mr. Otchiai, Envoy at The Hague.
Mr. Oka, Director of Commercial and Industrial Affairs.

Belgium—
Mr. Vandervelde, Minister of Justice and of State.
Mr. Mahaim, Professor at Liege University, Secretary to the Belgium Section of the Association for the Legal Protection of Workmen.

Cuba—
Mr. De Bustemante, Professor at Havana University.

Poland—
Count Zoltowski, Member of the Polish National Committee, afterwards replaced by
Mr. Stanislas Patek, Counsellor of the Board of Cessation.

Czecho-Slovak Republic—
Mr. Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs, afterwards replaced by
Mr. Rudolph Broz.

At the first meeting of the Commission Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, was unanimously elected president. After thirty-five meetings the Commission drew up its conclusions in two parts:

1. A draft convention creating a permanent organization for international labor legislation.
2. What is known as "Labor's Charter" consisting of nine essentially fundamental principles proposed for insertion in the Treaty of Peace.

The draft convention and "Labor's Charter," together with the report of the Commission, have been incorporated in the report of the American Federation of Labor Delegation to the Peace Conference, and submitted to the 1919 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Commission decided that the first meeting of the International Labor Conference be held in Washington, D. C., in October, 1919, with the following agenda:

1. Application of principle of eight-hour day or of forty-eight-hour week.
2. Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.
3. Women's employment—
   (a) Before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefits.
   (b) During the night.
   (c) In unhealthy processes.
4. Employment of children—
   (a) Minimum age of employment.
   (b) During the night.
   (c) In unhealthy processes.
5. Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

The Commission on International Labor Legislation was the first to report, adjourning March 24, 1919, after a rising vote of thanks to its President. The report of the Commission was formally and unanimously adopted by the plenary session of the Peace Conference April 11, 1919, at which time President Wilson paid a brief tribute to the President of the Commission and Secretary of State, Robert L. Lansing, cabled the following congratulatory message:

"GOMPERS, Washington.
Heartiest congratulations upon report of the Commission on Labor which received unanimous applause. The service which you rendered as President of the Commission is appreciated by us all. LANSING."

Although not all that might be desired, the results achieved are acknowledged to be of a constructive and far-reaching nature, and a considerable advance in Labor's triumphant onward march.

GENERAL INDEX.

The index for greater convenience is divided into three parts—"War," "Encyclopedia" and "Miscellaneous." They appear in that order.

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